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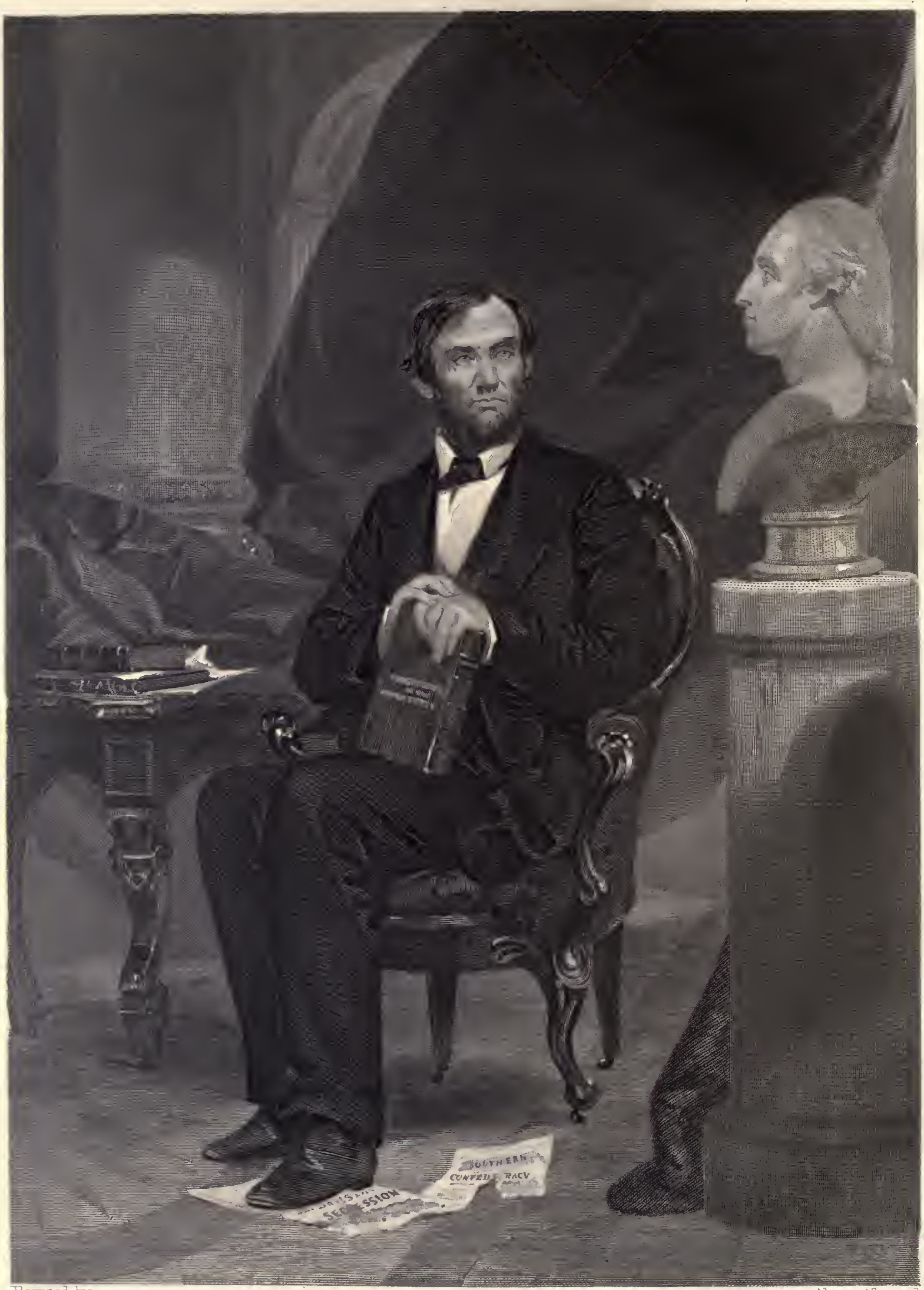
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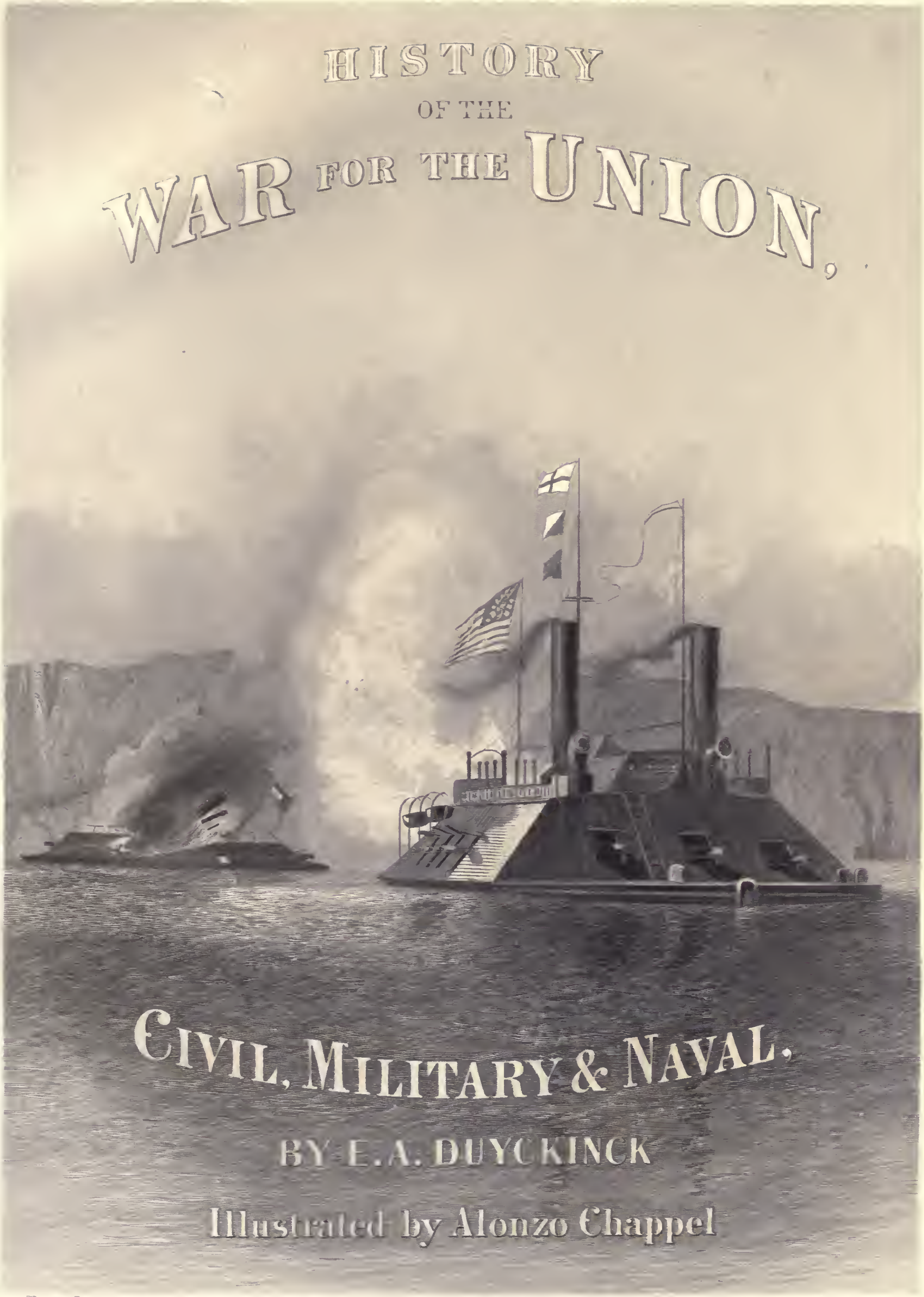

HISTORY
OF THE
WAR FOR THE UNION,

CIVIL, MILITARY & NAVAL.

BY E. A. DUYCKINCK

Illustrated by Alonzo Chappel

Drawn by Alonzo Chappel

DESTRUCTION OF THE REBEL RAM ARKANSAS

NEW YORK
JOHNSON, FRY & COMPANY.
27 BEEKMAN STREET

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NATIONAL HISTORY

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WAR FOR THE UNION,

Civil, Military and Naval.

FOUNDED ON

OFFICIAL AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

BY

EVERT A. DUYCKINCK,

Author of "National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans," "Cyclopedia of American Literature," Etc.

Illustrated with Highly-Finished Steel Engravings.

INCLUDING

BATTLE SCENES BY SEA AND LAND, AND FULL-LENGTH PORTRAITS OF NAVAL AND MILITARY HEROES, FROM ORIGINAL PAINTINGS,

BY ALONZO CHAPPEL AND THOMAS NAST.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOLUME II.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

AFFAIRS ABOUT WASHINGTON, AUGUST–OCTOBER, 1861.

General McClellan, immediately after the battle of Bull Run, hastened from the scene of his victories in Western Virginia, at the call of the Government, to take command of the army before Washington. By an order of the War Department, dated July 23, 1861, he was placed at the head of a special geographical division, composed of the Department of Washington, including the Maryland counties of Prince George, Montgomery, and Frederick, and the department of North-eastern Virginia. He arrived the same day in Washington, by the way of Philadelphia, and at once entered on the duties of his command. One of his first employments was to restore to the camps the authority which had been always more or less relaxed, and free the capitol from the disgraceful spectacle of the throng of officers absent from their posts, lounging at the hotels, and an unruly crowd of soldiers which had beset the peaceful inhabitants since the disastrous retreat from Bull Run. An order dated July 30th, remains an historical record of the confusion which then existed in the city. "The General commanding the Division," was its language, "has with much regret observed that large numbers of officers and men, stationed in the vicinity of Washington, are in the habit of frequenting the streets and hotels of the city. This practice is eminently prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and must at once be discontinued. The time and services of all persons connected with this division should be devoted to their appropriate duties with their respective commands. It is therefore directed that hereafter no officer or soldier be allowed to absent himself from his camp and visit Washington except for the performance of some public duty, or the transaction of important private business, for which purposes written permits will be given by the commanders of brigades." To enforce these regulations, Colonel Andrew Porter of the 16th United States Infantry, was detailed for temporary duty as Provost Marshal. This able and energetic officer entered upon his duty with such vigor that, in a day or two, the city was freed from the disorder and disgrace of the vagrant soldiery. The officers ceased to throng the bar-rooms, and the men to annoy the shop-keepers and citizens. By an order of the Provost Marshal all soldiers found in the streets, hotels, or other places in the city after 9 o'clock in the evening were to be arrested, taken to the central guard-house, and detained for trial and punishment. A military board was organized by the War Department, with the concurrence of the General-in-Chief, General Scott, for the examination of all officers of volunteer regiments as to their fitness for the positions assigned them. Officers found to be incompetent were to be rejected, and the vacancies thus occasioned were to be filled by the appointment of such persons as had passed the examination before the Board.* On the 19th of August, a month after the battle of Bull Run, a list was published of two hundred and twenty-five company officers whose resignations had been accepted.

Congress had at once, losing no time in vain regrets, met the disaster at Bull Run by authorizing the President to call a force of volunteers to the number of 500,000 into the field. The greatest activity prevailed in the War Department to assemble and equip a portion of this army. The Governors of the loyal States again, as after the attack upon Sumter, gave every assistance to the application. The call was instant, and it was immediately responded to. Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania, ready at all times to aid the Government, within four days after the disaster at Manassas, forwarded, for the defence of the capital, ten full regiments of infantry who had been for some time collected in camps of instruction. On the 25th of July, Governor Morgan of New York called for 25,000 volunteers from the State. The following month he further seconded the demands of the administration and the patriotic action of Congress by a special appeal to the people of the State. "A conspiracy," was the language of his Proclamation of August 22, "not the work of a day, but the result of years of false, wicked, and traitorous machinations, has for several months disturbed the peace of the State of New York and of the Federal Union. Its movements have been marked by violence and fraud. Wherever it has manifested itself, it has disregarded the rights of citizens, coerced them into the ranks of its armies, and exercises an absolute control over person and property, in utter defiance of the Constitution and laws of the land. Ambitious and designing men, disappointed in their personal aims, have been enabled, chiefly by misrepresenting the feelings of one portion of the country toward the other, to usurp and exercise a power which has become not only tyrannical and oppressive in several States whose constitutional governments it has temporarily suspended, but dangerous to the entire Union; the pretences originally held forth as a justification for acts of lawlessness and treason have been laid aside; the intention of the leaders of this wicked rebellion to destroy the Union, cemented by the blood of our forefathers, is now fully manifest; and, elated by an accidental success, they audaciously threaten the national capital. As chief magistrate of the State, it is my solemn duty to warn all good and loyal men of the dangers to which our institutions are exposed, and to urge upon them the necessity of an earnest and zealous coöperation with the authorities of the State and General Governments; of a cheerful contribution of their means to support the public credit, and of active enrollment in the forces now being organized for the defence of the Union; convinced that the tranquility of the country, so wantonly disturbed, can only be restored by the prompt and vigorous suppression of rebellion and treason, wherever they may appear. The representatives of the people of the United States, lately convened in Congress at the call of a constitutionally-elected President, in view of the perils which surround the Union, have, by legislative enactments, provided for liberal supplies of men and means for the enforcement of the laws, and have thus invited a hearty and zealous response on the part of several States. New York has never wavered in her devotion to the Union. She prizes it on account of the many blessings which all parts of the country alike have received from it; on account of the memory of her patriot sons, by whose blood it was purchased; and for the inestimable benefits it confers upon the present, and secures to future generations. Her noble response to the call of the President, in April last, was such as to preserve to her the proud title she has long borne in the family of States. Another stage in the great rebellion has been reached, and the Government, appreciating the dangers now menacing it, appeals for aid. The whole country, the civilized world, now looks to the State of New York. Let the response be worthy of her history. Let her answer go back in full ranks of earnest men, who, justly valuing the magnitude of the interests involved, temporarily relinquish their pursuits, and prepare to meet the crisis."

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* Order of the War Department, July 25, 1861.

Governor Dennison of Ohio, in a Proclamation dated August 28th, reminds the people of the State that, without a regiment of troops at the opening of hostilities, they had already sent more than 30,000 men into the field armed and equipped. "The Federal Government," said he, "again calls upon you for soldiers. The late disaster at Manassas, serious as it was in many respects to the rebels, has added to their audacity and insolence. Encouraged by apparent success, they have augmented their forces, and enhanced the necessity for vigilance and power in Washington, in Western Virginia, and at Missouri. Twenty-nine regiments of infantry, together with a proportionate force of artillery and cavalry, are now being organized in your State. As the Executive of the State, it becomes my duty to appeal to you to perfect those organizations as rapidly as possible." In allusion, doubtless, to the suggestions of the "peace" advocates, the "rump" of the old Democratic party as they were termed, he added: "I invoke you to give no ear to any counsels unfriendly to the prompt and effective consolidation of the military force which the General Government requires to repel the threatened assaults of the enemy and crush the rebellion. It must be suppressed or the Government is subverted. Its suppression can only be effected by vigorous measures on the part of that Government, promptly sustained by the people, animated by a positive and comprehensive policy. I conjure you to give no heed to any proposition, under whatever sanction it may come, for negotiation or compromise with armed rebellion. The only condition upon which negotiation can be tolerated is the complete surrender of the rebels to the national Government, and an unqualified return of their allegiance to its supreme authority. Without that, there should be no adjustment, without it there can be no peace." Indiana, with her Crittenden, Dumont, Milroy, and other noble spirits of the war at the head of her regiments, exhibited equal alacrity in recruiting and sending her forces into the field. Early in August the State had thirty-six regiments rapidly equipping, besides several batteries of artillery and cavalry regiments.

Governor Buckingham of Connecticut, in his Proclamation of August 31st, particularly denounced various acts interfering with the support of the Government in its conduct of the war. After a brief allusion to the course of the seceding States combining their energies to rob us of the blessings of a free Government as the greatest crime recorded in history, he added: "At this critical juncture our liberties are still further imperiled by the utterance of seditious language; by a traitorous press, which excuses or justifies the rebellion; by several organizations, which propose to resist the execution of the laws of this State by force; by the public exhibition of 'peace flags,' falsely so called; and by an effort to redress grievances regardless of the forms and officers of the law."

One of these peace flags alluded to had been hoisted a few days before at Stepney, ten miles north of Bridgeport, on occasion of a meeting of persons supposed to be unfriendly to the war. As the assembly was about opening, "a procession of carriages appeared containing one hundred of the first citizens of Bridgeport and twenty-five of the returned volunteers. In less than forty seconds the secession flag was trailing in the dust, and in twenty seconds more it was torn in five hundred pieces. Several pistols and one gun were taken from the secessionists, who drew, but dared not fire them. A Union meeting was then organized, of which Elias Howe, Jr., was appointed President, and P. T. Barnum Secretary. Some glorious Union resolutions denouncing peace secession meetings were passed."* At another meeting at New Fairfield the same day an attempt to pull down the peace flag which had been raised, was resisted, and a serious fight ensued, in which two "peace men" were severely handled.

A general order having been issued from the War Department in July prohibiting the mustering into the service of volunteers who do not speak the English language, and giving rise to much apprehension as to the employment of foreigners in the War, it was explained by a subsequent order as not applying to regiments or companies of foreign nationality in which men and officers speak the same tongue, but to prevent the enlistment, into regiments or companies whose officers speak the English language only, of men not understanding it, and to induce such persons to enlist under officers whose language they do understand.* A communication on this subject was addressed by Mr. Alberger, the Mayor of Buffalo, to the Secretary of State, who replied that the misconceived order had been "entirely rescinded and vacated," and that there was no obstacle whatever to the acceptance of the services of volunteers on the ground of their nationality or language. "The contest for the Union," he added, with a just feeling of the occasion, its opportunities and necessities, "is regarded, as it ought to be, a battle of the freemen of the world for the institutions of self-government."

An address, delivered at a mass meeting of the people of Providence, Rhode Island, on the 16th of August, by the Hon. Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, may be taken as an exhibition of the policy of the Government, as the speaker asserted the conservative principles of the administration, reviewed its course, and justified its measures as dictated by the necessities of the times. Touching upon a topic ever uppermost in the minds of a New England audience, he said: "I do not invoke you to engage in this war as a war against slavery. We are warring for a different principle. But there is an old adage brought down to us from the ancients, that 'whom the gods would destroy they first madden.' They are afflicted by that madness which, for their wickedness, God's providence has brought upon them; and that will do more to crush out the institution of slavery than would have been done by the peaceful administration of the Government in ten centuries. If that should be the consequence, I have no tears to shed. To the future and to Providence I leave the issues of this great question. It is not the province of the Government of the United States to enter into a crusade against the institution of slavery."

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* Special Despatch of P. T. Barnum to N. Y. *Tribune*, August 24, 1861.

* General Order War Department, Aug. 3, 1861.

At a Union meeting at Bangor, Maine, in this month (September) Vice-President Hamlin spoke. "There has been a great deal," he remarked, "said about peace. I am a peace man, and for peace, and am willing to fight for it; and I am here flanked on either side with two majestic peace-makers—the very best instruments known to men to make a peace in times like the present. I am for a peace; and I want it founded upon that basis that shall not entail upon my children the necessity of again passing through this ordeal. I am for peace; but I want that peace that shall elevate us in the eyes of all the world, and which shall demonstrate that there is integrity and capacity enough in men for self-government; and I want a peace, too, that shall give security to the gallant men in the rebel States who have come forward and sacrificed their fortunes and almost their lives at the altar of patriotism. I want to make peace with your Johnsons and your Holts, and men of that class—with men who are loyal to the country, and not with rebels who have muskets in their hands."

The Hon. Joseph Holt of Kentucky, at a meeting in New York on the 3d of September, at the invitation of the Chamber of Commerce, delivered one of those kindling addresses with which he, perhaps, more than any other, nerved the minds of his countrymen to the struggle upon which they had entered. Speaking of his State of Kentucky, he said: "In spite of all the efforts to rend them asunder, New York and Kentucky this night stand before the world as sisters. Kentucky has not now, she never has had, and she never can have sympathy with either the spirit or the purpose of those conspirators who, at the head of armies and in the mad pursuit of power, are now reddening their hands in a nation's blood. She abhorred them as Rome abhorred Cataline, as the American people abhorred Benedict Arnold, as Christians abhor the memory of Judas Iscariot. That abhorrence was fully expressed in her recent election, and yet in the very presence of that overwhelming popular demonstration, and in defiance and contempt of it, the public papers now assure us that the secessionists are preparing to precipitate that State into the horrors of civil war, simply and solely because she has refused to follow the example of Faust and sell herself to the devil. If, like the political bandits of South America, they atrociously persist in appealing from the popular vote to the sword, then I venture to predict that it will be found that the Union men of Kentucky, with all their sincere love of peace, still carry bullets as well as ballots in their pockets." Of the sentiment of the North he said, speaking from his observations in a recent tour through the region, he had "nowhere found any feeling of exasperation against the people of the South—no bluster, no threatening; but at every point a solemn determination to uphold the Government, connected, at the same time, with a sadness and with a depth of tenderness I would in vain endeavor to describe. Strong and brave men, when speaking to me of the unhappy distractions which rend our country, have wept in my presence, and I have honored these men for this unwonted exhibition of deep feeling, for if a brave man cannot weep over the threatened ruin of such a country and such a Government as this, where is there a catastrophe or a sorrow that can touch his heart? Everywhere, and in all places, the people seem now to realize the fact that this is not a war upon the people of the South, but a war undertaken for their defence and for their deliverance." In accordance with this earnestness and sympathy was the speaker's appeal to the sense of duty of the North to play their part manfully in the conflict for the preservation of the Government of their fathers—while foreign nations were looking to its destruction. "How gladly," he exclaimed, "would the enemies of freedom behold a monument of us in the skies, could they see inscribed upon it these words: 'In memory of the great Republic of the United States, founded by Washington and destroyed by Toombs, Twiggs and Floyd!'" With equal scorn he denounced disloyal men at the North who would, by sowing dissension, weaken the force of the Government, which stood pledged to the suppression of the rebellion. "Fellow citizens," said he in conclusion, "amid all the discouragements which surround us, I have still an unfaltering faith in human progress and in the capacity of man for self-government. I believe that the blood which the true lovers of our race have shed on more than a thousand battle-fields has borne fruit, and that that fruit is the Republic of the United States. It came forth on the world like the morning sun from his chamber. Its pathway has been a pathway of light and glory. It has brought blessings upon its people in the brimming fullness with which the rivers pour their waters into the sea. I cannot admit into my bosom the crushing thought that, in the full light of the Christian civilization of the nineteenth century, such a government is fated to perish beneath the swords of the guilty men who are now banded together for its overthrow. I cannot, I will not believe that twenty millions of people, cultivated, loyal, courageous, will ignominiously suffer their institutions to be overturned by ten millions, nearly half of whom are helpless slaves with fetters on their hands. Let us, then, rouse ourselves fully to this great work of duty. If it is to be done well, it should be done quickly. If we would economise both blood and treasure, we should move promptly, we should move mightily. At this very moment, were it possible to precipitate the whole physical force of the loyal States on the fields of the South, it would be a measure not only of wisdom, but of economy and humanity also."

On the 20th of August General McClellan formally entered upon command of the army of the Potomac, which, as at that time constituted, comprised the troops serving in the former departments of Washington and North-eastern Virginia, in the valley of the Shenandoah, and in the States of Maryland and Delaware. The following officers were attached to his staff: Major S. Williams, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain Alexander V. Colburn, Assistant Adjutant-General; Colonel R. B. Marcy, Inspector-General; Colonel T. M. Key, Aide-de-Camp; Captain N. B. Swetser, 1st Cavalry, Aide-de-Camp; Captain Edward McK. Hudson, 14th Infantry, Aide-de-Camp; Captain L. A. Williams, 10th Infantry, Aide-de Camp; Major A. J. Myers, Signal Officer; Major Stewart Van Vliet, Chief Quartermaster; Captain H. F. Clarke, Chief Commissary; Surgeon C. S. Tripler, Medical Director; Major J. G. Barnard, Chief Engineer; Major J. M. Macomb, Chief Topographical Engineer; Captain Charles P. Kingsbury, Chief of Ordnance; Brigadier-General George Stoneham, Volunteer Service, Chief of Cavalry; Brigadier General W. S. Barry, Volunteer Service, Chief of Artillery."

As a further and most important means of raising the *morale*, and adding to the efficiency of the army, General McClellan, on the 6th of September, issued the following order, enjoining the special observance of the Sabbath in the camp: "The Major-General Commanding desires and requests that in future there may be a more perfect respect for the Sabbath on the part of his command. We are fighting in a holy cause, and should endeavor to deserve the benign favor of the Creator. Unless in the case of an attack by the enemy, or some other extreme military necessity, it is commended to commanding officers, that all work shall be suspended on the Sabbath; that no unnecessary movements shall be made on that day; that the men shall, as far as possible, be permitted to rest from their labors; that they shall attend Divine service after the customary Sunday morning inspection, and that officers and men shall alike use their influence to insure the utmost decorum and quiet on that day. The General Commanding regards this as no idle form. One day's rest in seven is necessary to men and animals. More than this, the observance of the Holy Day of the God of mercy and of battles is our sacred duty."

Among other camp incidents which occurred while the army on the Potomac was in formation, was a visit on the 10th of September of President Lincoln, accompanied by Secretary Cameron, Governor Curtin, and others to the Pennsylvania regiments. After the ceremony of presentation by Governor Curtin of a set of flags, provided by the Cincinnati Society of Philadelphia, to the brigade under command of General McCall, the distinguished party crossed the river by the Chain Bridge, where a scene occurred at one of the new forts which is remembered by the few words, often recited afterwards, addressed by General McClellan to the troops: "Soldiers," said he, "we have had our last retreat. We have seen our last defeat. You stand by me and I will stand by you, and henceforth victory will crown our efforts."

Words like these, incidentally spoken, were eagerly caught up by the public and treasured as sure promises of the success of the young General, upon whom the expectation of the war was now placed. At this early period of the contest there was certainly no ground of complaint of the want of confidence in those entrusted with its conduct, on the part of the people. They yielded all frankly and freely to those in authority, and so far from withholding credit where it was due, were rather disposed, so sure were they of results, of paying the tribute of fame and admiration in advance. General McClellan, in particular, was accepted as the hero of the future; the newspapers eulogized him; the print shops were filled with his portraits: everything was hoped from his conduct of the war. So strong was this impression that the correspondent of the *London Times*, Mr. Russell, whose letters were reprinted everywhere, presented his portrait at full length to the world, with a minuteness of description and personal detail applied usually only to long-established and well-tried celebrities. "When I had the pleasure," he wrote, in an ingenious parallel between the two most talked-of men in the Northern and Southern armies, "of conversing with General McClellan for the first time he asked me several questions, with evident interest and friendly curiosity—not unusual on the part of Generals in reference to their antagonists — respecting General Beauregard. In his case there was all the more reason for such inquiries, in the fact that they were old fellow-students and class-mates. To my mind there is something of resemblance between the men. Both are below the middle height. They are both squarely built, and famed for muscular power since their college days. Beauregard, indeed, is lean and thin-ribbed; McClellan is full and round, with a Napoleonic tendency to *embonpoint*, subdued by incessant exercise. Beauregard sleeps little; McClellan's temperament requires a full share of rest; both are spare and Spartan in diet, studious, quiet. Beauregard is rather saturnine, and, if not melancholic, is of a grim gayety; McClellan is genial even in his reserve. The density of the hair, the squareness of the jaw, the firmness and regularity of the teeth, and the outlines of the features, are points of similarity in both, which would be more striking if Beauregard were not of the true Louisianian Creole tint, while McClellan is fair-complexioned. Beauregard has a dark, dull, student's eye, the dullness of which arises, however, from its formation, for it is full of fire, and its glances are quick and searching. McClellan has a deep, clear eye, into which you can look far and deep, while you feel it searches far and deep into you. Beauregard has something of pretension in his manner—not hauteur, but a folding-armed, meditative sort of air, which seems to say, 'Don't disturb me; I'm thinking of military movements.' McClellan seems to be always at leisure; but you feel at the same time that you ought not to intrude too much upon him, even when you seek in vain for the grounds of that impression in anything that he is doing or saying. Beauregard is more subtle, crafty and astute; McClellan is more comprehensive, more learned, more impressionable. Beauregard is a thorough soldier; McClellan may prove he is a great general. The former only looks to military consequences, and disregards popular manifestations; the latter respects the opinions of the outer world, and sees political as well as military results in what he orders. They are both the creatures of accident, so far as their present positions are concerned. It remains to be seen if either can control the current of events, and if in either the artilleryman or the cavalry officer of the old

United States' army there is the stuff around which history is moulded, such as that of which the artilleryman of Brienne or the leader of the Ironsides were made."

"General McClellan's headquarters are in a pleasant house at the corner of a square—not unlike that of Gordon or Euston. By day, the door and windows are open; a sentry in blue tunic, blue cap, blue trowsers, all without which are called facings, brass buttons, with a distracted eagle thereupon, and a waistbelt with a brass buckle inscribed 'U. S.,' walks up and down, generally with a pipe or cigar in his mouth, and his firelock carried horizontally over his shoulder, so as to bring the bayonet on a level with any eye of which the unwary owner may be coming round the corner. Several dragoon horses are hitched up by the rail and the trees along the pavement, standing patiently and good-naturedly, as American horses are wont to do, or, at most, stamping and flicking off the flies which in the United States try patience and temper so very hardly. At the door are ready orderlies, two quick, intelligent young men, who are civil without being servile, and who, in being so, afford some contrast to the various very independent soldiers lounging or sitting on the steps reading newspapers, and waiting for answers to their messages. There is a sort of 'Open Sesame' air about the place which does not prevent the secrets inside being well kept. In the parlors are seated officers and visitors smoking or talking. The tables are covered with a litter of papers and journals and torn envelopes, and the clacking tongue of the telegraph instrument resounds through the building. The General is generally upstairs, and sundry gentle Cerberi bar the entrance to his presence, nor is he destitute of the art of making himself invisible when he pleases. His staff are excellent men, I am told, and most courteous and gentlemanly I know, so far as my personal experience goes, nor could any commander be served more efficiently than the General is by such men, as Brigadier-General Vanvliet, or Colonel Hudson, notwithstanding the absence of a good deal of the stiffness which marks the approaches to some headquarters, as General McClellan found when he and his brother Commissioners sought in vain to obtain access to Marshal Pelissier in the Crimea. The General, a short time ago an *employeé* on the Central Illinois Railway, but still with so much of the old spirit in him that he studied closely all the movements of that short Italian campaign of which he is not doomed to give a counterpart in this part of the world, is a *nocturne*, and at the close of long, laborious days, works hard and fast late into the night till sleep pursues and overtakes him, when he surrenders readily, for he has one of those natures which need a fair share of rest, capable though they be of great exertion without it on occasion. He works hard, too, in the saddle, and, when the business of the morning has been dispatched, off he goes, attended by a few officers and a small escort of orderlies and troops, across the Potomac, visiting the camps, examining positions, eating where fortune spreads the board, and returning, generally after nightfall, to look over the reports, to issue orders, to baffle little politicians, and to stand on the defensive against those of larger dimensions. Here he is natural, but vigilant—candid, but prudent, tobacco ruminant or fumant, full of life, and yet contemplative—of a temper, indeed, which seems to take some of its color from that of the accidents of its surroundings in time and place."*

On the 11th September a reconnoissance was made to Lewinsville, four or five miles from Camp Advance at the Chain Bridge, by General William F. Smith, commanding the brigade at that post. He had with him the 79th Highlanders, New York State Militia, battalions of Vermont and Indiana volunteers, and of the 1st United States Chasseurs, a cavalry company, and Griffin's West Point battery—in all about 2,000 men. A topographical survey was accomplished, and the party was about returning in the afternoon, when they were attacked by a body of the enemy—the 13th Virginia Volunteers, 305 men ; a section of Rosser's battery, Washington Artillery ; and a detachment of the 1st Cavalry ; the whole under command of Colonel J. E. B. Stuart. The dispositions of the enemy, who were favored by the ground, were skillfully made, their battery being placed so as to command the road over which the Union troops were returning. 'My intention," says Colonel Stuart in his report of the affair, "was to surprise them, and I succeeded entirely, approaching Lewinsville by the enemy's left and rear, taking care to keep my small forces an entire secret from their observation. I at the same time carefully provided against the disaster to myself which I was striving to inflict upon the enemy, and felt sure that, if necessary, I could fall back successfully before any force the enemy might have ; for the country was favorable to retreat and ambuscade. At a point nicely screened by the woods from Lewinsville, and a few hundred yards from the place, I sent forward, under Major Terrill, a portion of his command, stealthily to reach the wood at a turn in the road, and reconnoitre beyond. This was admirably done, and the Major soon reported to me that the enemy had a piece of artillery in position in the road just at Lewinsville, commanding our road. I directed him immediately to post his riflemen so as to render it impossible for the cannoneers to serve the piece, and, if possible, to capture it. During subsequent operations the cannoneers tried ineffectually to serve the piece ; and finally, after one was shot through the head, the piece was taken off. While this was going on, a few shots from Rosser's section, at a cluster of the enemy a quarter of a mile off, put the entire force of the enemy in full retreat, exposing their entire column to flank fire from our pieces. Some wagons and a large body of cavalry first passed in hasty flight, the rifle piece and howitzer firing as they passed ; then came a flying battery, eight pieces of artillery (Griffin's), which soon took position about six hundred yards to our front and right, and rained shot and shell upon us during the entire engagement, but with harmless effect, although striking very near. Then passed three regiments of infantry at double-quick, receiving in succession, as they passed, Rosser's unerring salutation, his shells bursting directly over their heads, and creating the greatest havoc and confusion in their ranks. The last infantry regiment was followed by a column of cavalry, which at one time rode over the rear of the infantry in great confusion. The field, general, and staff officers were seen exerting every effort to restore order in their broken ranks, and my cavalry videts, observing their flight, reported that they finally rallied a mile and a half below, and took position up the road, where they supposed our columns would be pursuing them Captain Rosser, having no enemy left to contend with, at his own request was permitted to review the ground of the enemy's flight, and found the road ploughed up by his solid shot and strewn with fragments of shells; two men left dead on the road, one mortally wounded, and one not hurt taken prisoner. The prisoner said the havoc in their ranks was fearful, justifying what I saw myself of the confusion. Major Terrill's sharpshooters were by no means idle, firing wherever a straggling Yankee showed his head, and capturing a lieutenant, (captured by Major Terrill himself,) one sergeant and one private, all belonging to the 19th Indiana (Colonel Meredith's). . . . Our loss was not a scratch to man or horse. We have no means of knowing the enemy's, except that it must have been heavy, from the effect of the shots. We found in all four dead and mortally wounded, and captured four. Of course they carried off all they could."

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* Correspondence of the London *Times*, Washington, October 7–20, 1861.

On the other hand, General McClellan reported to the Secretary of War that Griffin's battery silenced the enemy's battery, while Adjutant Ireland, of the 79th regiment, reported the retreat of the enemy under a well directed fire from the left wing, while the right captured a Major of Colonel Stuart's cavalry regiment. The lowest estimate of the enemy's loss, he added, was four killed, two wounded, and one prisoner. "Our men," said General McClellan in his despatch, "behaved most admirably under fire."

The summer and autumn saw the arrival of several distinguished persons from the old world. In July, Prince Jerome Napoleon visited New York in his steam yacht, accompanied by his wife, the Princess Clotilde. He avoided ceremony on his travels, and interested himself, as a cultivated student in many lands, in the inspection of what the country had to show at this time best worthy of observation. Immediately presenting himself at Washington, he was entertained by the President, visited the houses of Congress, inspected the camps, and passed beyond the lines to the encampment of the enemy. He was accompanied by General McDowell, with an escort of cavalry, beyond Alexandria to the Confederate pickets before Fairfax Court-House, where he was received by Colonel Stuart, and conducted thence by way of Centreville to Manassas. There he was entertained by Generals Beauregard and Johnston, and after a day spent in the camps and reviewing the troops, returned to Washington without extending his journey further in the rebel States. He then rejoined the Princess at New York, visited the western prairies, Niagara and Canada, and about the middle of September left New York in his yacht for Boston and Halifax on his return to Europe. His journey was thought to have some political significance from his relationship to the Emperor Louis Napoleon, though it was probably only of importance in this way in the information of the country which an intelligent observer carried to a European court, where it was thought his influence was not unfriendly to the North. The correspondence of a member of the party with the *Opinion Nationale* of Paris, was noticeable for its candid criticism of public events during the Prince's visit to the United States.

A few days before the departure from New York of Prince Jerome Napoleon, several other visitors, also distinguished by relations to the French throne, arrived at the city. The new party included the Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philippe, who came to place his son, the Duke de Penthievre, a youth of sixteen, in the United States naval school at Newport. He also brought with him his two nephews, sons of the late Duke of Orleans—the Count de Paris and the Duke de Chartres. Presently proceeding to Washington, the two young Princes tendered their military services to the Government, were accepted, and duly commissioned with the rank of Captain, were assigned to the staff of General McClellan. It was expressly stipulated by them that they would receive no pay for their services. Their motive in attaching themselves to the army was undoubtedly to secure the military experience which the organization of the large force before Washington was so well calculated to yield, and to gain for themselves, by actual service, that prestige of reputation in war which no nation values more highly than the French. It was a valued tribute also to the national cause, that the representatives of so distinguished a house, with a possible future in the politics of Europe, should, in so marked a manner, identify themselves with its interests. The Princes remained in the service, faithfully fulfilling the obligations they had assumed, and were with the army through the winter, in the forward movement in the spring, and in the battles before Richmond, in which they were honorably distinguished, to the close of the campaign.

As the Union army gained strength, and symptoms of an approaching movement in the ranks began to be evident, the enemy, apparently well advised of the condition of affairs in the camps, recalled their advanced pickets and receded from some of their posts of observation in the immediate neighborhood of Washington. Munson's Hill, in the vicinity of Alexandria, their occupation of which had been something of a scandal to the army in its front, was thus evacuated by them on the morning of the 28th of September, when the position was formally taken possession of by the Union troops. On their arrival they were surprised at the slight construction of works which had been represented to the public as of a really formidable character. A correspondent who visited the spot immediately after its abandonment by the enemy, thus describes the scene on the summit of the hill. "Everybody, was laughing. The utter absurdity of the works as means of defence, their smallness, meanness, insignificance, touched everybody's sense of the ludicrous. The enclosure comprises about four acres, around which earth is roughly thrown to a height of perhaps four feet. Of course there is no ditch, no glacis—nothing, in fact, to give it the character of a fortification of any kind. It is not even regular in form, but coils loosely and waveringly about the ground, as a huge snake might enfold it. In every respect it looks a squirmy piece of work. There are no embrasures for guns, but upon two of its projections are mounted—what! guns? No, indeed, but old logs, with a black circle painted in the middle of the sawed part to represent a formidable armament. At such a distance as that of Bailey's Roads, the deception might very easily have remained undetected. In the middle of this wretched 'fort,' the remains of a hastily-constructed hut still stood ; but, with the exception of a few trees, it contained nothing else. Behind it, on the slope of the hill, were a group of irregular shanties, thrown together for the protection of troops. Their number was sufficient for the accommodation of about one regiment, certainly not more. A considerable quantity of straw and a few forgotten rations lay about. The usual offensive odors of a rebel Virginia camp were heightened in this case by the stench from a dead and decaying horse, which the rebels apparently had not energy enough to remove, but left to rot among them."

An enumeration of the military works in the vicinity of Washington, in the General Orders issued by General McClellan on the 30th of September, will afford some idea of the organized labor performed by officers and men of the army in the brief period of two months—during which, it should be remembered, the hastily collected levies were being received, armed, equipped, and instructed in the elements of military service. The toil thrown upon the engineering department was immense in this work of encircling the capital, on both sides of the Potomac, with a chain of mutually supporting fortified posts and intrenchments. The following names were given to these works in the "order" alluded to. The work south of Hunting Creek, "Fort Lyon ;" that on Shuter's Hill, "Fort Ellsworth ;" that on the left of the Seminary, "Fort Worth ;" that in front of Blenker's brigade, "Fort Blenker ;" that in front of Lee's House, "Fort Bard ;" that near the mouth of Four Mile Creek, "Fort Scott ;" that on Richardson's Hill, "Fort Richardson ;" that known as Fort Albany, "Fort Albany ;" that near the end of Long Bridge, "Fort Runyon ;" the work next on the right of Fort Albany, "Fort Craig ;" the work next on the right of Fort Craig, "Fort Tillinghast ;" the work next on the right of Fort Tillinghast, "Fort Ramsay ;" the work next on the right of Fort Ramsay, "Fort Woodbury :" that next on the right of Fort Woodbury, "Fort De Kalb ;" the work in rear of Fort Corcoran and near the canal, "Fort Haggerty ;" that known as Fort Corcoran, "Fort Corcoran ;" that to the north of Fort Corcoran, "Fort Bennett ;" that south of Chain Bridge on the height, "Fort Ethan Allen ;" that near the Chain Bridge on the Leesburg road, "Fort Marcy ;" that on the cliff north of the Chain Bridge, "Battery Martin Scott ;" that on the height near the Reservoir, "Battery Vermont ;" that near Georgetown, "Battery Cameron ;" that on the left of Tennallytown, "Fort Gaines ;" that at Tennallytown, "Fort Pennsylvania ;" that at Emory's Chapel, "Fort Massachusetts ;" that near the camp of the 2d Rhode Island regiment, "Fort Slocum ;" that on Prospect Hill, near Bladensburg, "Fort Lincoln ;" that next on the left of Fort Lincoln, "Fort Saratoga ;" that next on the left of Fort Saratoga, "Fort Bunker Hill ;" that on the right of General Sickles' camp, "Fort Stanton ;" that on the right of Fort Stanton, "Fort Carroll ;" that on the left towards Bladensburg, "Fort Greble."

A grand review of artillery and cavalry, on the 8th of October, described in the reports of the day as the grandest spectacle of the kind ever witnessed on this continent, was accepted by the public as an indication of the strength and spirit of the national army on the Potomac, and its rapidly advancing efficiency for the early resumption of hostilities. Six thousand cavalry and one hundred and twelve guns, with an artillery force of fifteen hundred men, appeared in this spectacle, at which President Lincoln, the Secretary of State, the Prince de Joinville, and other celebrities were present. General McClellan was on the field with his staff. General Stoneman conducted the review, the artillery being commanded by General Barry, and the cavalry by General Palmer. The area for the movements embraced about two hundred acres.

In accordance with the resolution of the recent Congress, President Lincoln, on the 12th of August, had issued the following Proclamation for a National Fast-Day: " *Whereas*, a Joint Committee of both Houses of Congress has waited on the President of the United States, and requested him to recommend a day of Public Humiliation, Prayer, and Fasting, to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnities, and the offering of fervent supplications to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of these States, His blessings on their arms, and a speedy restoration of peace; *And whereas*, It is fit and becoming in all people at all times to acknowledge and revere the Supreme Government of God, to bow in humble submission to His chastisements, to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions in the full conviction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and to pray with all fervency and contrition for the pardon of their past offences, and for a blessing upon their present and prospective action; *And whereas*, When our beloved country, once, by the blessing of God, united, prosperous, and happy, is now afflicted with faction and civil war, it is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this visitation, and in sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation and as individuals, to humble ourselves before Him, and to pray for His mercy—to pray that we may be spared further punishment, though justly deserved; that our arms may be blessed and made effectual for the reëstablishment of law, order, and peace throughout our country, and that the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty, earned, under His guidance and blessing, by the labors and sufferings of our fathers, may be restored in all its original excellence; *Therefore*, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, do appoint the last Thursday in September next as a day of Humiliation, Prayer, and Fasting for all the people of the Nation, and I do earnestly recommend to all the people, and especially to all Ministers and Teachers of religion of all denominations, and to all heads of families—to observe and keep that day according to their several creeds and modes of worship, in all humility, and with all religious solemnity, to the end that the united prayer of the Nation may ascend to the Throne of Grace, and bring down plentiful blessings upon our own country."

As the appointed day approached, the recommendation was seconded by various Proclamations of Governors of States, Mayors of cities, and Pastoral Letters and forms of prayer issued by the clergy. All breathed a serious, reverent spirit, and were calculated to impress upon the heart of individuals a sense of the calamity which had befallen the land, and at the same time nerve them for further efforts in support of the Government. "In this momentous hour," was the language of the Proclamation of Governor Morgan of the State of New York, "when rebellious hands have kindled the flames of civil war in our land, avowedly for the purpose of overthrowing a Government peculiarly blessed of God, it is most fitting that we should publicly recognize our dependence upon the favor of Him whose authority is supreme, and whose jurisdiction is universal; who raiseth up and casteth down nations, but who maketh not inquisition for blood of them that put their trust in Him; that we supplicate Him not to remember against us our former iniquities, which have justly provoked Him to inflict these heavy judgments." The fast thus proclaimed was generally observed throughout the Northern States with unusual sobriety. There was comparatively little in the sermons delivered to agitate or inflame the public mind. The political necessity of the struggle had been too fully discussed to furnish much new material for the pulpit. The war was an admitted fact, undertaken and accepted as a matter of duty, and with prayer and penitence the religious public sadly bowed to the dispensation, supplicating deliverance for the nation.

On the 16th of August President Lincoln issued a Proclamation marking an important stage in the progress of the war. It was another application of the blockade, with stringent provisions for non-intercourse, with penalties of confiscation for its infringement. It ran thus: "*Whereas*, On the 15th day of April, the President of the United States, in view of an insurrection against the laws, Constitution, and the Government of the United States, which had broken out within the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and in pursuance of the provisions of the act entitled 'An act to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions, and to repeal the act now in force for that purpose,' approved February 28, 1795, did call forth the militia to suppress said insurrection, and cause the laws of the Union to be duly executed, and the insurgents have failed to disperse by the time directed by the President; and *whereas*, such insurrection has since broken out and yet exists within the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas; and *whereas*, the insurgents in all the said States claim to act under authority thereof, and such claim is not disclaimed or repudiated by the person exercising the functions of government in each State or States, or in the part or parts thereof in which combinations exist, nor has such insurrection been suppressed by said States; now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, in pursuance of an act of Congress, July 13, 1861, do hereby declare that the inhabitants of the said States of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida (except the inhabitants of that part of the State of Virginia lying west of the Alleghany Mountains, and of such other parts of that State, and the other States hereinbefore named, as may maintain a loyal adhesion to the Union and the Constitution, or may be from time to time occupied and controlled by the forces engaged in the dispersion of said insurgents), are in a state of insurrection against the United States, and that all commercial intercourse between the same and the inhabitants thereof, with the exceptions aforesaid, and the citizens of other States and other parts of the United States, is unlawful, and will remain unlawful until such insurrection shall cease or has been suppressed ; that all goods and chattels, wares and merchandise, coming from any of said States, with the exceptions aforesaid, into other parts of the United States, without the special license and permission of the President, through the Secretary of the Treasury, or proceeding to any of said States, with the exceptions aforesaid, by land or water, together with the vessel or vehicle conveying the same, or conveying persons to or from said States with said exceptions, will be forfeited to the United States, and that from and after fifteen days from the issuing of this proclamation, all ships and vessels belonging in whole or in part to any citizen or inhabitant of any of said States with said exceptions, found at sea or in any port of the United States, will be forfeited to the United States, and I hereby enjoin upon all District-Attorneys, Marshals, and officers of the Revenue and of the Military and Naval forces of the United States, to be vigilant in the execution of said act, and in the enforcement of the penalties and forfeitures imposed or declared by it, leaving any party who may think himself aggrieved thereby to his application to the Secretary of the Treasury for the remission of any penalty or forfeiture, which the said Secretary is authorized by law to grant, if, in his judgment, the special circumstances of any case shall require such remission." At the expiration of the fifteen days, various important seizures of rebel property were made in accordance with this Proclamation. At New York twenty-five vessels, belonging in whole or in part to Southern owners, were summarily seized by the Surveyor of the port.

The beginning of September brought a rumor to the camp of the death of President Jefferson Davis, which was partly credited through the Northern States, and afforded to the newspapers an opportunity to discuss the characters of the leaders in the rebellion, with reference to the supposed choice of a successor. The report apparently had its origin in nothing more authentic than a rebel flag having been seen at half-mast over an encampment of the enemy ; though it was somewhat encouraged by the well-known ill-health of the Confederate President. Among other articles of the kind an editorial in a New York journal was devoted to a species of obituary, the writer considering that if not actually dead, his subject's official career was closed, the feeble state of his physical powers hardly justifying his reëlection as the head of the Confederacy. It is curious to read in this article, which by no means undervalued certain personal qualities of the President, his irreproachable private character, and gentlemanly bearing in debate, while it denounced his ambition at the expense of his country, that "Mr. Davis's death or retirement can hardly be regarded as more than an incident of our great struggle—not an event." *

There were numerous disorderly acts during the month of August in the suppression, by mob violence, of newspapers charged with promulgating secessionist doctrines, aiding and abetting, by their articles, the cause of the South. The

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* New York *Tribune*, September 4, 1861.

Democratic Standard, at Concord, N.H., the *Democrat*, published at Bangor, Maine; the East Pa. *Sentinel;* the *Jeffersonian*, published at Westchester, Pa.; the *Stark County Democrat*, at Canton, Ohio; the *Christian Observer*, Philadelphia, and several other religious newspapers at St. Louis and Louisville, were among the obnoxious sheets. The offices were usually mobbed, with more or less violence, and the type thrown into the street. In other cases, the suppression was made, as at St. Louis, of the *War Bulletin* and *Missourian*, by military authority, or by United States' officers. At Concord shots were fired from the office of the *Standard*, and two soldiers in the mob were wounded when the property of the paper was destroyed. The journal, it seems, had given offence by its reflections on a militia regiment which had returned from the war. In one instance the editor in person was made the sufferer. At Haverhill, Massachusetts, on the evening of the 19th August, Ambrose L. Kimball, the editor of an obnoxious "secessionist journal," the *Essex County Democrat*, was violently removed from his residence by a crowd of town's people, who formed a circle round him in the street, and requested him to express regret for what he had published. Making no reply to this, he was compelled to lay aside every article of his clothing but his drawers, and still refusing to apologise, "he was completely covered with a coat of tar and feathers, after which, being mounted on a rail or pole, was conveyed to Merrimack Street, in front of the office of *The Democrat*, and directly under the American flag, behind which, as with a 'masked battery,' he had bombarded the Government of his country, in the publication of the speeches of Vallandigham and Breckinridge; while in editorials of much violence, he had advocated and defended the cause of the rebels." He was then required to cheer the flag, and afterwards taken, still riding on the rail, to the residence of one of his friends at Bradford, after which he was brought back to town, and placed in front of the Eagle House, where he was compelled to kneel down and repeat in substance this confession and affirmation: "I am sorry that I have published what I have, and I promise that I will never again write or publish articles against the North, and in favor of secession, so help me God." After this he was conducted to his home.*

On the 16th of August the Grand Jury of the United States Circuit Court, sitting at New York, presented several newspapers, the *Journal of Commerce*, the *News*, *Day Book*, and *Freeman's Journal* of New York, and the *Brooklyn Eagle*, as "disloyal presses, in the frequent practice of encouraging the rebels now in arms against the Federal Government, by expressing sympathy and agreement with them, the duty of acceding to their demands, and dissatisfaction with the employment of force to overcome them." The *Journal of Commerce* was denounced "for having published a list of newspapers in the Free States opposed to what it calls 'the present unholy war.' The Grand Jury are aware (continued this presentation) 'that free governments allow liberty of speech and of the press to their utmost limit, but there is, nevertheless, a limit. If a person in a fortress, or an army, were to preach to the soldiers submission to the enemy, he would be treated as an offender. Would he be more culpable than the citizen, who, in the midst of the most formidable conspiracy, and rebellion, tells the conspirators and rebels that they are right, encourages them to persevere in resistance, and condemns the efforts of loyal citizens to overcome and punish them as an 'unholy war?'" A few days after, on the 22d, an order from Washington to the New York Postmaster forbade the forwarding through the mails of any of the newspapers "presented by the Grand Jury as dangerous." The same day large parcels of the *Daily News* for the South and West were seized on their way at the express offices at Philadelphia. The result of these obstacles was that the papers were discontinued, or some change of editorship or policy was brought about, which placed them more in accordance with popular opinion, or at least quieted their open hostility to the cause undertaken by the Government. Generally the necessities of the times, or the interpretation of that necessity by the authorities, allowed little free public discussion of the policy of the war. It was accepted as a fact from which there was no escape, and with comparatively slight exceptions, unlimited confidence was placed, spite of repeated disappointments in the duration of the war, in the ability and judgment of the Administration. The newspapers which fell under the discipline of the people, were few in number, and in most cases of comparatively little influence in the formation of public opinion.

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* Correspondence of the *Boston Traveller*, Haverhill, August 20, 1861.

In connexion with this subject we may introduce the reply of Mr. Seward to the remonstrance of certain thin-skinned citizens. who had complained of the liberties taken by the correspondent of the London *Times* — a reply, as was observed at the time, which might have been extended to the denouncers of those home journals which were so unceremoniously treated by a portion of the public and the Government. The sharp, and by no means friendly comments of Mr. Russell, in his letters to *The Times*, upon what he proclaimed the disorganized condition of the army after the battle of Bull Run, had, it seems, the effect of irritating "many patriotic and intelligent citizens," who applied by memorial to the Secretary of State, asking the attention of the Government particularly to what they considered treasonable matter in a certain letter of the correspondent of the 10th of August, in which he had commented freely on the proposed system of taxation, the desertion of the troops, and an alleged "schism" between the regulars and volunteers. These statements were pronounced by the memorialists untrue, and a design attributed to the writer of bringing the credit and fame of the Government into disrepute in foreign countries. To this Mr. Seward replied in a public letter or circular printed in the newspapers. "It has been the habit," said he, "of the Government of the United States to take no notice of representations, however obnoxious, made by the press of foreign nations, or even injurious utterance made by Ministers or other agents for foreign powers in the ordinary transaction of their own affairs. The Government, on the contrary, has hitherto recognized, as worthy of its observation, only the language and action of the Executive organs of foreign States. For myself, I confess I have not read the publication complained of, and I am quite sure that it has not arrested the attention of any other member of the Administration, engrossed, as we all necessarily are, with urgent public duties and cares. However erroneous the facts or the inferences of the writer may be, they nevertheless stand on his own individual authority, while the whole patriotic press of our own country is free, and is interested to refute them. The Government of the United States depends not upon the favor or good will of foreign nations, but upon the just support of the American people. Its credit and its fame seem to me now, more than ever heretofore, safe in their keeping. If it be assumed that the obnoxious paper may do harm here, is it not a sufficient reply that probably not fifty copies of the London *Times* ever find their way to our shores? If it be said again, that the obnoxious communication has been widely published in the United States, it seems to me a sufficient rejoinder that the censure of a magnanimous Government in that case ought to fall on those of its own citizens who reproduce the libel, rather than on the foreigner who writes it exclusively for remote publication. Finally, interference with the press, even in the case of an existing insurrection, can be justified only on the ground of public danger. I do not see any such danger in the present case, even if one foreigner does pervert our hospitality to shelter himself in writing injurious publications against us for a foreign press. A hundred other foreigners as intelligent, as virtuous, and as respectable as he is, are daily enrolling themselves in the army of the United States, to defend and maintain the Union as the chief hope of humanity in all countries, and for all ages. Could there be a better illustration of that great fundamental truth of our system than that error of opinion may safely be tolerated when reason is left free to combat it."

There were, during the summer of 1861, also numerous arrests of individuals, sometimes of persons of influence, who were supposed to be rendering treasonable service to the rebellion by correspondence with the Confederate Government, or exciting hostility to the war; of others acting as agents or bankers; emissaries on their way to Europe, down to a humbler class of adventurers, who crept stealthily through the North on some trading scheme to supply the necessities of the South. Suspected persons were watched by the police in different parts of the country, and the circumstances reported to Washington. When the case was thought of sufficient consequence, an order was forwarded from the Department of State to lodge the accused in Fort Lafayette in New York harbor, the general receptacle or place of confinement for political offenders. As the grounds of these arrests were seldom made public, while the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* precluded any examination of the cases before judicial tribunals, and no official or other report has been, up to the time at which we write, made of the cases, it is of course impossible to pronounce any judgment on the necessity or wisdom of these measures. One hundred and seventy-five prisoners of State were committed to Fort Lafayette in three months, from July to October. Among them were not a few persons of political and social eminence, including Charles J. Faulkner, late Minister of the United States at Paris, James W. Wall of Burlington,

N. J., James G. Berrett, Mayor of Washington, D. C., Pierce Butler of Philadelphia, ex-Governor Charles F. Morehead of Kentucky, George P. Kane of Baltimore.

Some of the more influential and ardent of the ladies at Washington, who turned their position to account in favor of the Southern cause, were also placed under arrest and kept within the limits of their own houses. "Several interesting arrests have been made," says a special Washington despatch to the New York *Tribune*, under date of August 25th, "among them that of Mrs. Greenhow, widow of the former librarian and translator at the State Department, who died in California some years since; also Mrs. Philipps, wife of a former member of Congress from Alabama. Both are fashionable women, of a bold type of character, with rebel affinities, and are accused of carrying on treasonable correspondence, telling the enemy about our forces, fortifications, showing our weak points, and exaggerating everything in their favor, and enjoying intimate personal and epistolary relations with them. One of these women, who are under guard at their houses, with the family who refuse to leave them, boasts of her imprisonment, and calls from windows to passers-by, that theirs 'is a free country.'"

The general principles on which these arrests and other unusual proceedings were justified were, that the country was in a state of war, when the laws made for a state of peace were, from the necessity of the case, properly suspended, and that the President, who assumed and took upon his shoulders the responsibility of these extraordinary acts, was, as Commander-in-Chief, exercising a war power justified by his authority. The proceeding was defended by Mr. Edward Everett, who instanced a memorable precedent for his argument. "The governor of Malta," said he, "was once censured in Parliament for some alleged severity toward the editor of a journal in that island, and the liberty of the press was declared to be in danger. The Duke of Wellington said he was as friendly as anybody to the liberty of the press in London, but a free press in the island of Malta was as much out of place as it would be on the quarter-deck of a man-of-war. We suppose the most enthusiastic champion of the liberty of the press would hardly think it right to publish a journal within the walls of Fort McHenry, in which the officers of that garrison should be daily advised to desert, and the men be constantly exhorted to mutiny, and whose columns should be filled with persistent abuse of the Government and all engaged in its defence. Why should journals of that description be allowed to diffuse their poison within its walls amidst the excitable population of a large city?" This, of course, did not pledge Mr. Everett to approval of every exercise of an authority so delicate in its nature, and liable, in the hurry of events, to injudicious employment. While, undoubtedly, the force of his argument cannot be denied, yet no lover of liberty will dispute the risk of establishing precedents in a time of war which may be used to the disadvantage of the people by misguided or despotic rulers in periods of less real danger. It is impossible, with the evidence at present before us, to estimate the propriety of all the arrests, seizures, and other extraordinary interruptions by the Government, during this rebellion, of the rights of citizens as enjoyed in times of peace. They will be sifted hereafter by the diligent historian when the turmoil of conflict has passed away, and rightly, not so much for the censure of individuals, whose errors of judgment may be pardoned under such extraordinary circumstances, but for a warning of the dangers and calamities of war—one of the greatest evils of which is the opportunity which it presents for inflicting serious injuries upon the cause of civil liberty. It is the parent of innumerable woes in the myriads which it sends to horrid slaughter, and the countless agonies with which it burdens a whole generation; but its most deadly wounds are those which survive the memory of the battle-field, and are perpetuated in altered conditions of society, and new and less happy forms of government.

Another novelty to the American people at this time was the introduction of the passport system. It was adopted at a moment when great activity had been shown throughout the country by the enemy after their success at Bull Run; when the navigation of the Potomac was interrupted by their batteries; when they were reported to be approaching Maryland with designs upon the capital, which was supposed to be in danger; when the defeated army of General Lyon was in retreat from Springfield, and Fremont was calling lustily for troops; when agents of the Confederate States were busy in the North, and making their way to its ports to procure the materials of war, confer with their ambassadors abroad, and stimulate the friendly European opinion already enlisted on their side. On the 18th of August, a notice was issued from the State Department forbidding any person to enter or leave the country without a passport. The order thus read: "*To all whom it may Concern:* Until further notice, no person will be allowed to go abroad from a port of the United States without a passport either from this Department or countersigned by the Secretary of State. Nor will any person be allowed to land in the United States without a passport from a Minister or Consul of the United States, or, if a foreigner, from his government, countersigned by such Minister or Consul." The regulation was not to take effect in regard to persons coming from abroad until a reasonable time shall have elapsed for it to become known in the country from which they may proceed. A subsequent explanatory notice stated that the regulation was principally intended to check the communication of disloyal persons with Europe, and that, consequently, ordinary travellers on the lines of the railroads entering the British possessions would not be interfered with unless in any special case the agent of the Government on the border should object to their transit. Under this regulation, the starting of trans-Atlantic passengers sailing from the Northern ports was for a time quite active, and the free communication of rebel agents with their friends abroad became a matter of increased difficulty. Facilities were supplied in the chief cities for procuring passports. The regulation continued in force for a month or two, and was then dropped, to be revived again under peculiar cirumstances—to check the escape of persons from the country subject to military duty at the call of the Government. The very day the passport order reached New York, a call appeared in the journals from Mr. Cameron, Secretary of War, addressed to each Governor of the Northern States, requesting them immediately to forward to Washington "all volunteer regiments or parts of regiments, armed, equipped, or uniformed or not."* The activity which prevailed in supplying volunteers for the war may be judged from the fact that fifty-one recruiting stations, nearly all for supplying new regiments, were at this time open in the city of New York. There were thirty-one skeleton regiments formed at the same time at Philadelphia. Everywhere throughout the North, East, and West, a similar alacrity prevailed.

An opportunity presently occurred for the Secretary of State to put before the public the ground taken by the Government in justification of the arrests and the attendant suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. Two British subjects named Patrick and Rahming, having been arrested and sent to Fort Lafayette, her Majesty's minister at Washington, Lord Lyons, was induced to make the proceeding the subject of remonstrance, in the following letter to Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State. "Washington, Oct. 10, 1861. Sir: Her Majesty's Government were much concerned to find that two British subjects, Messrs. Patrick and Rahming, had been subjected to arbitrary arrest, and although they had learnt from a telegraphic dispatch from me that Mr. Patrick had been released, they could not but regard the matter as one requiring their very serious consideration. Her Majesty's Government perceive that when British subjects, as well as American citizens, are arrested, they are immediately transferred to a military prison, and that the military authorities refuse to pay obedience to a writ of *habeas corpus*. Her Majesty's Government conceive that this practice is directly opposed to the maxims of the Constitution of the United States 'that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.' Her Majesty's Government are willing, however, to make every allowance for the hard necessities of a time of internal trouble; and they would not have been surprised if the ordinary securities of personal liberty had been temporarily suspended, nor would they have complained if British subjects, falling under suspicion, had suffered from the consequences of that suspension. But it does not appear that Congress has sanctioned in this respect any departure from the due course of law; and it is in these circumstances that the law officers of the Crown have advised Her Majesty's Government that the arbitrary arrests of British subjects are illegal. So far as appears to Her Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State of the United States exercises, upon the reports of spies and informers, the power of depriving British subjects of their liberty, of retaining them in prison, or liberating them, on his own will and pleasure. Her Majesty's Government cannot but regard this despotic and arbitrary power as inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, as at variance with the treaties of amity subsisting between the two nations, and as tending to prevent the resort of British subjects to the United States for the purposes of trade and industry. Her Majesty's Government have therefore felt bound to instruct me to remonstrate against such irregular proceedings, and to say that, in their opinion, the authority of Congress is necessary in order to justify the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of British subjects."

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* Order of the War Department to the Governors of the Loyal States, August 19, 1861.

To this Mr. Seward replied the same day. He began by stating the circumstances under which the arrests were made. In the case of Mr. Patrick, it seems that a treasonable correspondence of disloyal persons in Alabama was discovered to be carried on with Europe by means of the house at New York in which he was a partner. Mr. Patrick was consequently committed to military custody at Fort Lafayette by the Secretary at War. When it was ascertained that he was personally loyal to the United States Government, and ignorant of the nature of the correspondence, he was promptly released. Mr. Rahming was arrested at New York on his arrival from Nassau, where he had attempted to induce the owner of the schooner Arctic to take cannon to Wilmington, N. C., for the use of the rebels. On these facts he was likewise sent to Fort Lafayette, by the Secretary of State, but was in a short time released on executing a bond that he would bear true allegiance to the country. The particular cases being thus disposed of, the Secretary took occasion to instruct the foreign Minister on the principles by which the Government had been guided in instituting proceedings which seemed so utterly unwarrantable to that gentleman, that he thought it necessary to inform the Administration of their grievous departure from the laws which the national officers of all men were bound to understand and respect, "I have to regret," said Mr. Seward, "that after so long an official intercourse between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, it should be necessary now to inform Her Majesty's Ministers that all executive proceedings, whether of the Secretary of War or of the Secretary of State, are, unless disavowed or revoked by the President, proceedings of the President of the United States. Certainly it is not necessary to announce to the British Government now, that an insurrection, attended by civil war and even social war, was existing in the United States when the proceedings which I have thus related took place. But it does seem necessary to state, for the information of that Government, that Congress is by the Constitution invested with no executive power or responsibility whatever, and, on the contrary, that the President of the United States is, by the Constitution and laws, invested with the whole executive power of the Government, and charged with the supreme direction of all municipal or ministerial civil agents, as well as of the whole land and naval forces of the Union, and that, invested with those ample powers, he is charged by the Constitution and laws with the absolute duty of suppressing insurrection as well as of preventing and repelling invasion; and that for these purposes he constitutionally exercises the right of suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, whenever and wheresoever and in whatsoever extent the public safety, endangered by treason or invasion in arms, in his judgment requires. The proceedings of which the British Government complain were taken on information conveyed to the President by the legal police authorities of the country, and they were not instituted until after he had suspended the great writ of freedom, in just the extent that, in view of the perils of the State, he deemed necessary. For the exercise of that discretion he, as well as his chief advisers, among whom are the Secretary of War and Secretary of State, is responsible by law before the highest judicial tribunal of the Republic, and amenable also to the judgment of his countrymen and the enlightened opinion of the civilized world. A candid admission contained in your letter relieves me of any necessity for showing that the two persons named therein were neither known nor supposed to be British subjects when the proceedings occurred, and that in every case subjects of her Majesty residing in the United States, and under their protection, are treated during the present troubles in the same manner, and with no greater or less rigor, than American citizens. The military prison which was used for the temporary detention of the suspected parties is a fort constructed and garrisoned for the public defence. The military officer charged with their custody has declined to pay obedience to the writ of *habeas corpus*, but the refusal was made in obedience to an express direction of the President, in the exercise of his functions as Commander-in-Chief of all the land and naval forces of the United States. Although it is not very important, it certainly is not entirely irrelevant to add, that so far as I am informed, no writ of *habeas corpus* was attempted to be served, or was even sued out or applied for in behalf of either of the persons named; although in a case not dissimilar the writ of *habeas corpus* was issued out in favor of another British subject, and was disobeyed by direction of the President.

"The British Government have candidly conceded, in the remonstrances before me, that even in this country, so remarkable for so long an enjoyment by its people of the highest immunities of personal freedom, war, and especially civil war, cannot be conducted exclusively in the forms and with the dilatory remedies provided by municipal laws, which are adequate to the preservation of public order in time of peace. Treason always operates, if possible, by surprise, and prudence and humanity therefore equally require that violence concocted in secret shall be prevented, if practicable, by unusual and vigorous precaution. I am fully aware of the inconveniences which result from the practice of such precaution, embarrassing communities in social life, and affecting, perhaps, trade and intercourse with foreign nations. But the American people, after having tried in every way to avert civil war, have accepted it at last as a stern necessity. The chief interests, while it lasts, are not the enjoyments of society, or the profits of trade, but the saving of the national life. That life saved, all the other blessings which attend it will speedily return, with greater assurance of continuance than ever before. The safety of the whole people has become, in the present emergency, the supreme law; and so long as the danger shall exist, all classes of society equally, the denizen and the citizen, cheerfully acquiesce in the measures which that law prescribes. The Government does not question the learning of the legal advisers of the British Crown, or the justice of the deference which her Majesty pays to them. Nevertheless, the British Government will hardly expect that the President will accept their explanations of the Constitution of the United States, especially when the Constitution, thus expounded, would leave upon him the sole executive responsibility of suppressing the existing insurrection, while it would transfer to Congress the most material and indispensable power to be employed for that purpose. Moreover, these explanations find no real support in the letter, and much less in the spirit of the Constitution itself. He must be allowed, therefore, to prefer to be governed by the view of our organic national law which, while it will enable him to execute his great trust with complete success, receives the sanction of the highest authorities of our own country, and is sustained by the general consent of the people for whom alone that Constitution was established."

In this correspondence it was generally conceded that Mr. Seward gained an easy diplomatic triumph. His letter was also valuable at home for its clear exhibition of the position of the Government in the matter of arrests. Simultaneously with this correspondence between Mr. Seward and Lord Lyons, a circular, issued on the 14th of October, directed to the Governors of the Northern States on the seaboard and lakes, was thought to exhibit some uneasiness on the part of the Government as to the possible military interference of foreign powers, especially of England; though it was probably intended only to call the attention of the people to the serious responsibilities of the struggle in which they were engaged, and to show foreign powers that the nation was fully resolved to maintain its independent action. The circular invited attention to the improvement of the defences of the loyal States, and suggested an immediate expenditure for the purpose. The motives for this request were thus presented: "The present insurrection had not even revealed itself in arms when disloyal citizens hastened to foreign countries to awake their intervention for the overthrow of the Government and the destruction of the Federal Union. These agents are known to have made their appeals to some of the more important States without success. It is not likely, however, that they will remain content with such refusals. Indeed, it is understood that they are industriously endeavouring to accomplish their disloyal purposes by degrees and by indirection. Taking advantage of the embarrassments of agriculture and manufacture and commerce in foreign countries, resulting from the insurrection they have inaugurated at home, they seek to involve our common country in controversies with States with which every public interest, and every interest of mankind, require that it shall remain in relations of peace, amity and friendship. I am able to state, for your satisfaction, that the prospect of any such disturbance is now less serious than it has been at any previous period during the course of the insurrection. It is, nevertheless, necessary now, as it has hitherto been, to take every precaution that is possible to avoid the evils of foreign war, to be superinduced upon those of civil commotion, which we are endeavoring to cure. One of the most obvious of such precautions is that our ports and harbors on the seas and lakes should be put in a condition of complete defence for any nation that may be said to voluntarily incur danger in tempestuous seasons when it fails to show that it has sheltered itself on every side from which the storm might possibly come."

A correspondence of this period between two eminent bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in America, the Right

Rev. P. N. Lynch, Bishop of Charleston, S. C., and Archbishop Hughes of New York, brings before us with some distinctness the relative condition, hopes and prospects of the two portions of the country. The letter of Bishop Lynch was dated Charleston, August 4, 1861, and in some roundabout way passed the blockade in season to elicit a reply from the Archbishop, dated the 23d of the month, which, in the absence of post-office communication, was printed in the Catholic newspaper, the *Metropolitan Record.* As both letters were doubtless written with an eye to the public, the end was thus directly gained in spite of the regulations restricting all intercourse between the North and the South. Passing over the oft-repeated discussion of the origin of the war, already variously presented in these pages, we find the following passages of an historical interest bearing directly upon the present state of the struggle, more than six months after the first decided steps taken in the secession movement at Charleston: "What a change," writes Bishop Lynch to his friend, "has come over these States since I wrote to you a long letter last November, and even since I had the pleasure of seeing you last March. All that I anticipated in that letter has come to pass, and more than I looked for. All the hopes cherished last spring, of a peaceable solution, have vanished before the dread realities of war. What is still before us? Missouri, Maryland and Kentucky are nearer secession now than Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee were four months ago. Missouri is a battle-field. I think that President Davis, after the victory at Stonebridge, will probably, as his next move, throw a column into Maryland. Kentucky will, ere long, be drawn into the struggle, and the United States will, in less than ten months, be divided into two not unequal parts, marshaling hundreds of thousands of men against each other." Missouri, Maryland and Kentucky were indeed to be the scene of the rivalry of the contending parties during the period indicated, but with a result more favorable to the Union cause than the writer probably expected.

The following speculations on the conduct and duration of the war which Sumter had inaugurated, and for which the recent contest at Bull Run had opened an indefinite future, are of interest, expressing as they do the opinions of this period of an intelligent and well informed observer, in a position of such high influence and authority at the South. "The war," writes Bishop Lynch, "was unnecessary in the beginning. It brings ruin to thousands in its prosecution. It will be fruitless of any good. At its conclusion the parties will stand apart exhausted and embittered by it; for every battle, however won or lost, will have served but to widen the chasm between the North and South, and to render more difficult, if not impossible, any future reconstruction. Will it be a long war, or a short and mighty one? The Cabinet and the Northern press has pronounced for the last. Yet this is little more than an idle dream. What could 400,000 men do? I do not think there is a general on either side able to fight 50,000 men. And the North would need eight or ten such generals. Certainly the 40,000 under McDowell, after five hour's fighting, fought on mechanically without any generalship. The higher officers had completely lost the guiding reins. On our side the Southern troops ought to have been in Washington within forty-eight hours. But the 40,000 on the Confederate side were, I apprehend, too unwieldy a body for our generals. Did not Bonaparte say, that 'not one of his marshals could general 50,000 men in battle? Soult could bring them to the field, and place them properly, but could go no further.' But without generals, what could 400,000 men do against the South? By force of numbers, and at great loss, they might take city after city. But unless they left large permanent garrisons, their authority would die out with the sound of their drums. Such an army marching through a country covered with forests and thickets, and occupied by a population hostile to a man, and where even school-boys can 'bark a squirrel,' would be decimated every hundred miles of its progress by a guerrilla warfare, against which it could find no protection. This mode of attacking the South can affect nothing beyond the loss of life it will entail, and the temporary devastation that will mark the track of the armies. . . . . . One other warlike course remains—to capture and hold all the Southern ports, and thus seek to control commerce independent of secession, leaving the interior of the South to fret and fume as it pleases. This is the problem of belling the cat. The Northern forces would have to capture Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Wilmington, N. C., Pensacola, Mobile, New Orleans and Galveston, besides some fifteen other similar points. At each of them they would find a stone bridge; and even if they should succeed, they could only hold military possession, and be ever in arms against the attacks of the State authorities. Peace could never be established by any such course. It would not be successful, and even if successful—it would never subjugate it."

Thus much for the active prosecution of the war. Looking at it on the other hand as a controversy to be finally determined in the slow exhaustion of the resources of the combatants, he found the North and the South thus relatively situated, "That portion of the former United States will suffer most in such a contest, and must finally succumb, which is least able to dispense with the support it received from the other two sections. How the North can do without our Southern trade I presume it can judge after three or four months' trial. But it would seem that the failure to sell to the South one hundred and twenty millions of their manufactures each year, the stoppage of so much of their shipping interest as was engaged in the two hundred and twenty millions of our foreign exports, and the return importations, and in our internal coasting trade, together with the loss of the profits and commissions on so vast a business, must have a very serious effect, one that I see no way of escaping. Truly, the North has to pay dearly for its whistle of Black Republicanism. The North-west depended partially on the South for a market for its productions, and so far will suffer from the loss of it. It must also be incidentally affected by commercial embarrassments at the North. They will assuredly have enough to eat and to wear, but the 'fancy' prices of real estate and stocks, by which they computed their rapidly increasing wealth, must fall in a way to astonish Wall Street. Should their own crops fail, as they sometimes do, or should the European crops be abundant, their commerce must fall. Yet, as the mass of the poor will have all that they ever get anywhere—food and raiment, and that without stint — the North-west will suffer comparatively little. How will it fare with the South should the war be long and so powerfully waged as to require the Southern Confederation to keep say 100,000 men in arms, and if her ports are strictly blockaded? This is an important question, and one that can be answered only from a practical knowledge of the habits, resources, and dispositions of the Southern people. Our needs will be provisions, clothing, money for the governmental and war expenses, and for the purchase from abroad of what we absolutely require, and are not already supplied with. As for provisions, I am satisfied that this season we are gathering enough for two years' abundant supply. Every one is raising corn, wheat and stock. On this point the South need not envy the North-west. Again, manufactures of every kind are springing up on all sides. In this State we are providing for our wants—from lucifer matches and steam engines to powder and rifled cannon. Clothing, too, though of a ruder texture, and sometimes inferior quality, is abundantly made, and easily procured. The supply of tea and coffee will, I presume, in time run out. This will put us to some trouble, but otherwise, neither for provisions nor for clothes, will the South be seriously inconvenienced. The blacks (by-the-by, more quiet and orderly now, if possible, than before), will remain devoted to agriculture, while the rapidly increasing demand for home productions of every kind gives ready employment to the poorer clsses of the whites. What amount of gold and silver there is within the Confederate States I can only guess at — I suppose about 25,000,000. But as the greater part of our expenses is at home, any currency we are satisfied to use will do—whether bank bills, Confederate bonds, or treasury notes. When we go abroad it must be with gold or with cotton. This last is the spinal column of our financial system. The following is the proposed mode of operating with it: two millions, or two-and-a-half, of bales will be conveyed to the Confederate government, to be paid for in bonds or treasury notes. This cotton will be worth, at ordinary prices, $100,000,000. If it can be exported at once, it is so much gold. If it is retained, it will form the security for any loan that may be required abroad. The other third of the cotton will be sold by the planters as best they can on their own account. The chief difficulty is the blockade, which may prevent the export and sale abroad of the cotton. A loan on it as security, while it is still unshipped, and scattered in the interior in numberless small warehouses, could not easily be effected.

"Up to the present time, and for six months more, the blockade, so far from doing any serious injury, has, on the contrary, benefited, and will continue to benefit, the South, forcing us to be active, and to do for ourselves much that we preferred formerly to pay others to do for us. I presume that next January, with a crop of 3,500,000 or 4,000,000 bales in hand, the South would become very restive under a strict blockade. Should it continue twelve months longer, property at the South would go down, as they say it has in New York. But before that time comes, another very serious complication arises - - how England and France will stand the cutting off of the supply of an article on which depend two-thirds of the manufacturing interests of the one, and one-third of those of the other? They cannot, try they never so much, supply the deficiency. As far as the feelings of England are concerned, and I presume, those of France, too, both nations are decidedly and bitterly anti-slavery; but neither will be guilty of the mistake of the North, and utterly sacrifice vast interests for the sake of a speculative idea. If they find they cannot do without Southern cotton, they will interfere, first probably to make peace, and if that effort fails, then in such other manner as will secure for them what will be a necessity. Mr. Seward's letter to Dayton, and its reception in Europe, the transportation of troops to Canada, and Admiral Milne's declaration as to the inefficiency of the blockade, are straws already showing the probable course of future events. Is the Federal Government strong enough for a war with England and France, in addition to that with the South?"

Archbishop Hughes, in his reply, defended with spirit the attitude of the North, treating the war as a sad necessity for the preservation of the Government and the State, and the avoidance of the intolerable evils of anarchy and perpetual hostilities. Some points in his remarks are worth noting. Of the object of the war, he said, "There appears to be an idea in the South that the Federal Government and the people of the North are determined to conquer and subjugate them. This, I think, is a great mistake. First, in the stern sense of the word 'conquer,' it seems to be utterly impossible; and, if possible, I think it would be undesirable and injurious both to the North and to the South. Unless I have been deceived by statements considered reliable, I would say that the mind of the North looks only to the purpose of bringing back the seceded States to their organic condition *ante bellum*."

As Christian Bishops, the thoughts of these writers were turned to the prospects of peace, which both desired; but which neither had, for some time to come, much ground to hope for. The remarks of Archbishop Hughes on this subject, proposing a possible plan of adjustment, sufficiently demonstrate the perplexities of the question. "That word 'peace,'" said he, "is becoming more or less familiar here in the North. In a crisis like this it is not, in my opinion, expressive of a sound principle or a safe policy. Its meaning changes the basis and the issue of this melancholy war. If changed, it will be a war, not between the South and the North, geographically considered, but a war between the two great political parties that divide the country. Instead of this partisan hostility, wise patriots should rival each other in restoring or preserving the Union as one nation, its prosperity, and the protection of happiness of its entire people, in all their legitimate rights. But all this is to be judged of by others, and the opinion of any individual is of the smallest account. If a word of mine could have the slightest influence, I would suggest that even while the war is going on, there might be a convention of the seceded States held within their own borders. It might be one representative appointed from each of those States, by the governor, to meet and examine the whole case as it now stands — arrange and draw up a report of their grievances, or what they consider such—and report to their respective Governors the result of their deliberations, and the conclusions at which they have arrived. The same process might be adopted in the States that have not seceded, and similar reports made to their respective Governors. This would be only a preparatory measure for something more important. If a better feeling or understanding could be even partially arrived at, a future convention of all the States, by their representatives, would have something to act upon. The difficulties might be investigated and provided for; the Constitution might be revised by general consent, and if the platform — sufficiently ample for 3,000,000 at the period when the Constitution was formed—is found to be neither of breadth nor strength to support a population of 33,000,000, wise and patriotic men might suggest, according to the rules prescribed in the original document, the improvements which the actual condition of the country would seem to require. The Constitution itself, in its letter and spirit, is no doubt the same as it was when first framed; but everything around us has been undergoing a change for the last eighty years. For a peace of that kind I would be a very sincere, if not an influential advocate. But to expect that a peace will spring up by the advocacy of individuals in the midst of the din and clash of arms, amid the mutually alienated feelings of the people, and the widening of the breach which has now separated them, would be, in my opinion, hoping against hope. Still we must trust that the Almighty will overrule and direct the final issues of this lamentable contest."

CHAPTER XL.

THE CRUISE OF THE SUMTER.

THE privateer, or ship of war, as she claimed herself to be, of the greatest repute in the service of the Confederates at this period, was undoubtedly the Sumter, sailing under the command of Captain Raphael Semmes. This officer had been of some note in the United States Navy. A native of the State of Maryland, he had entered the service in 1826, and since that time had been employed in eleven years of active service at sea, and about ten years' duty on shore. He had borne a part of considerable distinction in the naval operations on the coast of Mexico in the war with that nation in 1846–'7, as Flag-Lieutenant of the squadron, and Lieutenant-Commanding the ill-fated United States brig Somers. He succeeded Commander Ingraham in charge of this vessel at the end of October, 1846, and was actively engaged in an efficient prosecution of the blockade till the sudden destruction of his vessel on the 8th of the ensuing December. While in pursuit of a vessel apparently endeavoring to run the blockade, the Somers was struck by a heavy norther, and being lightly ballasted, was thrown on her beam-ends, and in ten minutes sunk in the waves. In this brief interval Lieutenant Semmes acted with praiseworthy seamanship and heroism. After doing all that could be done to save the vessel, he gave orders to preserve as many of the crew as possible, launching a boat with success, and placing on board of her several officers and seventeen men, who were unable to swim, with directions to make for the neighboring Verde Island and return for others. He himself remained in the fast-sinking ship to share the fortunes of his comrades in a plunge into the deep. Being a good swimmer he reached a floating portion of the wreck, and was presently rescued in the midst of the tempest by his ship's boat returning from the shore. Of seventy-six persons composing the crew of the Somers, thirty-nine were lost in this disaster. The entire conduct of Lieutenant Semmes in this emergency appears to have been marked by exemplary presence of mind.*

Lieutenant Semmes was then reattached to the Flag-ship, and continued in service in the squadron till the following April, when he was employed on a mission into the interior to the Mexican Government, to secure the safety of Midshipman R. C. Rogers, who, while attached to the Somers, had been captured on the shore in an attempt at night to gain information of the topography of the country, with a view to the destruction of a powder magazine of the enemy. The Mexicans, it was stated, threatened to try him as a spy, and Lieutenant Semmes was charged by Commodore Perry with a mission to the proper Minister in Mexico, to demand his release. At Jalapa he had some correspondence with General Scott on the object of his journey, that officer thinking that the matter, with other arrangements for the exchange of prisoners, should be left in his hands. The affair ended in sending forward Captain Kearney from Puebla with a flag of truce to negotiate an exchange. Lieutenant Semmes accompanied the flag, and some ineffectual negotiations were had at the outposts of the army, when the object of the expedition, so far as Lieutenant Semmes was specially concerned, was brought to an end by the appearance of Midshipman Rogers himself in Puebla, after an adventurous escape from the City of Mexico. Lieutenant Semmes then finding himself in the midst of the operations for the reduction of the capital, became attached as aid-de-camp to General Worth, and bore his part in the battles in the valley of Mexico—of all which, with the entry into the city, and his previous naval service on the coast, he afterwards published an interesting account, in a well-written volume, entitled "Service Afloat and Ashore during the Mexican War."

A passage from that work, in the concluding portion, where the author estimates "the great advantages which are to accrue both to Mexico and ourselves" from the war with that country, curiously exhibits the sentiments of the author in 1851, when his book was published, in reference to some of the political questions directly involved in the great Rebellion in which Lieutenant Semmes became so active a participant. "In my opinion," says he, "the salvation of our institutions depends, in a great degree upon a reasonable extension of our limits. This is the only thing which will rob faction of its bitterness, if it does not entirely destroy it. Fanaticism, whether religious, political or social, is always local; it never spreads unless indeed it be spread as the great Arabian enthusiast spread his faith by the sword. And the reason why it does not spread is, that it is error; and error, although it may be contagious in small districts, like the plague, can never inundate a vast country. Of what comparative importance is it at the present day, when our immense territory extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans; that a meeting to denounce a law of the Union, or for any other disloyal and treasonable purpose, is held in Faneuil Hall, in the good city of Boston? The little actors on this little stage may make themselves as ridiculous as they please, but the President of this great Republic will quietly point them to the map, to remind them that the Massachusetts of the old thirteen is not the Massachusetts of the thirty—forty—fifty—a hundred States! And that she is as powerless now for evil as she was formerly powerful for good. The Federal officers, armed with a *posse comitatus*, if need be, from the Pacific, will disperse her mobs, however composed, and execute the process which represents the majesty of twenty—thirty—forty—fifty millions of people. As our territorial limits increase, the individual States will become less and less important, and local jealousies and heart-burnings will scarcely produce more effect upon the nation at large than does the gossiping of a remote village upon a metropolitan city. Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts, and the Whisky Rebellion in Pennsylvania threw the whole country into commotion, and caused the Executive much anxiety and a good deal of trouble before they could be quelled. We should regard these things at the present day as mere 'tempests in a tea-pot.' And where is the solution for this? In the fact that then St. Mary's in Georgia was our southern boundary, whereas now our flag floats proudly on the shores of the boundless Pacific! The diversity of climates, productions and pursuits, will be so many additional motives for adhesion, making us, comparatively more dependent upon each other, and binding us together in one great free-trades' union. While these great ends are accomplished, each State will be as independent in all local concerns as before, and except in a few prescribed particulars, will be, to all intents and purposes, sovereign. It is this particularity of our system which befits it for extension almost *ad infinitum*, in contradistinction to central and consolidated governments. As for commerce, it is only necessary to remark, that our Pacific front opens to us, and will enable us to monopolize almost all the commerce of the East Indies, and of the west coast of America, north and south. This will make us the carriers and the factors of the world. Twenty years hence and it will be no longer Britannia, but America, 'rules the waves.' But it would require a volume to enumerate all the advantages which have accrued, and are yet to accrue to us, from the Mexican war."*

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* Lieutenant Semmes to Commodore Perry, U. S. frigate Raritan, December 10, 1846.

It is to be regretted that Captain Semmes thought himself called upon to relinquish these encouraging prospects of a mighty empire for the revolutionary project of its destruction. When the Southern rebellion ripened to actual revolt, he abandoned the service of the national Government, and, in command of the Sumter, became one of the most active agents of the Confederates.

The first notice we have of this vessel in the rebel service is in the message of President Jefferson Davis, in April, 1861, to the Provisional Congress at Montgomery. He there speaks of her as one of two purchased vessels, which had been named the *Sumter* and *Macree*, and which were then being prepared for sea with all possible dispatch. The Sumter was formerly the Marquis de la Habana, a propeller steamer plying between Havana and New Orleans as a packet, and always noted as an extraordinary fast sailor. After the purchase from the Spanish owners, she was entirely refitted for naval service; the upper works with the cabins were removed, to afford a clear deck, and new machinery was inserted, working below the water-line. Her armament consisted of four 32-pounder rifled guns, and one rifled 68 on a pivot, to which a 12-pounder field howitzer was added. Her chief officers, when she was placed in commission in the beginning of June, were Captain Semmes, Lieutenants John M. Kells, R. F. Chapman, W. E. Evans, and J. M. Stripling, with a complement of 114 men. She was shortly after brought down the river to the forts at the entrance, and the remainder of the month was passed in drill and preparation for sea, awaiting an opportunity for running the blockade, which was maintained at the mouth of the Mississippi by the United States steam sloops Brooklyn and Powhatan. At length, on the last day of June, it being ascertained that the blockading vessels were temporarily out of the way, the Sumter ran out to sea. She had scarcely, however, crossed the bar when the Brooklyn was perceived in chase of a sailing vessel, which was immediately given up for the pursuit of the Sumter. A trial of speed now ensued between the two war steamers with every inch of canvas spread, which was continued for several hours, when, by the extraordinary efforts of the Confederate vessel—her field howitzer being thrown overboard to lighten her—she gained on her competitor, and the Brooklyn returned to her station on the blockade.

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* Service Afloat and Ashore, pp. 473-4.

When he perceived that the pursuit was abandoned, Captain Semmes, rejoicing in the liberty of the seas, called all hands on deck, and gave three lusty cheers for the Southern Confederacy. The first trophy of his cruise was the capture, off the Isle of Pines, on the 3d of July, of the ship Golden Rocket, of Maine, of 600 tons, valued at $40,000. The officers and crew were taken off, and after being rifled of specie, provisions, extra sails, and whatever was available, the ship was burnt to the water's edge. "The flames," says an enthusiastic sailor of the Sumter, in a letter intercepted by one of our cruizers in the Gulf, "leaped wild and high. First the fire ascended the mizzen-mast, and ran along the deck to the main, and then to the foremast. I have seen many beautiful sights, but this burning vessel was the most sublimely-grand sight my eyes ever witnessed." The next day Captain Semmes celebrated the national anniversary by the capture of the brigantines Cuba and Machias, laden with sugar, both of Maine. On the 5th and 6th five other Northern vessels, also laden with sugar, fell prizes to the Sumter. Seven of the captured vessels were carried in to Cienfuegos, where they were held for the benefit of the captors, under protection of the authorities till directions should be received as to their disposal from the home government. The matter immediately became the subject of earnest remonstrance from Washington, as a violation of the Royal Proclamation, when the affair presently ended in the release of the vessels to their rightful owners, an examination of the case, proving to the satisfaction of the Captain-General of the Island of Cuba that the captures had been made in waters within the jurisdiction of the island, and under unlawful circumstances.*

One of these early prizes of the Sumter, the brig Cuba, failed to reach the port of Cienfuegos, to which she had been ordered with the rest. On her capture a prize crew, consisting of a midshipman, two sailors, and two marines, had been put on board of her, under whose threats she was navigated by her crew, till the 7th, when Captain Strout, with his officers, secured the arms, put the captors in irons, and regained possession of the vessel. He presently sent the two sailors on to New York by a brig which he fell in with, and pursued his way to the same port without further adventure than a somewhat threatening scene with the rebel prize officer, Midshipman A. D. Hudgins, a Virginian, who had been educated at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. This person succeeded in getting hold of a pistol, and mounted with it to the maintop, from which place he held a parley with the Captain on deck, threatening his life if he should go below for arms. Captain Strout, however, not intimidated, went into the cabin, procured a revolver, and called upon the gentleman to descend. To this at first he paid no attention, but when two shots were fired at him, one of which took effect in his shoulder, the order was obeyed.

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* Mr. Tassara, Spanish Minister at Washington, to Mr. Seward, August 9, 1861.

Leaving Cienfuegos on the 7th of July, the Sumter continued her cruise among the West India Islands, "without having fallen in with anything" for ten days, when she put in at St. Anne's, Curacoa, where she remained for a week taking in large supplies of coals and provisions. Her officers and crew were meanwhile hospitably entertained by the inhabitants. "Our intercourse with the citizens of this place," says the sailor in the intercepted letter just quoted, "was very pleasant, and we left with regret." The authorities of the port were even zealous in their devotion to the interests of the privateer. When one of her crew deserted they ordered his arrest, and not succeeding at once in finding him, they promised to continue the search and hold the runaway in custody, "to be surrendered to the pirate captain on his return homeward to the Island."* On the 25th, the second day out from the Dutch island, the Sumter captured off Laguayra, the schooner Abby Bradford of Boston, and carried her into Porto Cabello. The government of Venezuela, having resolved to prohibit the admission of all vessels bearing the Confederate flag into its ports, except in cases of distress, the captured vessel was not received there, and was sent to New Orleans with a prize crew. She was recaptured on her route to Berwicks' Bay, on the 13th of August, by the United States steamer Powhatan.

The Sumter, unable to gain admission into the harbor at Porto Cabello, continued her voyage on the Spanish main, and presently fell in with and captured the bark Joseph Maxwell of Philadelphia, laden with some 600 barrels of flour. She returned with this prize to Porto Cabello, but the authorities still refusing an entrance to either vessel, a portion of the crew of the Maxwell was landed, and the vessel sent to Cienfuegos, where she was handed over to the American Consul. The mate and crew were carried by the Sumter to Port of Spain, in the British Island of Trinidad. Previously to setting them free at that port Captain Semmes called the mate to his room, and informed him that his object in bringing him and the crew to that place was to ascertain whether any punishment had been inflicted on the crew of the Savannah, because if there had been he would have strung every man of them up to the yard-arm the moment he went outside of the Bocas, and that he would hang every captain and crew he took afterward.*

The Sumter arrived at Trinidad on the 30th of July, landed her eight prisoners in a destitute condition, and remained till the 5th of August taking in supplies of coal and other necessary outfits. The officers and crew were civilly received, as private gentlemen, by the authorities of the island and the officers of the British war vessel Cadmus, Captain Hillyar,—"the most friendly intercourse exists between the two commanders and their officers," says an officer of the Sumter, in his account of the cruise, "the English here treat us more like princes than plain Republican Americans"†—and it was further reported to the Secretary of State at Washington, by Mr. Francis Bernard, a loyal American on the island, that the English flag had been hoisted on the Government flag-staff in honor of the arrival of the privateer. These circumstances were made a subject of remonstrance to the British Government, as a violation of the rights and dignities of the United States, when they were in part explained, and in part justified, as within the rules of the Queen's Proclamation. The hoisting of the flag was represented by Lord John Russell, in the absence of positive information on the subject, as probably intended "to show the national character of the island, and not in acknowledgment of the arrival of the Sumter." The law officers of the Crown saw no illegality in the aid rendered to the vessel. Mr. Seward, in his review of the case, considered the explanations unsatisfactory, and protested against the conclusions of Her Majesty's Government as an encouragement to piracy, tending to the universal derangement of commerce, and opposed to the common interest of all civilized countries.*

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* Mr. Seward to Mr. Pike, Minister at the Hague, August 15, 1861.

* A mercantile letter from Port of Spain, August 1, 1861. New York *Tribune*, September 3, 1861.

† Cruise of the Sumter, from the private journal of one of her officers. The *Cornhill Magazine*, August, 1862.

Leaving Trinidad, the Sumter, after some ten days' voyaging, arrived off the harbor of the French port of Cayenne, when, being denied admission, she sailed to Paramaribo, in Dutch Guiana. There the hospitalities which had been extended to the privateering vessel at Curacoa, were abundantly renewed. These attentions were not long after brought to the notice of the Government of the Netherlands by Mr. Seward, and the Minister at the Hague, Mr. Pike, who had been already engaged in a voluminous discussion with Baron Von Zuylen, the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the questions growing out of the liberal reception of the Sumter at Curacoa, the Dutch Government having forbidden the use of its ports to privateers of any flag. The Baron considered the Sumter a ship of war, and holding the Confederate States as belligerents, maintained the vessel was entitled to the right of hospitality; moreover, she appeared as a vessel in distress. To these positions, especially, the former, Mr. Seward, lustily objected. "The United States," he wrote, "unreservedly claim to determine for themselves absolutely the character of the Sumter, she being a vessel fitted out, owned, armed, sailed and directed by American citizens, who owe allegiance to the United States, and who neither have nor can, in their piratical purposes and pursuits, have any political authority from any lawful source whatever. The United States regard the vessel as piratical, and the persons by whom she is manned and navigated as pirates." * The matter was adjusted by fresh instructions sent to the colonial authorities of the Netherlands in October, enjoining them not to admit, unless in case of shelter from stress, the vessels of war and privateers of the two belligerent parties, unless for twice twenty-four hours, and not to permit them when they are steamers, to provide themselves with a quantity of coal more than sufficient for a run of twenty-four hours. With this substantial abridgement of the rights of hospitality to the rebel vessels, so bountifully extended by the Dutch colonists, the Government at Washington rested content. "Felicitate the government of the Netherlands," wrote Mr. Seward at the end of the discussion to the Minister at the Hague, "as we felicitate ourselves on the renewed auguries of good and cordial relations between friends too old to be alienated thoughtlessly, or from mere impatience." †

Leaving Dutch Guiana on the 30th of August, the Sumter sailed along the coast of South America southwardly, and on the 5th of September took refuge for ten days in the port of San Juan de Maranham, in Brazil. The Confederate steamer, in her wanderings, seemed to have a predilection for visiting a variety of nations — a circumstance to be accounted for on the principle that a rogue is under the necessity of frequently changing his locality. The Gulf was now quite too well watched for her operations. Various ships of the United States navy—the Niagara, Key Stone State, Powhatan, Iroquois—and others had been sent out on her track, but by want of concert and good management on their part, or by a special good luck of the craft of which they were in pursuit, though always on the eve of being captured, much to the impatience of the shipping interest of the Atlantic States, and the chagrin of the Department, the latter was never caught. The steamer Powhatan had been in quest of her since the capture of the Abby Bradford, which put her in possession of papers affording indications of her movements. That United States ship had sought her on the coast of Cuba, at Curacoa, at Barbadoes, and getting track of her at Surinam, eager for her prey, had pushed on to Maranham, to find that the fortunate Sumter had left the harbor but three days before. Owing to the necessity of coaling, a slow operation in this port, six days elapsed before the Powhatan could be ready to renew the chase.

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* Earl Russell to Mr. Adams, October 4, 1861. Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams, October 29, 1861.

* Mr. Seward to Mr. Pike, October 17, 1861.

† Mr. Seward to Mr. Pike, November 23, 1861

A letter writer on board this vessel gives an account of the state of affairs which he found existing at Maranham: "The people," says he, "from the Governor down are *Sumter-mad*, and politics run as high as ever they did in the South—the Brazilians sympathizing almost to a man with the secessionists, under the impression that the South was fighting the battle of Brazil, fighting to protect their property in slaves. Addresses were made by Captain Semmes to the Governor and people of Maranham, in which he used the most specious arguments to prove that after the North had abolished slavery in the Southern States she would turn her attention to abolishing slavery in the Brazilian empire. Of course the arrival of the Powhatan was looked upon with distrust, and a reward of five hundred dollars (made by an American) to any one who would knock a hole in her bottom, so that she could not follow the Sumter, was received with great favor."* The cordial reception given to this marauding crew by the provincial or insular representatives of nations with which the United States were on the best of terms, exhibits a singular perversity of sympathy, based generally on the most unworthy considerations, with the Southern rebellion.

Sailing from Maranham, the Sumter, on the 25th September, overtook and captured the bark Joseph Park, Captain T. L. Briggs, from Pernambuco to Turk's Island, and a day or two afterward, fearful of losing the company of his prize, Captain Semmes brought his vessel alongside, transferred the stores of the bark to his deck, and then having made a target of her for awhile, set her on fire. One hundred and sixty-five sovereigns, with which Captain Briggs was commissioned to buy salt fell into the hands of Captain Semmes. The captured crew appear to have been well treated, and three of them were won over to enlist and share the fortunes of the privateer. It was dull work now for the Sumter. "Nearly one month," writes, on the 22d October, the officer whose journal of her cruise we have already cited, "has elapsed since the capture of the Joseph Park, and not a single sail has been seen during that time. We think of the Yankee's boast, that their sails whiten the ocean!" It is amusing to see how coolly these scapegraces throw aside their nationality, and how thoughtlessly they transfer their share of the national boasting or honor, as it may be, to the Yankee portion of the race. This monotonous sailing in those dull, equatorial regions to which the Sumter was now limited by the Northern gun-boats, and other craft in search of her, was however pleasantly relieved a day or two after by "a blessing from her guardian angel, in a pretty little schooner the Daniel Trowbridge, crammed with everything in the eating line we could desire. Early this morning (continues with unction the enthusiastic journalist of the cruise on the 29th of October), a boat was sent off to the prize for a supply of fresh provisions, and returned with sheep, pigs, potatoes and an abundant supply of fowl—luxuries we had not indulged in for a long time. During the excellent dinner we enjoyed to-day, many thanks were expressed for the kindness of Uncle Abe in thus remembering us in our hour of need—of fresh provisions."

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* The pursuit of the Sumter. Moore's Rebellion Record, III., 262.

During the following week the Sumter overhauled a number of vessels, but, greatly to the disappointment of her crew, they were all protected by the British flag. On the 9th of November she put in at the French harbor of Port Royal, in Martinique, and a few days after removed to the commercial town of St. Pierre, in the same island. It was here that she had the narrowest escape from capture of any recorded on her log. The United States steamer Iroquois, Commander James S. Palmer, was on the 12th of September coaling at the neighboring island of St. Thomas, when word was brought of the presence of the Sumter at Martinique. Hurrying off on the instant, in thirty-six hours Captain Palmer was at St. Pierre. "On turning into the harbor," says he, in his dispatch, "I discovered a suspicious steamer, which, as we approached proved to be the Sumter, flying the secession flag, moored to the wharf, in the midst of this populous town, quietly coaling. The town and shipping in the harbor were instantly all excitement. I could not attack her in this position for humanity's sake, even were I disposed to be regardless of the neutrality of the port. I did not anchor, but cruised around the harbor within half gun-shot of her during the night."

These demonstrations caused something of a fluttering on board the Sumter. The officer's journal of her cruise describes the arrival and this proceeding of the United States vessel. "*November* 14. The Iroquois has arrived! When first opening the harbor she was disguised; her yards were braced every way, the Danish flag flying at her peak. But this ruse did not deceive us, for many had seen her before. Having taken her position in front of the harbor she hoisted the Stars and Stripes, while some of her crew set to work at something on her forecastle—doubtless mounting the forward pivot gun, a 120-pounder. The Iroquois is a magnificent looking craft, bark-rigged, carrying six heavy guns. As soon as she hoisted the United States flag crowds of people collected on the quays to get a good look at her, some of them even expecting that she would give us battle then and there. Preparations were immediately made for this event. Our ship was cleared for action. The carpenter's gang were set to work making shot-plugs. At twilight all hands were mustered on the quarter-deck, where small arms were served out; and look-outs were doubled fore and aft. *November* 15. Last night about 11 o'clock, the Iroquois was seen approaching the Sumter. Immediately all hands were called with as little noise as possible. No drum beat to quarters; but 'boys, rouse up, the Iroquois is alongside ready to grapple us!' was sufficient to clear the gun-deck of hammocks in a remarkably short space of time. The gun-deck being already cleared for action, was properly lighted; the guns were manned, the magazine was opened, and the surgeon and his assistant stood by. Our big pivot-gun bore directly on the Iroquois."

This, it was very evident, was not a condition of things to be tolerated long in a harbor of the French Empire. In the morning the national man-of-war Acheron arrived from Port Royal, and her Captain, by direction of the Governor, requested Captain Palmer "no longer to compromise the neutrality of the French waters by establishing a blockade within their jurisdiction, but to anchor, when every hospitality and facility would be afforded, or to take a position without the distance of a marine league from shore." Captain Palmer accordingly decided upon anchoring, and had no sooner done so, than he received a visit from the French commander, in the course of which he was reminded of a point of international law in Wheaton, that one belligerent could not depart until twenty-four hours after the other. In consequence of this information, Captain Palmer fearing that the Sumter, having steam on, would gain this advantage, instantly pulled up his anchor, and got under weigh before the French captain left the ship. He then took his position at the mouth of the harbor, outside of the marine league, intently waiting for the departure of his expected prize.

It was a difficult task which Captain Palmer now undertook. "To blockade such a bay as this," he wrote to Secretary Welles on the night of the 18th of November, "which is almost an open roadstead, fifteen miles in width, the surrounding land very high, and the water very bold, obliged as we are by the neutrality of the laws, to blockade at three miles distance, it would require at least two more fast steamers, and a vessel of war of any description in port, to notify us by signal of her departure, to give any reasonable hope of preventing her escape. Even now, moonlight though it be, she may yet creep out under shadow of the land, and no one be able to perceive her ; she being always able to observe my position, open to seawards. Though I have made arrangements to be informed by signal of her departure from shore, I fear I cannot depend upon the parties, so fearful are they of the authorities and of popular indignation. I have done all I can, and if she escapes me, we must submit to the distress and mortification. I wish the Sumter were anywhere else except in this port or under French protection. The authorities here, under plea of neutrality, are throwing every obstacle in my way, in the way of communicating with the shore. They are so full of punctilio, and withal so polished, that it is provoking to have anything to do with them."

Nothing could more fully reflect the impatience of a high-spirited commander, eager for action, than this animated dispatch of Captain Palmer. On the 23d he writes again : "It is now the ninth day that I have been blockading the Sumter. She lies still at the wharf, surrounded by more or less of a crowd day and night, all anxious for her escape, sympathizing with their fellow Frenchmen of the State of Louisiana, to which State they believe the Sumter to belong. . . . . Thus far we have had the moon, but it is now waning fast, and, with the most intense watching and devotion, I fear I may yet have to report her escape. Would that there were another fast steamer to watch the other point of the bay. I have some understanding with some loyal people on shore, to notify by signal of her departure. The French will doubtless think it a great outrage upon their neutrality, but they will have to pocket this, as I have been as forbearing as they can expect, and nothing but the feeling of the impolicy of bringing on hostilities between my country and France makes me submit with anything like grace."

That very night it turned out as Captain Palmer had feared. The Sumter escaped his most vigilant efforts. At 8 o'clock in the evening he was signalled from the shore that the privateer had shipped to the southward. "Instantly," continues Captain Palmer in his final dispatch, "we were off in pursuit, soon at full speed, rushing down to the Southern part of the bay, but nothing was visible on the dark background. A small steamer, apparently one plying between St. Pierre and Port Royal, was off the point making signals, doubtless for the benefit of the Sumter. But we could see nothing of her as we proceeded on, so dark was the shadow thrown by the high land. Still we went on, all searching the darkness in vain. So soon as I had opened Port Royal Point, and seen on the now open horizon, I concluded that we had passed her, or that she had doubled on us and gone to the northward. I then turned, keeping close to the shore, looking into her former anchorage, thinking she might possibly have returned. No sign of her there. We continued on to the northward, but when we opened the port nothing of her this way." Thus baffled, despairing in which direction to turn, Captain Palmer turned back to complete his coaling at St. Thomas.

It is interesting to compare with this vivid account of the pursuit the no less animating officer's narrative of the escape. The Sumter, in the entry of the Diary, November 23, "is once more in blue water. Every preparation having been made, the ship being in good sailing trim, a portion of her stores placed on the spar-deck, to be hove overboard to lighten her in case it was necessary; precisely as the eight o'clock gun was fired she slipped her anchor, and steamed slowly out to sea, keeping close under cover of the land. Scarcely had her propeller revolved a dozen times before a blue light appeared at the mast-head of the only Yankee ship in port. Then a second signal was displayed on shore, and then another. The engine was stopped. The Sumter was now abreast of the French war steamer, which was under the guns of the fort, but nothing could be seen of the Iroquois. The engine was again started; our ship moving very slowly, and still closely hugging the land. When nearly opposite the southern point, the Sumter was seen bearing down on us; but as we were so completely under cover of the land, it was not likely that she saw us. The Sumter's prow was turned in the direction of the other, but afterward she ran closer into the harbor, all the time watching every movement of the Iroquois. Seeing that she was still watching the southern point, the Sumter shot across to the northern point at her fullest speed. Just before she reached the point, a vessel was seen a little a-head of her. The engine was again stopped to determine the character of this craft. The darkness was so intense that it was impossible to make her out at first. A blundering quarter-master pronounced her to be an armed steamer; after a minute of anxious suspense, she was transformed into a sailing frigate, lying broadside on; and, finally, while we were in momentary expectation of an attack, she proved to be a harmless little fore-and-aft schooner. About a quarter of an hour was lost in making out this vessel. The engine was again set in motion, and in a few minutes the Sumter was rounding the point. After she passed Diamond Rock she gave the land a wider heading for the open sea. . . . . . It should have been stated that a large and brilliant light, which was placed astern of the Sumter, in the window of a building near the cathedral, every night after the arrival of the Iroquois, was hauled down as soon as the former got under way. Four lights, seemingly on a flag-staff, were placed one above another, on a house-top, supposed to be that of the United States consul; after being displayed about five minutes they were put out, one at a time. The vessel that raised a blue light to her mast-head was the same one that hauled down the British flag which she had flown ever since the Sumter had been in port, and hoisted her proper colors, the Stars and Stripes, as soon as the Iroquois arrived."

Captain Palmer learned at St. Pierre that the Sumter had purchased sea-jackets for her crew, which led him to think she might intend a cruise in northern waters, though he hardly supposed that she would be adequate for winter service in that quarter. She had something, however, no less hazardous in prospect, namely, a winter passage across the Atlantic. Before undertaking this, however, she made prizes of several valuable vessels in the western Atlantic. One of these, the Montmorenci, of Bath, with a cargo of 1,800 tons of coal, consigned to British residents at St. Thomas, in consideration of that friendly nation, Commander Semmes generously allowed to go on their way, politely taking a bond to the value of the ship, drawn in his favor by the captain. Another day he captured and burnt the schooner Arcade of Portland, Maine. On the 3d of December a large ship was overhauled, the Vigilant, bound to Sombrero Island for guano. Her crew, all blacks, says the Diary, "were terribly frightened on seeing the Sumter. When the prize-crew boarded her the negroes could hardly be prevented from jumping overboard, and when they came aboard the Sumter they acted as though their hour had come. Some of them verily believed that they would have to walk a plank. The Vigilant was stripped of everything we wanted and then fired. We took from her a nine-pounder rifled gun, which is mounted on the forecastle in place of the one hove overboard in running the blockade of the Mississippi." The last day of the year the Sumter counted up as her trophies, the running of two blockades, escape from a fleet of gun-boats, ransacking the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean sea, the capture of sixteen valuable prizes, visits to the ports of seven nationalities, and frail bark as she was admitted to be, the passage of the Atlantic in mid-winter.

On the 4th of January, 1862, she ran into Cadiz, boldly challenging the hospitalities of old Spain. But the Dons had made up their minds as to her character, and that of the pseudo government from which she professed to derive her commission, and had no civilities to expend upon her. Captain Semmes was immediately and peremptorily ordered to leave the port within twenty-four hours. He pleaded distress, and was allowed to remain for repairs, and at the end of ten days left this punctilious people utterly dissatisfied, "unable to obtain what was required—not a bucket of coal, the sale was forbidden," and the loser by desertion of seven of her crew, induced to depart, it was thought on board the Sumter, by the exertions of the United States consul at the port. A day's sailing brought the privateer, after "overhauling a couple of Yankees" by the way, "under the guns of Gibraltar the impregnable," from which friendly shelter she appeared in no haste to depart. Nearly a month afterwards the Tuscarora, which had been for some time engaged in watching the Confederate steamer Nashville, came to Gibraltar to keep a look out on the Sumter. Then, toward the end of February, came the diversion of the seizure of the paymaster of the Sumter. He went over in a French steamer to Tangier, on the opposite shore, when he was taken possession of according to a privilege of the State of Morocco, by the United States Consul, who arrested him for piracy or treason, and sent him home to America a prisoner on board the national sloop-of-war Ino. These loyal policemen of the seas, in fact, began to be uncomfortably frequent about the resting place of the Sumter, which had also discovered that her boilers were worn out, quite unfit for sea; so one day, the 9th of April, the crew was paid off and discharged, and the valiant Sumter laid up "until after the expiration of the war."

As part of the public history of this redoubtable vessel we may cite the paragraph devoted to her depredations, and those of others, and the attempts made to capture her in the annual report of Secretary Welles of the Navy Department. "It was natural," said he, "that apprehensions should prevail in regard to armed cruisers, commissioned expressly by the rebel leaders, to depredate upon our commerce. This robbery of merchants and others engaged in peaceful and lawful pursuits, by piratical cruisers, is not inconsistent with the general conduct of those who have violated law and moral obligations to gratify inordinate ambition. Our extended commerce presented inducements for piratical warfare, yet but few of our misguided countrymen have prostituted themselves to the purposes of plunder, though thereto invited, and these few have been in constant flight to escape the avenging power of our vigilant naval forces. Such of these cruisers as eluded the blockade and capture were soon wrecked, beached, or sunk, with the exception of one, the steamer Sumter, which, by some fatality, was permitted to pass the Brooklyn, then blockading one of the passes of the Mississippi, and, after a brief and feeble chase by the latter, was allowed to proceed on her piratical voyage. An investigation of this whole occurrence was ordered by the Department. Soon the Niagara and the Powhatan, from the Gulf squadron, followed in vigorous pursuit, the latter, though long in commission, and with defective boilers and machinery, under her energetic commander, tracking the piratical craft as far as Maranham. The Keystone State, Richmond, Iroquois, and San Jacinto, were also in search of her at different points and periods. Although a piratical rover, without license from any recognized or acknowledged government, and avowedly engaged in the robbery and plunder of our citizens, I regret to say this vessel has been received and her wants supplied, against the remonstrance of our Consuls, by public authorities in many foreign ports where her character was well known."

Captain Semmes who appears to have received this public document on his arrival at Cadiz, wrote from that place a trenchant and very peculiar letter to the London Times, which, as it throws considerable light upon the spirit or frame of mind in which its writer regarded and conducted the extraordinary service in which he was engaged, we may here present to the reader. "The closing paragraph," says he, "of the above elegant extract from an American State paper," alluding to the passage from Mr. Welles' report which we have just given, "would seem to show that, although it was penned ostensibly against myself, it was, in fact, levelled at those European powers which had acknowledged the Confederate States to be a lawful belligerent in the war which had been forced upon them. On no other supposition could it charge me with 'robbery' on the high seas, and with being a 'piratical rover.' A pirate is *hostis humani generis*, and may be seized and summarily dealt with by any and all the nations of the earth; but the fact is, these officers of the defunct Federal Union are so blinded by their venom against the South that they have no longer the power to distinguish between terms. Mr. Welles, also, in imitation of the dirty and mendacious Press of the Yankee States, calls me a privateer. He knows better than this. He knows that a privateer is a vessel that bears a letter of marque, and that I am cruising under no such letter. He knows that I have been regularly commissioned as a ship-of-war of the Confederate States. If he and his deluded associates insist upon calling the citizens of the Confederate States 'rebels,' under the idea that those States still form a part of the old Yankee concern, then he might characterize me as a rebel man-of-war. But if I am this, so were all the ships of the American colonies commissioned by the Virginian George Washington. Mr. Welles tells the President and Congress, that by 'some fatality,' I ran the blockade of New Orleans, and that he has ordered the whole affair to be investigated. With the blind rage of a baffled mad man, *quem Deus vult perdere*, etc., he will no doubt endeavor to crush the harmless and inoffensive commander of the Brooklyn, who, poor man, did his best. He says, also, that he has had six of his largest and fastest steamers in pursuit of me, and that the commander of one of them was so energetic as to perform the wonderful feat of tracking me as far as Maranham, in Brazil. This, I suppose, is one of those daring acts—the officer being in command of a heavy frigate — which called forth the panegyric of the Yankee navy, which we find in a subsequent part of Mr. Welles' report, for, after praising his clerks, this officer goes on to remark: 'To the patriotic officers of the navy, and the brave men who, in various scenes of naval action, have served under them, the Department and the Government justly owe an acknowledgement even more earnest and emphatic,' than that they owe to his clerks! Oh! for a James to pourtray these 'scenes of naval action,' confined to a predatory warfare on the Potomac river, directed chiefly against women and children; to the capture of a sandbag battery at Hatteras; to the masterly movement of the great Dupont, the 'greatest naval commander of the age,' in Yankee hyperbole. who not only knows how to use gunpowder, but, with Yankee thrift, to turn an honest penny by selling it to the Government; and to the pursuit of the piratical Sumter, away ever so far, even to the shores of Brazil, by the gallant Porter, who probably for this fact—so little material has Mr. Welles for heroes—will be made a 'flag officer.' I feel honored to have been thus pursued by six frigates, and if one of them caught Messrs. Mason and Slidell, instead of catching me, why that is John Bull's affair, and not mine. But I am fleeing from these ships, says Mr. Welles. Soft, Mr. Welles! He would have me fall into a Yankee trap he has set for me, and rush to the encounter of his six frigates, the least of which is twice my size, and of more than twice my weight of metal. He dares not send a ship of equal force to meet me, and if he did dare do so, being safely ensconced himself in his arm-chair, I venture to say that the officer would not dare to find me. But I have to inform Mr. Welles that by the 'same fatality,' I have run another blockade. I have lately steamed out of the port of St. Pierre, in the Island of Martinique, in the face of one of the fastest and finest of his Yankee ships, the Iroquois, and which is more than twice my force. Poor Captain Palmer, I fear that he, too, will be immolated on the altar of the 'Universal Yankee Nation,' because he did not catch the Sumter, though, from all we can learn, he had fits on the occasion. This honorable captain is indeed a fit representative of the honor of Yankee Doodledom, for he violated the sovereignty of France, and his own solemn pledge at the same time, given to the commanding French naval officer present, by causing blue lights (brought all the way, no doubt, from New London, Conn.), to be burnt on board a Yankee schooner in the harbor, to signal to him my departure. But I only allude to this *en passant*, as France is abundantly able to take care of her own honor,—

"If the universal Yankee nation
Can whip all creation!"

When Mr. Welles learns, too, that on my way hither I burnt three more Yankee ships, and liberated a fourth, only because she had an English cargo on board, he will probably send six more of his doughty war-ships after me—that is to say, if he can spare them from burning corn-cribs and frightening women and children along our Southern coast. He will take especial care, too, to put plenty of men and guns on board of them, for otherwise I might not be in 'such constant flight to escape the avenging power of our vigilant naval forces.' A word or two more and I have done. What can wise Mr. Welles mean when he objects to the 'robbery of merchants and others engaged in peaceful commerce and lawful pursuits?' Does he not know that all property, with rare exceptions, captured on the high seas, is property belonging to 'merchants and others engaged in peaceful commerce and lawful pursuits?' Why this senseless diatribe, then, about robbery and piracy, and private property and peaceful commerce, and lawful pursuits? If Mr. Welles would give me an opportunity of capturing some of his public property, I would be much obliged to him. But he takes very good care not to do this, by sending his heaviest ships after me; and have the Yankee naval officers in those 'scenes of naval action' in which they have distinguished themselves, refrained from the capture of private property? I saw recently in a Yankee paper an account of a wood-sloop—that is, a sloop loaded with firewood—having been 'most gallantly' captured and burnt the other day on the Potomac, and a number of other small craft, belonging to the poor people along the coast, have been captured from time to time and sent to Yankeedom for adjudication. Even fishermen have been subjected to the same fate—a class exempt by all civilized nations. But I suppose it is only when the vessel is a fine one of 1,000 tons, belongs to a Yankee, and is captured by the Sumter, that the property becomes private—astute Mr. Welles! The fact is, that this Northern horde of the Alani, which is bearing down upon the sunny fields of the South, in imitation of their ancient prototypes, has (while Mr. Welles is singing this hypocritical song) set all the rules of civilized warfare at defiance, and captured private property on the land as well as on the sea. The gallant Dupont laid his unscrupulous hands upon all the cotton he could find at Beaufort—a few bales only, as it happened—and, first and last, many brilliant achievements in the way of stealing negroes and robbing and burning private residences, have been accomplished by these Northmen amid the 'various scenes of naval action,' in which they have flourished. But I grow tired of the subject, and I fear I have already trespassed too much upon your space and patience. I am reminded, too, of the old adage, that 'he who meddles with pitch shall be defiled,' and so I will take leave of Mr. Gideon Welles and his scurrilous report. —R. SEMMES."

CHAPTER XLI.

THE UPPER POTOMAC AND BATTLE OF BALL'S BLUFF, VA., OCTOBER 21, 1861.

SHORTLY after the battle of Bull Run, General Banks, the successor of General Paterson, in the Department of the Shenandoah, withdrew the Union troops from Harper's Ferry, by a ford above the burnt bridge, over the Potomac to the Maryland side of the river. This movement was made on Sunday, the 28th of July. The Union troops then in possession of the Maryland Heights, where the battery of Major Doubleday, of Fort Sumter memory, fully commanded the opposite town and its neighboring defences, were encamped along the river in the neighborhood at Sandy Hook, and other localities sufficiently near to keep up a military supervision of the enemy, should they attempt any hostile movements. The policy of evacuating Harper's Ferry was obvious, in view of the outlying enemy in Virginia, and the necessity of organizing the newly-arrived regiments of volunteers, who came to take the place of the now rapidly departing three months' militia men. The service on the river, indeed, was well calculated to afford the new troops a practical experience of the art of war, since their camps were constantly liable to attack, and there were frequent minor conflicts with the enemy, keeping the division always on the alert. Among other skirmishes with the foe, there was a spirited attack by Captain Bush of Lockport, N. Y., at the head of a detachment of the New York 28th Volunteers, mostly composed of firemen, on the 5th of August, upon a squad of rebel cavalry, on the Virginia side, opposite Point of Rocks, when five of the enemy were killed, three wounded, and nine taken prisoners, with the capture of twenty horses.* A week later a detachment of a hundred men of the New York 19th Volunteers, under Captain Kennedy, left the camp at Sandy Hook to attack a body of rebel cavalry which had made their appearance at Loudon county. Captain Kennedy crossed the river shortly after midnight, and reached Lovettsville, some seven miles distant through a rocky pass, about daylight. Disappointed in finding the enemy at that place, they were returning, when word was brought to them that Stewart's cavalry had reoccupied the town. Upon hearing this, they turned back, charged upon the town, and drove the enemy before them.

On the 15th of September there was an attack by about 450 of the enemy upon the right of the pickets of Colonel John W. Geary, about three miles above Darnestown, opposite Pritchard's Mills. This officer, to whom the command of the troops, immediately opposite Harper's Ferry, was assigned, was an eminent citizen of Pennsylvania, whose military zeal had been displayed in the Mexican war, in command, on the field, of a regiment of volunteers from that State. He was wounded at Chapultepec, and distinguished himself in the attack upon the capital. On the conclusion of the war he became a resident of California, and was elected the first mayor of San Francisco. His subsequent appointment by President Buchanan as Governor of Kansas, will be remembered among the attempts to introduce order in that unsettled country. On the opening of the present war, Colonel Geary left his retirement in Pennsylvania to raise a regiment for the war. This he readily accomplished, and at the head of the 28th Regiment of State Volunteers, his command speedily proved one of the most important acquisitions of the service. "The affair above Darneston," says Colonel Geary, in his dispatch to General McClellan, "was a spirited one, lasting about two hours. The enemy was driven from every house and breastwork which they occupied. Eight or ten of them are said to be killed, and a number wounded. Our loss was one killed. Our victory was complete. The troops behaved admirably. Our cannon were indispensable, and rendered good service in this action."

Early in October there was something of greater importance in his command for Colonel Geary to communicate. On the 8th of the month Major J. P. Gould, of the 13th Massachusetts Volunteers, was sent across the river to seize a quantity of wheat held by the rebels at the mills, a few miles above Harper's Ferry. His arrival on the Virginia shore appears to have been the signal for the concentration of a body of the enemy in the neighborhood. Colonel Geary was called upon for reinforcements, which he promptly supplied, crossing himself on the 14th, aiding in the removal of the wheat, and holding the enemy in check. The troops under his command on the Virginia side, were four companies of his own 28th Pennsylvania regiment, three companies of the 13th Massachusetts, and three of the 3d Wisconsin, in all about 600 men. He had with him also two pieces of cannon under command of Captain Tompkins of the Rhode Island battery, and two pieces of the 9th New York battery, under Lieutenant Martin. Major Gould was placed in command of the troops left on the Maryland side, 100 men of the Massachusetts regiment, and four pieces of artillery on the heights, and commanding the approaches from Harper's Ferry. Having accomplished his object, in the capture of the flour, Colonel Geary was about to recross the river when, on the morning of the 16th, his pickets, stationed on the heights above Bolivar, extending from the Potomac to the Shenandoah river, about two and a half miles west of Harper's Ferry, were driven into the town of Bolivar by the enemy, who approached from the west in three columns, consisting of infantry and cavalry, supported by artillery. "I was upon the ground," continues Colonel Geary, in his report of the action which ensued, "and rallied my pickets upon the main body in Bolivar. In a short time the action became general. The advanced guard of the rebels, consisting of several hundred cavalry, charged gallantly toward the upper part of the town, and their infantry and artillery soon took position upon the heights, from which my pickets had been driven. Their three pieces of artillery were stationed on and near the Charlestown road, where it crosses Bolivar Heights. They had one thirty-two-pounder columbiad, one steel rifled thirteen pounder, and one brass six-pounder, all of which were served upon the troops of my command with great activity, the large gun throwing alternately solid shot, shell and grape, and the others principally fuse shell. While these demonstrations were being made in front, a large body of men made their appearance upon Loudon Heights, with four pieces of cannon, stationed at the most eligible points of the mountain, to bombard our troops and prevent the use of the ferry on the Potomac. The commencement of the firing upon our front and left was almost simultaneous. In order to prevent the enemy from crossing the Shenandoah, I detached a company of the 13th Massachusetts regiment, under command of Captain Schriber, for the defence of the fords on the river. He took position near the old rifle works, and during the action rendered good service there. There then remained under my immediate command about four hundred and fifty men. With these the fierce charge of the enemy's cavalry was soon checked and turned back, only to be renewed with greater impetuosity, supported, in addition to the artillery, by the fire of long lines of infantry stationed on Bolivar Heights; but they were as soon repulsed. Three charges were thus made by them in succession. Under this concentrated fire our troops held their position until eleven o'clock, when Lieutenant Martin, by my order, joined me with one rifled cannon, which had been placed to cover the ferry, he having crossed the river with it under a galling fire of riflemen from Loudon Heights. I then pushed forward my right flank, consisting of two companies (A and G) of the 28th Pennsylvania Volunteers. They succeeded in turning the enemy's left near the Potomac, and gained a portion of the heights. At the same time Lieutenant Martin opened a well-directed fire upon the enemy's cannon in our front, and Captain Tompkins succeeded in silencing some of the enemy's guns on Loudon Heights. The services, simultaneously rendered, were of great importance, and the turning of the enemy's flank being the key to the success of the action, I instantly ordered a general forward movement, which terminated in a charge, and we were soon in possession of the heights from river to river. There I halted the troops, and from that position they drove the fugitives, with a well-directed aim of cannon and small arms, across the valley in the direction of Hallstown. If any cavalry had been attached to my command the enemy could have been cut to pieces, as they did not cease their flight until they reached Charlestown, a distance of six miles. Immediately after the capture of the Heights, Major Tyndale arrived with a reinforcement of five companies of my regiment from Point of Rocks, two of which he ordered to report to Major Gould, at Sandy Hook, and soon joined me with the others on the field. The standard of the 28th regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers—the flag of the Union—was then unfurled on the soil of Virginia, and planted on an eminence of Bolivar Heights, and under its folds we directed the fire of our artillery against the batteries and forces on Loudon Heights, and soon succeeded in silencing every gun and driving away every rebel that could be seen.

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* Berlin, Md., correspondence of the New York *Tribune*, August 9, 1861.

"The victory was complete. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded is generally conceded to be about one hundred and fifty, which they carried back in wagons and on horses as rapidly as they fell. We took four prisoners, among whom is Rev. Nathaniel Green North, chaplain of Colonel Ashby's command. He is said to have been present at every battle that has occurred in Virginia. The fine thirty-two-pounder columbiad, mounted on an old-fashioned gun-carriage, was captured, together with a quantity of ammunition for it, consisting of ball, shell, and grapeshot, for the transportation of which a wagon was used as a caisson. These were immediately transferred to the north side of the Potomac, and the gun is placed in position against its late proprietors. One of their small guns used at Bolivar Heights was disabled, having one of the wheels shot from the gun-carriage by a well-directed shot from Lieutenant Martin. They succeeded in dragging it from the field. Our loss is four killed, seven wounded, and two taken prisoners, a list of whom is hereto attached. The greater part of the loss occurred in the Wisconsin companies, who gallantly sustained the position of our left flank throughout the contest. One of the soldiers taken by the enemy was Corporal ——, 3d Wisconsin regiment, who was wounded in the action. The other Corporal, Benaiah Pratt, of Company A, 28th regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, was accidentally taken by a few of the enemy, whom he mistook for Massachusetts men, their uniforms corresponding in all respects, to that of the latter. The four men who were killed were afterward charged upon by the cavalry and stabbed through the body, stripped of all their clothing, not excepting shoes and stockings, and left in perfect nudity. One was laid out in the form of crucifixion, with his hands spread, and cut through the palms with a dull knife. This inhuman treatment incensed our troops exceedingly, and I fear its consequences may be shown in retaliating acts hereafter. I visited the iron foundry at Shenandoah city, and ascertained that it was used by the rebels for casting shot and shell of all kinds. I ordered it to be burned, which was done the same night. The acts of individual gallantry are so numerous in the whole command that it would be impossible to give to each an appropriate mention; but I do not hesitate to say that every corps behaved with the coolness and courage of veteran troops.

"It affords me pleasure to mention that Hon. Daniel McCook (father of General McCook), as an amateur soldier, gun in hand, volunteered and rendered much service during the engagement. I also mention like services rendered by Benjamin G. Owen, Esq., of St. Louis. Both of these gentlemen were greatly exposed during the action. I am informed by authority deemed reliable, that the enemy's forces consisted of the following troops, viz: the 13th and 19th Mississippi regiments, the 8th Virginia regiment of infantry, Colonel Ashby's regiment of cavalry, and Roger's Richmond battery of six pieces, and one thirty-two-pounder columbiad, commanded by General Evans in person. Bolivar Heights was taken at half-past one P.M. I directed our troops to rest there until evening, when we fired a farewell shot into Hallstown, and as there was no longer any necessity to remain on that side of the Potomac, our errand having been crowned with the fullest success, I marched my command to the ferry, and in five hours it was safely landed in Maryland."

The enemy before Washington having fallen back from their positions immediately in front of the formidable force collected within the Union lines, a reconnoissance was ordered by General McClellan to ascertain their strength on the right in the neighborhood of the Potomac. The region in Maryland opposite that part of Loudon county commanding the approaches to Leesburg, the capital of the county and the key to the upper interior communication with the valley of the Shenandoah, was held by the division of Brigadier-General Stone. His headquarters were at Poolesville, within easy striking distance of Conrad's and Edwards' Ferries, which, some four miles from one another, afforded the means of crossing the Potomac at this part of its course. Intermediate between the two ferries was Harrison's Island, about two hundred yards in width and three miles in length, unequally dividing the stream between the two shores. On the Maryland side the distance was about one hundred and fifty yards; on the Virginia side, where the current was more rapid, about one hundred. Conrad's Ferry was at the upper end of the Island. The river was much swollen by the autumnal rains. On the 10th of October it was reported in the papers of the day that the Upper Potomac in a few days had risen fifteen feet above the fording point, and that the volume of water and the rapidity of the current rendered the use of pontoon bridges a matter of extreme difficulty.

On the 19th of October General McCall, who held the advance command in Virginia on the right of the Union line, in pursuance of instructions, moved forward and occupied Dranesville. As soon as this was accomplished General McClellan, on the 20th, sent word in a despatch to General Stone of the fact, informing him that General McCall would that day send out heavy reconnoissances in all directions, and adding: "The General desires that you keep a good lookout upon Leesburg to see if this movement has the effect to drive them away. Perhaps a slight demonstration on your part would have the effect to move them."* Acting immediately upon this order or suggestion, General Stone set on foot a movement of his troops which led, the next day, to the fatal engagement at Ball's Bluff. Early on the afternoon of the 20th he proceeded with General Gorman's brigade, 7th Michigan, two troops of the Van Alen cavalry and the Putnam rangers, to Edward's Ferry, where a section of Bunting's New York battery was already on duty. To Harrison's Island, where there was already a company of the 15th Massachusetts volunteers, he sent four additional companies of the same regiment under Colonel Charles Devens; while he ordered to Conrad's Ferry, at that time defended by a section of Ricketts' battery, Colonel Lee with a battalion of his 20th Massachusetts regiment, a section of Vaughan's Rhode Island battery and Colonel Coggswell's New York Tammany regiment. Several additional regiments, including Colonel Baker's so called California regiment, numbering in all about 3,000 men, were left as a reserve in the rear. "The movements of General McCall," remarks General Stone in his report, "had evidently attracted the attention of the enemy, a regiment of infantry having appeared from the direction of Leesburg and taken shelter behind a hill about a mile and a half from our position at Edwards' Ferry." To intimidate or disperse this party of the enemy, General Gorman was ordered to deploy his forces in their view; three flat-boats were put in motion as if for crossing, and to confirm this impression, shell and shot were discharged from the battery into the place of the enemy's concealment. This demonstration caused the quick retirement of the enemy. "In the course of this affair," General Stone tells us, "three boat loads of thirty-five men each from the 1st Minnesota crossed and recrossed the river, each trip occupying about six or seven minutes." At dusk General Gorman's brigade and the 7th Michigan returned to camp. The troops stationed at Conrad's Ferry meanwhile remained awaiting the return of the scouting party which had been sent, by order of General Stone, from Harrison's Island in the direction of Leesburg. In the afternoon General Stone sent a dispatch to General McClellan communicating these incidents, and touching upon a point—the means of transportation at hand—which presently became of the utmost importance in the conduct of the operations in progress. "I have means," he wrote, "of crossing one hundred and twenty-five men once in ten minutes at each of two points. River falling slowly."

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* A. V. Colburn, Assistant Adjutant-General, by order of General McClellan, to Brigadier-General Stone, October 20, 1861.

At ten o'clock in the night word was brought to General Stone at Edwards' Ferry that Captain Philbrick of the 15th Massachusetts, who conducted the reconnoitering party, had returned to the island, having been within a mile of Leesburg and made the discovery in the edge of a wood of an encampment of thirty tents. There were no pickets out any distance and he had approached to within twenty-five rods without being even challenged.

Upon receiving this intelligence, General Stone instantly sent orders to Colonel Devens on the island, "to cross four companies to the Virginia shore and march silently under cover of the night to the position of the camp referred to, to attack and destroy it at day-break, pursue the enemy lodged there, as far as would be prudent, and return immediately to the island, his return to be covered by a company of the Massachusetts 20th to be posted over the landing place." Colonel Devens was ordered to make close observation of the position, strength, and movements of the enemy, and in the event of there being no enemy there visible, to hold on in a secure position, until he could be strengthened sufficiently to make a valuable reconnoissance. At this time orders were sent to Colonel Baker to send the 1st California regiment to Conrad's Ferry, to arrive there at sunrise, and to have the remainder of his brigade ready to move early. Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, of the 15th Massachusetts, was also ordered to move with a battalion to the river bank opposite Harrison's Island by daybreak. Two mounted howitzers, in charge of Lieutenant French of Ricketts' battery, were ordered to the tow-path of the canal opposite Harrison's Island." "To distract attention from Colonel Devens' movements," continues General Stone in his report, "and to make a reconnoissance in the direction of Leesburg from Edwards' Ferry, I directed General Gorman to throw across the river at that point two companies of the 1st Minnesota under cover of a fire from Ricketts' battery, and sent out a party of thirty-one Van Alen Cavalry under Major Mix, accompanied by Captain Charles Stewart, Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Murphy, and Lieutenants Pierce and Gouraud, with orders to advance along the Leesburg road until they should come to the vicinity of a battery which was known to be on that road, and then turn to the left and examine the heights between that and Goose Creek, and see if any of the enemy were posted in the vicinity, find out their numbers as nearly as possible, their disposition, examine the country with reference to the passage of troops to the Leesburg and Georgetown turnpike, and return rapidly to cover behind the skirmishers of the Minnesota 1st. This reconnoissance was most gallantly conducted, and the party proceeded along the Leesburg road nearly two miles from the ferry, and when near the position of the hidden battery came suddenly upon a Mississippi regiment, about thirty-five yards distant, received its fire and returned it with their pistols. The fire of the enemy killed one horse, but Lieutenant Gouraud seized the dismounted man, and drawing him on his horse behind him, carried him unhurt from the field. One private of the 4th Virginia Cavalry was brought off by the party a prisoner, who, being well mounted and armed, his mount replaced the one lost by the fire of the enemy."

While this diversion of the enemy was going on at the left, Colonel Devens was executing the movement ordered by General Stone on the right. He began the passage of the river from Harrison's Island to the Virginia shore about midnight ; but so inadequate was the transportation, having only three four-oared boats, together conveying only about thirty men, that it was nearly four o'clock on the morning of the 21st before his small force of five companies, numbering about three hundred, were lodged on the opposite side. They passed down the river about sixty rods by a path discovered by the scouts and then ascended the bank known as Ball's Bluff, where they found an open field surrounded by woods. Here they halted till daybreak, being joined by the company, 100 men accompanied by Colonel Lee, of the Massachusetts 20th, ordered to protect their return. "At daybreak," continues Colonel Devens in his report, "we pushed forward our reconnoissance toward Leesburg to the distance of about a mile from the river, to a spot supposed to be the site of the rebel encampment, but found, on passing through the woods, that the scouts had been deceived by a line of trees on the brow of the slope, the openings through which presented, in an uncertain light, somewhat the appearance of a line of tents. Leaving the detachment in the woods, I proceeded with Captain Philbrick and two or three scouts across this slope and along the other line of it, observing Leesburg, which was in full view, and the country about it, as carefully as possible, and seeing but four tents of the enemy. My force being well concealed by the woods, and having no reason to believe my presence was discovered, and no large number of the enemy's tents being in sight, I determined not to return at once, but to report to yourself, which I did by directing Quartermaster Howe to repair at once to Edwards' Ferry to state these facts, and to say, that in my opinion I could remain until I was reinforced. The means of transportation between the island and the Virginia shore had been strengthened, I knew, at daybreak, by a large boat which would convey sixty or seventy men at once, and as the boat could cross and recross every ten minutes, I had no reason to suppose there would be any difficulty in sending over five hundred men an hour, as it was known there were two large boats between the island and the Maryland shore, which would convey to the island all the troops that could be conveyed from it to the Virginia shore."

On receiving the message brought by Lieutenant Howe, General Stone ordered a non-commissioned officer and ten cavalry to join Colonel Devens for the purpose of scouring the country near him while engaged in the reconnoissance and to give due notice of the approach of any force. He also ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Ward to proceed with a battalion of the 15th Massachusetts to secure a crossing higher up and protect the flank of Colonel Devens in his return. "For some reason," adds Colonel Stone, "never explained to me, neither of these orders was carried out. The cavalry who were accompanied by Captain Candy, Assistant Adjutant-General, and General Lander, were transferred to the Virginia shore, but were sent back without having left the shore to go inland,

and thus Colonel Devens was deprived of the means of obtaining warning of any approach of the enemy. The battalion under Colonel Ward was detained on the Bluff in the rear of Colonel Devens instead of being directed to the right."

Colonel Baker meanwhile, whom we have seen ordered by General Stone to be at Conrad's Ferry with his regiment at sunrise, had received the summons at two o'clock in the morning in his tent, and quickly rising from his couch roused his brigade for an immediate march. Sending forward a battalion of the Californians under Lieutenant-Colonel Wistar and urging on the remainder, he hastened at an early hour to the Ferry whence he proceeded for further instructions to General Stone at Edwards' Ferry. "I directed him," says General Stone in his report, "to Harrison's Island to assume command, and in full conversation explained to him the position as it then stood. I told him that General McCall had advanced his troops to Dranesville, and that I was extremely desirous of ascertaining the exact position and force of the enemy in our front, and exploring as far as it was safe on the right, towards Leesburg, and on the left toward the Leesburg and Gum Spring road. I also informed Colonel Baker that General Gorman, opposite Edwards' Ferry, should be reinforced, and that I would make every effort to push Gorman's troops carefully forward to discover the best line from that ferry to the Leesburg and Gum Spring road, already mentioned; and the position of the breastworks and hidden battery, which prevented the movement of troops directly from left to right, were also pointed out to him. The means of transportation across, of the sufficiency of which he (Baker) was to be judge, was detailed, and authority given him to make use of the guns of a section each of Vaughan's and Bunting's batteries, together with French's mountain howitzers, all the troops of his brigade and the Tammany regiment, besides the 19th and part of the 20th regiments of Massachusetts Volunteers, and I left it to his discretion, after viewing the ground, to retire from the Virginia shore under the cover of his guns and the fire of the large infantry force, or to place our reinforcements in case he found it practicable and the position on the other side favorable. I stated that I wished no advance made unless the enemy were of inferior force, and under no circumstances to pass beyond Leesburg, or a strong position between it and Goose Creek, on the Gum Spring road, *i. e.*, the Manassas road. Colonel Baker was cautioned in reference to passing artillery across the river; and I begged if he did do so to see it well supported by good infantry. The General pointed out to him the position of some bluffs on this side of the river, from which artillery could act with effect on the other, and, leaving the matter of crossing more troops or retiring what were already over to his discretion, gave him entire control of operations on the right. This gallant and energetic officer left me about nine A. M., or half-past nine, and galloped off quickly to his command."

The following written order, dated, Headquarters, Edwards' Ferry, October 21, addressed by General Stone to Colonel Baker, it is stated, was found on the person of the latter after his death: "In case of heavy firing in front of Harrison's Island, you will advance the California regiment of your brigade or retire the regiments under Colonels Lee and Devens, now on the Virginia side of the river, at your discretion—assuming command on arrival."

While these preparations were being made for reinforcing Colonel Devens, that officer, in his forward movement, had discovered a company of riflemen on his right whom he attempted to cut off when a skirmish ensued, in which one of his men was killed and nine wounded. A body of the enemy's cavalry then appearing on the left the pursuit on the right was checked. Colonel Devens then rejoined Colonel Lee on the Bluff, presently returning to his advanced position. At about ten o clock in the forenoon Lieutenant Howe brought back word that Colonel Baker would shortly arrive and take command. The remainder of Colonel Devens' regiment brought over by Lieutenant-Colonel Ward gave him in all at this time a force of 625 men. "At about 12 o'clock," continues Colonel Devens, "it was reported to me a force was gathering on my left, and about half-past 12 o'clock a strong attack was made on my left by a body of infantry concealed in the woods, and upon the skirmishers in front by a body of cavalry. The fire of the enemy was resolutely returned by the regiment, which maintained its ground with entire determination. Reinforcements not yet having arrived, and the attempt of the enemy to outflank us being very vigorous, I directed the regiment to retire about sixty paces into an open space in the wood, and prepared to receive any attack that might be made, while I called in my skirmishers. When this was done I returned to the Bluff, where Colonel Baker had already arrived. This was at a quarter-past two P. M."

Having fully acquainted himself with the designs of General Stone, Colonel Baker had hastened to his regiment at Conrad's Ferry and sending orders to expedite the remainder of his brigade, began the work of crossing the river with the troops at hand. Here was the fatal deficiency of the movement in the lack of means of transportation. To cross the river in face of the enemy there were two scows or flatboats running between the Virginia shore and to Harrison's Island, and on the other side but one. Owing to the current it was necessary first to haul the boats up on the Maryland shore and then descending with the stream strike the opposite landing. The island being thus gained, the same process had to be repeated to reach the Virginia side, the distance, indeed, being less, but the current more violent. Three-quarters of an hour were thus consumed in the trip to the island, a trial to the patience of a commander eager for action, which Colonel Baker felt acutely. Discovering another scow in the canal a short distance above, he ordered it to be brought down, and called for axes to construct a raft. The axes were not to be had. In fact the very slender provision made for passing the stream, showed that the military authorities up to this time could have entertained no idea of crossing the river in force. It was impossible that so careful a commander as General McClellan could have meditated such a project with such a force. In fact he appears to have had no such intentions. As he tells us in his report, "My despatch,"—the one addressed by his adjutant to General Stone already cited,—"did not contemplate the making an attack upon the enemy or the crossing the river in force by any portion of General Stone's command; and not anticipating such movement, I had, upon the 20th, directed Major-General McCall to return with his division on the forenoon of the 21st from Dranesville to the camp from which he had advanced, provided the reconnoissance intrusted to him should have been then completed." A similar caution on the part of General Stone was still more desirable. Thus it happened that the precipitation of one commander was rendered doubly hazardous by the prudence of another. At the very moment Colonel Baker, under order of General Stone, was leading his troops into their perilous position, General McClellan was retiring from a forward movement which might, if it had been continued, have rescued the former from their perils.

While Colonel Baker was engaged in his active efforts for crossing his troops, at about 11 o'clock, hearing the sound of firing on the Virginia shore, he immediately crossed in a small skiff to the island, leaving instructions to forward the artillery with all dispatch. From the island he hastened to the Virginia shore, where his California regiment, having crossed by the single scow, doing duty in this part of the river, had reinforced the Massachusetts troops of Lee and Devens. Lieutenant Bramhall soon followed with a rifled 6-pounder of the Rhode Island battery which he had considerable difficulty in bringing up the bank. This, with two howitzers constituted the artillery in the field. A detachment of Colonel Coggswell's Tammany regiment succeeded in crossing from the island and was joined to the reinforcements, making the number of troops on the Virginia shore in all less than eighteen hundred.

On his arrival on what was now marked out as the field of battle, Colonel Baker taking the command, arranged the troops in position for the imminent contest. The ground held by Colonel Lee, and to which Colonel Devens had retreated, was an open field of about six acres in extent, extending from the bluff on the river bank and closely hemmed in on the front and on the sides by a dense forest. In this area the engagement was to be fought with an unknown enemy, thronging from the country beyond without interruption to their communications and amply protected on the spot by the cover of the woods. A worse position for the Union troops could hardly have been contrived than the one thus occupied by them, on the summit of a bluff one hundred or more feet in height, with a precipitous path to a rapid river, on which the only means of receiving reinforcements or conducting a retreat was a single flat-boat capable of holding not more than sixty men.

"Between twelve and one P. M.," to resume the narrative of General Stone, "the enemy appeared in force in front of Colonel Devens, and a sharp skirmish ensued, and was maintained for some time by the 15th Massachusetts unsupported, and finding he would be outflanked, Colonel Devens retired a short distance and took up a position near the wood, half a mile in front of Colonel Lee, where he remained until two o'clock, when he again fell back, with the approval of Colonel Baker, and took his place with the portions of the 20th Massachusetts and 1st California which had arrived. Colonel Baker now formed his line, and waited the attack of the enemy, which came upon him with great vigor about three P. M., and was well met by our troops, who, though pitched against much superior numbers, three to one, maintained their ground under a most destructive fire of the enemy. Colonel Coggswell reached the field amid the heaviest fire, and came gallantly into action, with a yell which wavered the enemy's line. Lieutenant Bramhall, of Buntings's battery, had succeeded, after extraordinary exertions and labor, in bringing up a piece of the Rhode Island battery, and Lieutenant French his two howitzers; but both officers, after well-directed firing, were soon borne away wounded, and the pieces were hauled to the rear, so that they might not fall into the enemy's hands. At four P. M. Colonel Baker fell at the head of his column, pierced by a number of bullets, while cheering his men, and by his own example sustaining the obstinate resistance they were making. The command then devolved upon Colonel Lee, who prepared to commence throwing out forces to the rear, but it was soon found that Colonel Coggswell was the senior in rank, and he, taking the command, ordered preparation to be made for marching to the left, and cutting a way through to Edwards' Ferry. But just as the first dispositions were being effected, a rebel officer rode rapidly in front and beckoned the Tammany regiment toward the enemy. It is not clear whether or not the Tammany men supposed this one of our officers; but they responded with a yell and charged forward, carrying with them in their advance the rest of the line, which soon received a destructive fire from the enemy at close distance. The men were quickly recalled, but their new position frustrated the movement designed, and Colonel Coggswell gave the necessary order to retire. The enemy pursued to the edge of the bluff over the landing place, and poured in a heavy fire as our men were endeavoring to cross to the island. The retreat was rapid, but according to orders. The men formed near the river, maintaining for nearly half an hour the hopeless contest rather than surrender. The smaller boats had disappeared, no one knew where. The largest boat, rapidly and too heavily loaded, swamped some fifteen feet from the shore, and nothing was left to our soldiers but to swim, surrender, or die. With a devotion worthy of the cause they were serving, officers and men, while quarter was being offered to such as would lay down their arms, stripped themselves of their swords and muskets, and hurled them out into the river to prevent their falling into the hands of the foe, and saved themselves as they could by swimming, floating on logs, and concealing themselves in the bushes of the forest, and to make their way up and down the river bank to the place of crossing. The instances of personal gallantry of the highest order were so many that it would be unjust to detail particular cases. Officers displayed for their men, and men for their officers, that beautiful devotion which is only to be found among true soldiers.

"While these scenes were being enacted on the right, I was preparing on the left for a rapid push forward to the road by which the enemy would retreat if driven, and entirely unsuspicious of the perilous condition of our troops. The additional artillery had already been sent, and when the messenger, who did not leave the field until after three o'clock, was questioned as to Colonel Baker's position, he informed me that the Colonel, when he left, seemed to feel perfectly secure, and could doubtless hold his position in case he should not advance. The same statement was made by another messenger half an hour later and I watched anxiously for a sign of advance on the right, in order to push forward General Gorman. It was, as had been explained to Colonel Baker, impracticable to throw General Gorman's brigade directly to the right, by reason of the battery in the woods, between which we had never been able to reconnoitre. At four P. M. or thereabouts, I telegraphed to General Banks for a brigade of his division, intending it to occupy the ground on this side of the river near Harrison's Island, which would be abandoned in case of a rapid advance, and shortly after, as the fire slackened, a messenger was waited for on whose tidings should be given orders either for the advance of General Gorman to cut off the retreat of the enemy, or for the disposition for the night in the position then held. At five P. M. Captain Candy arrived from the field and announced the melancholy tidings of Colonel Baker's death, but with no intelligence of any further disaster. I immediately apprised General Banks of Colonel Baker's death, and I rode quickly to the right to assume command. Before arriving opposite the island, men who had crossed the river plainly gave evidence of the disaster, and on reaching the same I was satisfied of it by the conduct of the men then landing in boats.

"The reports made to me were that the enemy's force was ten thousand men. This I considered, as it proved to be, an exaggeration. Orders were then given to hold the island, and establish a patrol on the tow-path from opposite the island to the line of pickets near the Monocacy, and I returned to the left to secure the troops there from disaster, and make preparations for moving them as rapidly as possible. Orders arrived from General McClellan to hold the Island Virginia shore at Edwards' Ferry at all risks, indicating at the same time that reinforcements would be sent, and immediately additional means of intrenching were forwarded, and General Gorman was furnished with particular directions to hold out against any and every force of the enemy.

"During that time, General Hamilton with his brigade was on the march from Darnestown. Before I left to go to the right I issued orders to intercept him, and instructed him to repair to Conrad's Ferry, where orders awaited him to so dispose of his force as to give protection to Harrison's Island and protect the line of the river. At three A. M. Major-General Banks arrived and took command."*

While the battle was in progress the following order from General Stone dated ten minutes before noon of that day, found, like the one already cited, on the person of Colonel Baker, was, it is stated, delivered to him on the field by Colonel Coggswell: "I am informed that the force of the enemy is about four thousand, all told. If you can push them, you may do so as far as to have a strong position near Leesburg, if you can keep them before you, avoiding their batteries. If they pass Leesburg and take the Gum Springs road, you will not follow far, but seize the first good position to cover that road. Their design is to draw us on, if they are obliged to retreat, as far as Goose Creek, where they can be reinforced from Manassas, and have a strong position. Report frequently, so that when they are pushed, Gorman can come up on their flank." Asking its purport and having been answered by Colonel Coggswell, "All right, go ahead," Colonel Baker put the order in his hat without reading it.

On the 22d, the day following the battle, General McClellan arrived at the scene of operations, and after ascertaining that the enemy were strengthening themselves at Leesburg, and that our means of crossing and recrossing were very insufficient, withdrew his forces from the Virginia side.*

The report of the Confederate General N. G. Evans, commanding the 7th brigade, completes the story of this engagement. "On Saturday night, the 19th of October," he writes, "about seven o'clock P. M. the enemy commenced a heavy cannonading from three batteries, one playing on my intrenchment, (known as Fort Evans,) one on the Leesburg turnpike, and one on Edwards' Ferry. Heavy firing was also heard in the direction of Dranesville. At twelve o'clock at night I ordered my entire brigade to the burnt bridge on the turnpike. The enemy had been reported as approaching from Dranesville in large force. Taking a strong position on the north side of Goose Creek, I awaited his approach. Reconnoitering the turnpike on Sunday morning, the courier of General McCall was captured, bearing dispatches to General Meade, to examine the roads leading to Leesburg. From this prisoner I learned the position of the enemy near Dranesville. During Sunday the enemy kept up a deliberate fire, without any effect. Early on Monday morning, the 21st instant, I heard the firing of my pickets at Big Spring, who had discovered that, at an unguarded point, the enemy had effected a crossing, in force of five companies, and was advancing on Leesburg. Captain Duff, of the 17th regiment, immediately attacked him, driving him back, with several killed and wounded. On observing the movements of the enemy from Fort Evans, at six A. M., I found that he had effected a crossing both at Edwards' Ferry and Ball's Bluff, and I made preparations to meet him in both positions, and immediately ordered four companies of infantry (two of the 18th, one of the 17th, and one of the 13th), and a cavalry force to relieve Captain Duff, the whole force under the immediate command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Jenifer, who was directed to hold his position till the enemy made further demonstration of his design of attack. This force soon became warmly engaged with the enemy, and drove him back for some distance in the woods.

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* Report of General Stone to General McClellan, October 28, 1861.

* General McClellan to the Secretary of War, November 1, 1861.

"At about ten o'clock I became convinced that the main point of attack would be at Ball's Bluff, and ordered Colonel Hunton, with his regiment—the 8th Virginia Volunteers—to repair immediately to the support of Colonel Jenifer. I directed Colonel Hunton to form line of battle immediately in the rear of Colonel Jenifer's command, and to drive the enemy to the river; that I would support his right with artillery. About twenty minutes past twelve o'clock M., Colonel Hunton united his command with that of Colonel Jenifer, and both commands soon became hotly engaged with the enemy in his strong position in the woods. Watching carefully the action, I saw the enemy was constantly being reinforced, and at half-past two o'clock P. M., ordered Colonel Burt to march his regiment—the 18th Mississippi—and attack the left flank of the enemy, while Colonels Hunton and Jenifer attacked him in front. On arriving at his position, Colonel Burt was received with a tremendous fire from the enemy, concealed in a ravine, and was compelled to divide his regiment to stop the flank movement of the enemy. At this time—about three o'clock—finding the enemy was in large force, I ordered Colonel Featherston, with his regiment—the 17th Mississippi—to repair, at double quick, to the support of Colonel Burt, where he arrived in twenty minutes, and the action became general along my whole line, and was very hot and brisk for more than two hours, the enemy keeping up a constant fire with his batteries on both sides of the river.

"At about six o'clock P. M., I saw that my command had driven the enemy near the banks of the Potomac; I ordered my entire force to charge and drive him into the river. The charge was immediately made by the whole command, and the forces of the enemy were completely routed, and cried out for quarter along his whole line. In this charge the enemy was driven back at the point of the bayonet, and many killed by this formidable weapon. In the precipitate retreat of the enemy on the bluffs of the river, many of his troops rushed into the water and were drowned; while many others, in overloading the boats, sunk them, and shared the same fate. The rout now—about seven o'clock—became complete, and the enemy commenced throwing his arms into the river. During this action, I held Colonel Wm. Barksdale, with nine companies of his regiment, the 13th Mississippi, and six pieces of artillery as a reserve, as well as to keep up a demonstration against the force of the enemy at Edwards' Ferry. At eight o'clock P. M., the enemy surrendered his forces at Ball's Bluff, and the prisoners were marched to Leesburg. I then ordered my brigade (with the exception of the 13th regiment Mississippi, who remained in front of Edwards' Ferry) to retire to the town of Leesburg and rest for the night. On Tuesday morning I was informed by Colonel Barksdale that the enemy was still in considerable force at Edwards' Ferry. I directed him to make a thorough reconnoissance of the position and strength of the enemy and attack him. At two o'clock P. M. he gallantly attacked a much superior force in their intrenchments, driving them to the bank of the river, killing thirty or forty and wounding a considerable number. About sundown, the enemy being strongly reinforced, and stationed in rifle pits, Colonel Barksdale wisely retired with his regiment to Fort Evans, leaving a guard of two companies to watch the movements of the enemy, who, evidently expecting a renewed attack, retired during the night, and recrossed the river at Edwards' Ferry. On Wednesday morning, finding my brigade very much exhausted, I left Colonel Barksdale with his regiment, with two pieces of artillery and a cavalry force, as a grand guard, and I ordered the other three regiments to fall back toward Carter's Mill, to rest and be collected in order. Colonel Hunton, with his regiment and two pieces of artillery, was halted at a strong position on the south bank of the Sycolin, about three miles south of Leesburg. I would here state that, in an interview on Monday night with the commissioned officers of the Federal army taken prisoners, I am convinced that they expected to be recaptured, either during the night or the next day, and, as the captured officers refused their parole not to take up arms against the Southern Confederacy until duly exchanged, I ordered the whole number to be immediately marched to Manassas. This parole was only offered to give them the liberty of the town, as I did not wish to confine them with the privates."

General Evans reported the total loss of the 8th Virginia and 13th, 17th and 18th Mississippi volunteers engaged in the action at 153 killed and 2 taken prisoners. "I am pained," he says, "to report the fall of the gallant Colonel E. R. Burt, of the 18th regiment, Mississippi Volunteers. He was mortally wounded about four o'clock P. M, while gallantly leading his regiment under a tremendous fire. His loss is truly severe to his regiment and to our common cause. The battle," he adds, "on our side was fought entirely with the musket; the artillery was in position to do effective service should the enemy have advanced from his cover." The loss of the Union forces in this disastrous affair is stated in killed, wounded and missing, at 944, more than half the entire number who crossed to the Virginia shore. Of these the Massachusetts 15th lost 322, including a Lieutenant-Colonel and fourteen out of twenty-eight line officers; the Massachusetts 20th lost 159; the Tammany companies 163; the 1st California regiment 300.*

To these general and military statements of the engagement we may add a portion of the interesting personal account of the battle drawn up, especially with reference to the part borne in it by Colonel Baker, by Mr. George Wilkes, from testimony collected immediately after the event, from the survivors. We take up this animated narrative with the first dispositions made on the field by Colonel Baker. "He formed his arriving troops on a field about 200 yards in the rear where the Massachusetts men held their line of battle; but, when Wistar arrived, he led them forward, and made full dispositions for an extended line of battle. To the Massachusetts men he gave the right; to Coggswell and the Tammany troops the centre, and to the Californians he awarded the bitter position of the left, from which the heaviest fusilade continued to pour. For a while the exchanges were made at a range of 200 and 300 yards, each party availing themselves of the cover of the woods, and the Californians, after firing, taking advantage of a small wave of earth, which gave them a partial shelter of some two or three feet. This, however, was in great part neutralised by the sharpshooters of the enemy, many of whom had climbed the trees, and were picking our men off at every point. Colonel Baker and Wistar stood boldly out in the hottest fire, and while discussing some change in the arrangement, a rifle ball came whizzing directly between them. "That's pretty close, Wistar," said Colonel Baker, and then resumed his conversation without further attention to the incident. Presently, and after a sufficient pause for the marksman to reload, there came another whizzing visitor of the same sort, which this time split a twig which grew a few inches from their feet. "That fellow means *us!*" said Colonel Baker, looking up in the direction from which the shot had come, and then turning to Company G, he exclaimed, "Boys, do you see that fellow up there? Now try if some of you can't *get* him!" and he and Wistar coolly changed their ground. As the fire grew hotter, Colonel Baker, standing before his men, kept cautioning them to "lie down," and to "lie close," after they had delivered their volleys, and while reloading. "You don't lie close, General," said one of them, as he crouched in obedience to the order. "No, my son," was the reply of the hero, as he stood with one hand calmly in his breast (his favorite position,) "and when you get to be a United States Senator you will not lie down either!"

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* Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia, 1861, art. Ball's Bluff

"About three o'clock the enemy, whose strongest fire was on our left, gathered himself for a dash, and a column of them came whooping from a cow-path, rushing with the most unearthly yells, in the hope to stampede our troops directly at the California line. Solid and steady our boys raised their weapons to receive them, but Wistar checked them with an order to hold on until they got well forward, and then giving the word fire, they fell in numbers, and those who did not strew the ground, precipitately took back in flight. "Now, then, boys, let's give 'em three cheers on that," said Captain Beirel, of the New York company, and three times three were given at once with the heartiest good-will, before they even stopped to load. This was the rebel tactics through the fight—shooting from cover, and occasional charges forward with terrific yells. Their object in this was to stampede our troops, but they failed to shake their resolution even once. Indeed, our men on each occasion fiercely pressed to meet them, and as they turned from our approach, our cheers, led off always by Beirel, hounded them to their jungles. By and by Lieutenant Bramhall, of Vaughn's battery, arrived upon the ground, with Colonel Coggswell of the Tammany regiment, bringing with them a Rhode Island piece. No sooner, however, was this piece brought into position, than the enemy concentrated on it such a deadly fire that two of the cannoniers were instantly killed, and others being wounded, the whole were temporarily driven off. Colonel Baker perceiving the disaster, rushed to the piece regardless of all danger to lend his aid in serving it. This example was instantly followed by Lieutenant-Colonel Wistar, Adjutant Harvey, Colonel Coggswell, Colonel Lee, and Lord Tempest Vane (Captain Stewart), and these six gallant men, with the help of Bramhall and Lieutenant French, both of whom had been wounded, loaded and fired the piece half a dozen times. Soon, however, members from Company G, of the California regiment, and private Booth of Company L, bravely relieved these gentlemen, and they returned to their commands, Wistar reappearing in his place of duty wounded in the cheek. The cannon was then fired with great effect by Bramhall upon the rebels as they were making a new charge on the left, and the ground of their advance was literally strewed with slain. The fire of the Confederates was now hot from every portion of the line, and where Colonel Baker stood, in front, it seemed as if it would be as impossible for a man even to put his hand up without being struck by a bullet, as to spread it untouched in a shower of rain. So imminent was his peril, that Captain Beirel, whose men were then lying on the ground, could not refrain from suddenly exclaiming, "General, won't you come out of the fire and stand behind my men?" "Captain Beirel," was the stern but not unkind reply, "do you attend to Company G. I will look out for myself!"

"At this moment, and as the smoke raised from the discharge of the 12-pounder, a mounted officer, riding a fine bay charger, appeared on the right, and telling our men not to fire in that direction, waved them to follow him, pointing for them at another portion of the woods. It was his object to trail them, so they could be struck in flank, but of a sudden the Massachusetts men discovered the mistake, and General Baker noticing the movement at the same moment, ordered his men to fire, and horse and man rolled to the ground together. Turning on his heel, Baker observed Wistar by his side, with his sword in his left hand. Perceiving his right arm dangling helpless by his side, he exclaimed: "What, Wistar, hit again!" "Yes, General," answered the wounded officer, "and I wish you would put my sword in the scabbard for me, for I don't want those hounds to get possession of it." The General sheathed the weapon, and bidding Wistar retire to the rear and cross the river, resumed the conduct of the battle.

"The whole field was now literally one hell of fire. The rebels, knowing themselves to be in superior force, raved at the defeat of every attempt to drive our staunch soldiers from the ground; while our men, desperate and enraged by the bloody cost which they had paid for being short in numbers, and stimulated to the highest point by the sublime courage of their General, were rushing madly forward at every opportunity to engage the enemy hand to hand. That bloody circle, viewed from above, might have been taken for an infernal cauldron, where the mad passions of mankind, seething and crackling in the roar of hate, sent up dense clouds repulsive with the stench of murder, and spluttering with breaking bubbles of passing human life. On all sides, however, demons as they were, deeds of the most heroic bravery were performed, and, as the battle swayed, a series of small encounters whirled in circles, isolated in the smoke, where many a common man grew to the stature of a knight. They all felt they had a General, and in this and that the battle was different from Bull Run. In the midst of it all, General Baker moved up and down, encouraging the men, his grand appearance and his silvery hair making him a signal mark, though the now pervading smoke was equalizing his chances somewhat with the rest. But he saw the day was desperate; nay, felt that it was lost, unless one of those grand old shows of prowess, that disdains the weight of odds, could retrieve it by a final effort. The bayonet was his favorite weapon. He had drilled his regiment to that exercise more than to any other, and had always declared that it was the true resource of a commander when he felt that he had brave men. His proof of this was absolute in that dark hour, and getting his men in line, he determined to finish the day's record for the country within those woods, should he fail to clear them out. Just at this moment, he caught sight of a white-haired officer, riding near the rebel front, and recognizing him as he thought, he called for a pistol, and at the same moment pointing the distinguished rider out, he exclaimed: "There is General Johnston—fire boys, fire!" As he reached forward to receive the weapon he had called for, a very tall red-haired man emerged suddenly from the smoke, and, walking quickly up to within five feet of Colonel Baker, presented a self-cocking revolver, and, rapidly as he could crook his finger, delivered all the bullets it contained into his body. At the very same moment a musket-ball sped through and through his skull behind the ear, and a terrific whirling slug from a Mississippi yager tore away one-half of the muscle of the right arm, and opened a hole into his side large enough to thrust in the handle of a sword. All the death-dealing shots seemed to strike at once, and the noble leader and orator, matchless of the earth, fell mute, to speak no more. The tragedy had paralyzed all beholders for the moment ; but Captain Beirel, recovering his self-possession first, rushed at the slayer as he bent to possess himself of the General's sword, seized him by the throat, and, placing his pistol at his temples, blew the ruffian's brain in red fume over the murdered body. Beirel had been followed in his onslaught by several members of his company, and numbers of the rebels on the other side had pressed forward to protect their red-haired comrade as they saw the avenger rush toward him, and a savage hand-to-hand fight ensued over the corse. Sword-thrust, pistol-shot, and bayonet-stab intermingled quickly in that ferocious episode, and the body of the dead leader, though trampled in the melée, lay smiling in its new-found quiet, as if approving of the scene.

"The accession of the Confederates was, however, the greatest at this point, and the Californians swayed backward some few feet from the corse. The rebels, in turn, retired, and then a momentary pause ensued, during which tears might have been seen coursing themselves down many a smoke-smeared cheek, on our side, at the sight of their great loss. They did not in that moment, however, forget that he had enjoined many of them that if he fell in battle they were not to let traitors get possession of his body. Adjutant Harney was the first to remind them of this pledge, and, responding to the appeal, Beirel, who, all through, had been one of the main heroes of the fight, called to his men to follow him just as a large number of the rebels started from the opposite woods, evidently after the distinguished trophy. Before, however, the creatures could possess themselves of the noble spoil, Beirel and his men beat them back. The gallant fellow then raised the corpse of his commander in his arms, and, bearing it, amid a shower of bullets, within our lines, delivered it to Major Young, who at once conveyed it safely to the river. But this event, though it cast a resistless gloom over our men in all parts of the field, did not unnerve them, nor make them sick of battle. It inspired them with fresh rage—the Californian* battalion almost with frenzy. They rushed back, and with shrieks and cheers, and such oaths as maddened courage consecrates like prayers, they poured again into the thickest of the fight. Coggswell took command. Bramhall, though wounded, was yet at his gun, aided still by Private Booth, and a Massachusetts color-bearer, with one leg shattered, stood resting himself bravely on the staff, while he undauntedly maintained his position in the front of battle on the other. Here was a sight. The North, which this day had leaders who stood by them, was proving its strain, and notwithstanding the enemy's excess of numbers, their killed and wounded at that time outnumbered ours two to one.

"But the battle could not last—could not be kept up under our disadvantages. No heroism could compensate for our inferiority of force ; no generalship remedy our dangers of position. We were being pushed step by step toward the bank, and in default of transportation, there was no prospect but surrender, or a watery grave. Surrender, however, was not once thought of by a single man, and no one murmured at the fight. Colonel Coggswell, however, made an effort to retreat toward Edwards' Ferry, in the hope that he might find the promised forces of Gorman's brigade advancing by that route ; but the rebels swarmed too thickly on the left, and he was forced to retire backward upon the river. Foot by foot he and his heroes fought, the rebels equaling them now in desperation and driving the shattered remnants steadily back. Finally we were forced to the shore, the boat which had been bearing wounded all the afternoon was shoving off with a mangled, moaning load, and the rebels in full strength appeared on the bluff. Their unearthly yells then went up again, but our disheartened men were silent; yet they stragglingly returned the concentrated and decimating fire that was now poured upon them. Amid their volleys, they shouted to us to surrender; but this was answered with rough expressions of disdain, and responses from our muskets. But hope had now quite abandoned our side. Bramhall's gun, which had been brought from the field, but which he had failed to get to the river with the purpose of submerging it, had been tumbled down the cliff and spiked, and all power for active retaliation was departed. Yielding to a stern necessity, therefore, Colonel Coggswell gave the order for the men to cast their arms into the stream and save themselves as best they could. The panic common to the climax of protracted suffering then set in, and the scene became one of route, carnage, and dismay. Hundreds plunged into the river, and a large number, regardless of the safety of the wounded, swam after the returning scow, and, swamping it with their weight, the wounded, quick and dead went down together. Many able swimmers were stifled in the fierce, unfriendly current, and those who, through lack of that accomplishment, or mistrustful of their strength, would not tempt the river, wandered wearily up and down the hostile shore, and were eventually taken prisoners. Colonels Coggswell and Lee were among the latter number, in consequence of having yielded to the men the earliest opportunities of escape; and Captain Beirel, who remained under the bank while his men tried their fortune with the stream, was among the last to stem the current. He took his sword with him, but when midway in the passage, was obliged to adopt the alternative between the loss of it and life, and drop it on the way. Thus ended the second meeting between the Confederates and the army of the Potomac. Our troops were a second time outnumbered; and the sad result was a loss on our side of 930 captured, killed, and wounded, contrasted with 300 killed and wounded of the rebels. Yes, there was one other leading feature of the climax—for, in contrast to the gloom and dejection of our camp, Leesburg was that night illuminated!"*

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* It is proper to say that the Californians, so called, were all Pennsylvanians, except Company G, which was from New York. This statement is due to Pennsylvania and New York, while they do honor to their Californiar title.

The loss of Colonel Baker was of course keenly felt by the country, which saw in the disaster a calamity similar to that which the nation was called to mourn in the death of General Lyon. Every honor was paid to his memory in a public funeral at Washington, and in civic honors as his remains were carried to New York on their way to their passage by sea to a final resting place in his home at California. The news of his death reached San Francisco a few days only after the battle in which he fell. The intelligence was among the first messages sent to California by the newly completed telegraph line—this peaceful triumph of civilization and new bond of Union perfected in the midst of devastating war aimed at the destruction of the nation. The line was opened on the 25th of October, when a message was transmitted from Sacramento by Chief Justice Field of California, in the temporary absence of the Governor of the State, to President Lincoln at Washington. At San Francisco, on the 26th, whilst the citizens were preparing to fire a salute and make other demonstrations in honor of the event, a dispatch from the East announced the death of Colonel Baker. The rejoicings were suddenly changed to mourning, and the celebration deferred.

The following general order, in honor of Colonel Baker, was issued by General McClellan on the 22d October, the day preceding the funeral ceremonies at Washington: "The Major-General commanding, with sincere sorrow, announces to the Army of the Potomac the death of Colonel Edward D. Baker, who fell gloriously in battle on the evening of Monday, 21st of October, near Leesburgh, Va. The gallant dead has many titles to honor. At the time of his death he was a member of the United States Senate for Oregon, and it is no injustice to say that one of the most eloquent speakers in that illustrious body has been silenced by his fall. A patriot, zealous for the honor and interests of his adopted country, he has been distinguished in two wars, and has now sealed with his blood his devotion to the national flag. Cut off in the fullness of his powers as a statesman, and in the course of a brilliant career as a soldier; while the country mourns his loss, his brothers in arms will envy, while they lament his fate. He died as a soldier would wish to die—amid the thick of battle, his voice and example animating his men to brave deeds."

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* New York Tribune, November 5, 1861.

At the next meeting of the National Congress, a day, the 11th of December, was given in the Senate to the memory of its late member, General Baker. The unusual presence of the President of the United States on the occasion, gave additional significance to the proceedings. Mr. Lincoln came as a mourner, to listen to the eulogies, some to be pronounced in no unstinted measure, of his fallen friend. Addresses were delivered by Nesmith of Oregon, McDougall and Latham of California, Browning of Illinois, Cowan of Pennsylvania, Dixon of Connecticut, and Sumner of Massachusetts. All seemed to have caught something of the fervor of the eloquent hero whom they lamented, to whom reason presented itself in the language of passion and imagination; the heroism and devotion of whose death were the poetry of his life in action. Lilies and purple flowers were heaped with full hand upon his grave, as his old companions brought that homage to his memory, which they felt he would so freely have rendered to kindred excellence. McDougal, celebrated his "God-given gifts—sensations, memory, thought and action, going hand in hand together," his love of music—"not only music as it gives present pleasure to the ear, but music in the sense in which it was understood by the old seekers after wisdom, who held that in harmonious sounds rested some of the great secrets of the infinite"—and recalling his love of poetry, told how once, many years before, on the wild plains of the West, in the middle of a star-lit night, as they were journeying together, he had first heard from him the chaunt of that noble song, "The Battle of Ivry," in anticipation, as it were, of his own gallant conduct in the field—

"The King has come to marshal us, in all his armour drest;
And he has bound a snow-white plume upon his gallant crest.
He looked upon his people, and a tear was in his eye;
He looked upon the traitors, and his glance was stern and high;
Right graciously he smiled on us, as ran from wing to wing,
Down all our line, a deafening shout, 'God save our Lord the King!'
And if my standard-bearer fall, and fall full well he may,
For never saw I promise yet of such a bloody fray,
Press where ye see my white plume shines, amid the ranks of war;
And be your oriflamme to-day, the helmet of Navarre."

Mr. Browning spoke of the devotion to political principles which had taken his friend from the Senate to the battle field. "He was a true, immovable, incorruptible, and unshrinking patriot. He was the fast, firm friend of civil and religious liberty, and believed that they should be the common heritage and blessing of all mankind; and that they could be secured and enjoyed only through the instrumentality of organized constitutional government, and submission to, and obedience of, its laws; and the conviction upon his mind was deep and profound that if the wicked rebellion which had been inaugurated, went unrebuked, and treason triumphed over law, constitutional government in North America would be utterly annihilated, to be followed by the confusion of anarchy, and the confusion of anarchy to be succeeded by the oppressions and atrocities of despotism. He believed that whatever the horrors, and plagues, and desolations of civil war might be, they would still be far less in magnitude and duration than the plagues and calamities which would inevitably follow upon submission and separation. The contest in which we are engaged had been, without cause, or pretext of cause, forced upon us. We had to accept the strife, or so submit to an arrogant assumption of superiority of right, as to show ourselves unworthy of the liberties and blessings which the blood and treasure, and wisdom and virtue of illustrious sires had achieved for us; and he believed that the issue of the contest was powerfully and vitally to affect the welfare and happiness of the American people, if not, indeed, of all other nations, for centuries yet to be. With these views, both just and patriotic, he recognized it as his duty to give his services to his country whenever and in whatever capacity they could be of most value and importance; and with as much of self-abnegation as the frailties of humanity would allow, he took his place in the serried ranks of war; and in the strict and discreet discharge of his duty as a soldier, fighting for his country in a holy cause, he fell."

With classic taste and eloquence, Mr. Sumner dwelt upon the qualities of the man, and of those exigencies of the times which had brought him to a premature grave. "The Senator," said he, "to whom we to-day say farewell, was generous in funeral homage to others. More than once he held great companies in rapt attention while he did honor to the dead. Over the coffin of Broderick he proclaimed the dying utterance of this early victim, and gave it to the fiery wings of his own eloquence: 'They have killed me, because I was opposed to the extension of slavery and a corrupt administration;' and as the impassioned orator repeated these words, his own soul was knit in sympathy with the dead; and thus at once did he endear himself to the friends of freedom, even at a distance,

> 'Who would not sing for Lycidas? He knew
> Himself to sing and build the lofty rhyme.'

"There are two forms of eminent talent which are kindred in their effects—each producing an instant present impression, each holding crowds in suspense, and each kindling enthusiastic admiration. I mean the talent of the orator and the talent of the soldier. Each of these, when successful, wins immediate honor, and reads his praise in a nation's eyes. Baker was orator and soldier. To him belongs the rare renown of this double character. Perhaps he carried into war something of the confidence inspired by the conscious sway of great multitudes, as he surely brought into speech something of the ardor of war. Call him, if you will, the Prince Rupert of battle; he was also the Prince Rupert of debate. . . . . . . Not content with the brilliant opportunities of this Chamber, he accepted a commission in the army, and vaulted from the Senate to the saddle, as he had already vaulted from Illinois to California. With a zeal that never tired, after recruiting men, drawn by the attraction of his name, in New York and Philadelphia, and elsewhere, he held his brigade in camp near the Capitol, so that he passed easily from one to the other, and thus alternated between the duties of a senator and a general. His latter career was short, though shining. At a disastrous encounter near Ball's Bluff he fell, pierced by nine balls. That brain which had been the seat and organ of such subtle power, swaying assemblies, and giving to this child of obscurity place and command among his fellow-men, was now rudely shattered; and that bosom which had throbbed so bravely was rent by numerous wounds. He died with his face to the foe; and he died so instantly, that he passed without pain from the service of his country to the service of his God—while with him passed more than one gallant youth, the hope of family and friends, sent forth by my own honored commonwealth. It is sweet and becoming to die for one's country. Such a death — sudden, but not unprepared for,—is the crown of the patriot soldier's life."

When the Senate resolutions of respect to the memory of Colonel Baker were communicated to the House of Representatives, like proceedings were held, and enthusiastic speeches delivered by Sheil of Oregon, Phelps and Sargent of California, Colfax of Indiana, Kelly of Pennsylvania, and other members.

Among the victims of this lamentable disaster at Ball's Bluff, there was an ingenuous youth, standing on the entrance to manhood, with every advantage before him which cultivated taste and scholarship, high principles and distinguished social standing could possess in the career of life. This was William Lowell Putnam of Boston, 2d Lieutenant of the 20th Massachusetts Volunteers. He was carried forth from the field wounded, and died in the hospital at Poolesville the following day. His death was sincerely mourned at Boston, not only in consideration of himself and his family, but in the wide-spread fellowship of sorrow which the losses of the Massachusetts' regiments created in so many respected homes of the city. At the funeral services at the West Church, Boston, a commemorative address was delivered by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, from which we take the following biographical passages. They afford a striking indication of the zeal and sense of duty and honor with which the war was in many instances entered upon at the North—not without counting the cost, and fearlessly braving the sacrifices. "The boy-soldier," said the speaker, "whose remains are before us, came, by both parents, from the best New England races. His father is descended from the ancestor of old General Putnam, and his family on this side contains such statesmen and scholars as Timothy and John Pickering. His mother's family has given to us statesmen, sages, patriots, poets, scholars, orators, economists, philanthropists, and now gives us also a hero and martyr. His great-grandfather, Judge Lowell, inserted in the Bill of Rights, prefixed to the Constitution of this State, the clause declaring that 'all men are born free and equal,' for the purpose, as he avowed at the time, of abolishing slavery in Massachusetts; and he was appointed by Washington federal judge of this district. His grandfather was minister of this church, honored and loved, as few men have been, for more than half a century. Born in Boston in 1840, he was educated in Europe, where he went when eleven years old—and where, in France, Germany and Italy, he showed that he possessed the ancestral faculty of mastering easily all languages, and where he faithfully studied classic and Christian antiquity and art. Under the best and most loving guidance, he read with joy the vivid descriptions of Virgil, while looking down from the hill of Posillipo, on the headland of Misenum, and the ruins of Cumæ. He studied with diligence the remains of Etruscan art, of which perhaps no American scholar, though he was so young, knew more. Thus accomplished he returned to his native land, but modest and earnest, he made no display of his acquisitions, and very few knew that he had acquired anything. When the war broke out his conscience and heart urged him to go to the service of his country. His strong sense of duty overcame the reluctance of his parents, and they consented. A presentiment that he should not return alive was very strongly in his mind and theirs. But he gave himself cheerfully, and said, in entire strength of his purpose, 'that to die would be easy in such a cause;' and in the full conviction of immortality, he added, 'What is death, mother? it is nothing but a step in our life.' His fidelity to every duty gained him the respect of his superior officers, and his generous, constant interest in his companions and soldiers, brought to him an unexampled affection. He realized fully that this war must enlarge the area of freedom, if it was to attain its true end—and in one of his last letters, he expressed the earnest prayer that it might not cease till it opened the way for universal liberty. These earnest opinions were connected with a feeling of the wrong done to the African race, and an interest in its improvement. He took with him to the war, as a body servant, a colored lad named George Brown, who repaid the kindness of Lieutenant Putnam by gratitude and faithful service. George Brown followed his master across the Potomac into the battle, nursed him in his tent, and attended his remains back to Boston. Nor let the devoted courage of Lieutenant Henry Sturgis be forgotten, who lifted his wounded friend and comrade from the ground, and carried him on his back a long distance to the boat, and returned again into the fight. In the fatal battle a week ago Lowell fell, as is reported, while endeavoring to save a wounded companion,—fell, soiled with no ignoble dust, *non indecoro pulvere sordidum.* Brought to the hospital tent, he said to the surgeon who came to dress his wound, 'go to some one else, to whom you can do more good; you cannot save me,' like Philip Sydney giving the water to the soldiers who needed it more than himself. . . . . . Farewell dear child, brave heart, soul of sweetness and fire. We shall see no more that fair, candid brow, with its sunny hair, those sincere eyes, that cheek flushed with the commingling roses of modesty and courage. Go and join the noble group of devoted souls, our heroes and saints; go with Ellsworth, protomartyr of this great cause of Freedom; go with Winthrop, poet and soldier, our Korner, with sword and lyre; go with the chivalric Lyon, bravest of the brave, leader of men; go with Baker, to whose utterance the united murmurs of Atlantic and Pacific oceans gave eloquent rhythm, and whose words flowered so early into heroic action. Go with our noble Massachusetts boys, in whose veins runs the best blood of the age."

Colonel William Raymond Lee, who was taken a prisoner by the enemy, and long held as a hostage at Richmond, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1807, descendant both on the father and mother's side, of revolutionary ancestors. He entered West Point at sixteen, and completed his course without pursuing the military profession. Choosing the occupation of a civil engineer, he was employed by a Boston company in the survey of lands, which they claimed in Texas, and while engaged in this business, was taken prisoner by the Mexicans, and held for several months in captivity. He resumed his profession of engineering on his return, and found various employment in the superintendance of the Boston and Providence Railroad, and other engagements connected with railways. On the breaking out of the Rebellion, he offered his services to the Government, which were accepted. He set about the formation of a regiment, the 25th Massachusetts Volunteers, with which he proceeded to Washington in September. He was at once sent to the advance post on the Upper Potomac, where we have found him ready for duty at the first intimation of a movement against the enemy.

So unhappy an affair as that at Ball's Bluff could not be allowed to pass by without bitter comments on the mismanagement which led to the melancholy disaster. The folly of committing men in small detachments, to so untenable a position, with such paltry means of communication as the three flat boats at Harrison's Island, need no military criticism or judgments to insure its condemnation. It was a blunder for which the public demanded an account. Why, it was asked, were not means of communication provided, if the movement was a necessary one, and why was it not adequately supported by the large force below, on the Virginia side? Immediately on the meeting of Congress a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives, "That the Secretary of War be requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to report to this House whether any, and if any, what measures have been taken to ascertain who is responsible for the disastrous movement of our troops at Ball's Bluff?" To this an answer was received on the 16th of December, communicating a letter from Adjutant-General Thomas, "that the General-in-Chief of the Army is of opinion an inquiry on the subject of the resolution, would, at this time, be injurious to the public service." A discussion was held in the House of Representatives on the subject of this resolution, on the 6th of January, 1862, when an animated speech was delivered by Mr. Roscoe Conkling, a representative from New York, in which he vividly presented the circumstances attending the battle field at Ball's Bluff. "The chief mourners for that battle," said he, "those who suffered most severely in it—are the States of New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. To those States it was the battle of Cannæ, for the very pride and flower of their young men were among its victims. No wonder that the army and the country burn with indignation at

> 'The deep damnation of their taking off.'

No wonder that twenty millions of people and their presses are yet discussing whether the battle was fought on orders issued by General Stone, or on forged orders, or on no orders at all." These remarks afford an idea of the impressions this event, seemingly so difficult of comprehension, created on the public mind. A month after this debate General Stone, having been continued in his command on the Potomac, was arrested by an order from the War Department, on charges, it was said, among other matters, involving his conduct at the Battle of Ball's Bluff. Of that, however, no authoritative information was given to the public. The fact only was certainly known that he was carried to Fort Lafayette, and was there detained a prisoner of State till the following August, when he was released without trial or any other public proceedings.

In the month of July the Battle of Ball's Bluff was again brought before the attention of Congress in the speech on the conduct of the war already cited by Senator Chandler of Michigan. The battle of Ball's Bluff was reviewed on this occasion, chiefly in reference to the neglect of General McClellan and of General Stone to coöperate with Colonel Baker by a flanking movement. The course of Colonel Baker was defended on the ground that he had every reason to trust to reinforcements being sent, in the confidence that forty thousand effective men, in the divisions of McCall, Smith and Stone, were within twelve miles of him; being ignorant that the commands of the two former had actually been withdrawn; while he was exonerated from the charge of rashness by his prudent dispositions in the field, and the necessity he was under, as a man of courage and gallantry, of proceeding to the relief of the small body of troops which had preceded him, and which were beset by the enemy when he crossed. "Why," asked the Senator, fortified by the evidence taken before the War Committee, of which he was a member, "was this little band permitted to be destroyed by a force little more than double its numbers in the presence of forty thousand splendid troops? Why were Mc-

Call and Smith ordered back at the very moment when Baker was ordered to cross? If we wanted Leesburg, McCall could have taken it without the loss of a man, as his movement in mass had already caused its evacuation, and the enemy did not return in force until after McCall had retreated. If we did not wish to capture Leesburg, why did we come at all? Of what use is a 'slight demonstration' even, without results? These are questions which the people will ask, and no man can satisfactorily answer. Why were not reinforcements sent from Edwards' Ferry to Colonel Baker? The distance was only three and a half miles. We had fifteen hundred men across at two o'clock on Monday, and the universal concurrent testimony of officers and men is, that a reinforcement of even one thousand men—some say five hundred, and one gallant captain swears that with one hundred men he could have struck them upon the flank, and changed the result of the day. Why were not reinforcements sent? Stone swears that there were batteries between Edwards' Ferry and Ball's Bluff, which would have utterly destroyed any force he could have sent to Baker's relief, and that Baker knew it. But Stone was not sustained by a single witness; on the contrary, all swear that there were not, to their knowledge, and that they did not believe there were any; and a civilian living on the spot, and in the habit of passing over the ground frequently, swears there were none; and again, Stone, when questioned as to the erection of forts under his range of guns, upon his second examination, swears positively that there is not a gun now between Edwards' Ferry and Ball's Bluff, and never has been. Why, then, were not reinforcements sent from Edwards' Ferry? Let the men who executed and planned this horrible slaughter answer to God and an outraged country."

Such was the criticism freely expended upon this unhappy movement to Ball's Bluff. Like many other acts of the war, it awaits the judgment of a fuller investigation, on ampler testimony, than has yet been made public.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE RETIREMENT OF GENERAL SCOTT, NOVEMBER 1, 1861.

THE exhausting labors of the summer of 1861, with the numerous anxieties attending upon the public service, had their effect upon the constitution of the veteran General Scott, who up to this time had borne at Washington, in his capacity of Lieutenant-General, the burden of responsibility in the direction and superintendence of the national forces. As the war increased in magnitude, it was evident that this vast and engrossing work must be transferred to other hands. Rumors, accordingly, of the approaching retirement of General Scott from his high rank and duties at the capitol, began to be spread abroad in the autumn. Indeed, provision for such an incident had been made in the extra session of Congress, in a section of the Act for the organization of the military establishment, which secured to the brevet Lieutenant-General, in case of his retirement, his full current pay and subsistence, or allowances. On the 1st of November the expected event took place. A special meeting was held on the morning of that day by the Cabinet at Washington, when the following letter by General Scott was presented: "Headquarters of the Army, Washington, October 31,

1861. The Hon. S. Cameron, Secretary of War. Sir: For more than three years I have been unable, from a hurt, to mount a horse, or to walk more than a few paces at a time, and that with much pain. Other and new infirmities, dropsy and vertigo, admonish me that repose of mind and body, with the appliances of surgery and medicine, are necessary to add a little more to a life already protracted much beyond the usual span of man. It is under such circumstances, made doubly painful by the unnatural and unjust rebellion now raging in the Southern States of our so lately prosperous and happy Union, that I am compelled to request that my name shall be placed on the list of army officers retired from active service. As this request is founded on an absolute right, granted by a recent act of Congress, I am entirely at liberty to say it is with deep regret that I withdraw myself in these momentous times from the orders of a President who has treated me with much distinguished kindness and courtesy; whom I know, upon much personal intercourse, to be patriotic without sectional partialities or prejudices; to be highly conscientious in the performance of every duty, and of unrivaled activity and perseverance; and to you, Mr. Secretary, whom I now officially address for the last time, I beg to acknowledge my many obligations for the uniform high consideration I have received at your hands, and have the honor to remain, Sir, with high respect, your obedient servant, Winfield Scott." Action was immediately taken upon the letter by the Cabinet. It was decided that, under the circumstances of General Scott's advanced age and infirmities, the resignation be accepted, and at the same meeting it was resolved that the command of the army be assigned to General McClellan.

On the afternoon of the same day the Cabinet again waited upon the President, and attended him to the residence of General Scott. Being seated, the President read to the General the following order: "On the 1st day of November, A. D. 1861, upon his own application to the President of the United States, Brevet Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott is ordered to be placed, and hereby is placed, upon the list of retired officers of the army of the United States, without reduction in his current pay, subsistence, or allowances. The American people will hear with sadness and deep emotion that General Scott has withdrawn from the active control of the army, while the President and unanimous Cabinet express their own and the nation's sympathy in his personal affliction, and their profound sense of the important public services rendered by him to his country during his long and brilliant career, among which will ever be gratefully distinguished his faithful devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag, when assailed by parricidal rebellion.—Abraham Lincoln."

General Scott thereupon rose and addressed the President and Cabinet, who had also risen, as follows: "President, this hour overwhelms me. It overpays all services I have attempted to render to my country. If I had any claims before, they are all obliterated by this expression of approval by the President, with the remaining support of his Cabinet. I know the President and this Cabinet well. I know that the country has placed its interests in this trying crisis in safe keeping. Their counsels are wise; their labors are as untiring as they are loyal, and their course is the right one. President, you must excuse me. I am unable to stand longer to give utterance to the feelings of gratitude which oppress me. In my retirement I shall offer up my prayers to God for this Administration and for my country. I shall pray for it with confidence in its success over all enemies, and that speedily." The President then took leave of General Scott, giving him his hand, and saying he hoped soon to write him a private letter expressive of his gratitude and affection. The President added: "General: You will naturally feel solicitude about the gentlemen of your staff, who have rendered you and their country such faithful service. I have taken that subject into consideration. I understand that they go with you to New York. I shall desire them, at their earliest convenience, after their return, to make their wishes known to me. I desire you now, however, to be satisfied that, except the unavoidable privation of your counsel and society, which they have so long enjoyed, the provision which will be made for them will be such as to render their situation hereafter as agreeable as it has been heretofore." Each member of the Administration then gave his hand to the veteran, and retired in profound silence.

The following letter was also addressed, the same day, to General Scott by the Secretary of War: "General: It was my duty to lay before the President your letter of yesterday, asking to be relieved, under the recent act of Congress. In separating from you I cannot refrain from expressing my deep regret that your health, shattered by long service and repeated wounds received in your country's defense, should render it necessary for you to retire from your high position at this momentous period of our history. Although you are not to remain in active service, I yet hope that while I continue in charge of the Department, over which I now preside, I shall at times be permitted to avail myself of the benefits of your wise counsels and sage experience. It has been my good fortune to enjoy a personal acquaintance with you for over thirty years, and the pleasant relations of that long time have been greatly strengthened by your cordial and entire coöperation in all the great questions which have occupied the Department, and convulsed the country for the last six months. In parting from you, I can only express the hope that a merciful Providence, that has protected you amid so many trials, will improve your health, and continue your life long after the people of the country shall have been restored to their former happiness and prosperity."

A general order from General McClellan completed the official bulletin of the day, occupied with this important transaction. "Headquarters of the Army, Washington, November 1, 1861. In accordance with General Order, No. 94, from the War Department, I hereby assume command of the armies of the United States. In the midst of the difficulties which encompass and divide the nation, hesitation and self-distrust may well accompany the assumption of so vast a responsibility, but confiding as I do, in the loyalty, discipline, and courage of our troops, and believing as I do, that Providence will favor ours as the just cause, I cannot doubt that success will crown our efforts and sacrifices. The army will unite with me in the feeling of regret that the weight of many years, and the effect of increasing infirmities, contracted and intensified in his country's service, should just now remove from our head the great soldier of our nation, the hero, who in his youth raised high the reputation of his country in the fields of Canada, which he sanctified with his blood, who in more mature years proved to the world that American skill and valor could repeat. if not eclipse, the exploits of Cortez in the land of the Montezumas, whose whole life has been devoted to the service of his country, whose whole efforts had been directed to uphold our honor at the smallest sacrifice of life, a warrior who scorned the selfish glories of the battle-field, when his great qualities as a statesman could be employed more profitably for his country, a citizen who, in his declining years has given to the world the most shining instance of loyalty in disregarding all ties of birth, and clinging still to the cause of truth and honor. Such has been the career and character of Winfield Scott, whom it has long been the delight of the nation to honor, both as a man and as a soldier. While we regret his loss, there is one thing we cannot regret—the bright example he has left for our emulation. Let us all hope and pray that his declining years may be passed in peace and happiness, and that they may be cheered by the success of the country and the cause he has fought for and loved so well. Beyond all that, let us do nothing that can cause him to blush for us ; let no defeat of the army he has so long commanded, embitter his last years, but let our victories illuminate the close of a life so grand. — George B. McClellan, Major-General Commanding U. S. A."

The presentation of a sword to General McClellan, one of the first incidents of his new command, by a committee of the Common Council of Philadelphia, on the 3d of November, called from him a characteristic reply. " We honor you," said the chairman in his address, " as a representative man, as representing loyal Pennsylvania, whose every family sends to this contest a father or a son, as opposed to a rebellion against her part and lot in the inheritance from our sires, and in accordance with a sentiment unalterably declared, that she will permit no armed dictation at home or abroad, which has for its object the diminution of a single bond of the Union or the least fibre of its strength. General, an active mind led you to leave during peace the art you learned so thoroughly. War has restored you to it with high responsibilities. You have been favored largely with a success which has sealed the good opinion of your earlier promise. From the peaceful arts has risen with you a mighty army, which, it is to be hoped, but not before a decisive blow has been struck, will soon retire again to the same peaceful pursuits." To this and other remarks of a like tenor, General McClellan responded. " I ask you, sir, to give my warmest and deepest thanks to the honorable body you represent, for this entirely unmerited compliment. I could thank you better if I thought that I deserved it ; but I do not feel that I do. Nothing that I have yet accomplished would warrant this high compliment. It is for the future to decide whether I shall realize the expectations and hopes that have been centred in me. I trust and feel that the day is not far distant when I shall return to the place dearest of all others to me, there to spend the balance of my days among the people from whom I have received this beautiful gift. The war cannot be long ; it may be desperate. I ask in the future forbearance, patience and confidence. With these we can accomplish all, and while I know that in the great drama which may have our hearts blood, that Pennsylvania will not play the least, I trust that, on the other hand, she will play the highest and noblest part. I again thank you, and ask you to convey to the Council my most sincere thanks for the sword. Say to them that it will be my ambition to deserve it hereafter. I know I do not now."

A day or two after the good opinion expressed of the young General by his brother Pennsylvanians was reiterated by the Secretary of War Cameron on a visit to New York, where he was called upon to address a political gathering of the Union Club, from the portico of the Astor House. After alluding to the devotion of the North to the cause of the war, he briefly noticed some of the circumstances of the struggle. " We certainly," said he, " had some reverses in the commencement, and there were some excuses to be made for them. The people of the North are a working people, engaged for the last fifty years in the peaceful pursuits of civil industry. For more than fifty years the South had been meditating this foul rebellion, and were preparing for war, while the North was consolidating peace and harmony

They were not content with their own resources, but they began by stealing that which belonged to us. The honest man who was in the War Department not long ago stole all our munitions of war and sent them South, and when the rebels were ripe for revolt, they stole everything that they found ready to their hands. . . . . . There have been reverses in every war, and we have had ours. But I believe we have passed our day of reverses. When the war commenced we were without money, without men, without arms. All our money and arms had been stolen by those who had meditated rebellion. But now the case is very different. We have plenty of money, plenty of arms, and an abundance of men. And more, we have the brave and gallant young General at the head of our army. That young soldier is the idol of his troops, because of his solicitude and care for them. In every contest, so far as his career has gone, he has been victorious. Since he has assumed the command of our armies his constant care has been to have his men disciplined and instructed in the art of war, so as to ensure a victory when he shall be prepared to move with the immense host at whose head he now stands."

General Scott, the morning after the proceedings attending his resignation, left Washington for New York on a special train, accompanied by his staff, the Secretaries of War and the Treasury, and a number of other distinguished persons, including Governor Sprague of Rhode Island, and General B. F. Butler of Massachusetts. General McClellan took leave of him at the depot in an affecting farewell. A couch was fitted up for the invalid General in the single passenger car of the train. The route taken was by Baltimore, through Harrisburg to Jersey City, and though the day was stormy, the inhabitants everywhere turned out in numbers to greet the arrival of the toil-worn General, who had so often in a long career earned the gratitude of his countrymen.

A few days after his arrival at New York General Scott was waited upon at his lodgings in the Brevoort House, by a Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and the Union Defence Committee of the City, when resolutions were presented and addresses made appropriate to the occasion. To the address of Mr. Perit, in behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, General Scott replied: "The language of praise is sweet when it comes from high sources of intelligence and moral worth; and sweet also is the consciousness of having labored hard through a long life to merit it. His measure was full and overflowing. The great calamity which had befallen the country—the rebellion found him far advanced in life; and the labors, responsibilities, and anxieties which it had thrown upon him, had broken him down. He was now but a wreck. If the calamity had occurred three or four years before it would have found him vigorous, and in a condition to do some service in meeting it; and he would have met it, he flattered himself, successfully. Although he was *hors du combat*, yet he was happy to say—and his opinion on this subject might be of some value—that he had left on the field a large and patriotic army, in which were many of the best citizens of the country, the best of officers and men, commanded by Generals of great merit; Generals capable of achieving victory. On the field were young and vigorous men, competent to perform all the duties which the country requires of them. Major-General McClellan, a man of scientific attainments and genius, and of respectable experience; Major-General Halleck, another officer of genius, science and discretion, who would meet all the expectations of his Government and country, and many brigadiers and Colonels of great worth.

"He (General Scott) did not, therefore, despair of the Union; he was even confident of the success of our cause, within a limited time, and hoped that the coming Spring would find the rebellion suppressed. In a short time he hoped that another union of fraternity would be reëstablished so firmly as to endure for ever. The Union had commanded all his affections. The Union was his country, and he knew no other."

In another reply to the address of the Union Defence Committee, he complimented that body on its timely labors for the preservation of the Government at the outbreak of the rebellion, and added to his praises of Generals McClellan and Halleck, a warm tribute to the virtues of President Lincoln. "I have considerable confidence," said he, "in the Administration of the country. I do not speak of party confidence, for I have long ceased to be a party man. I have great confidence in the President. He is a man of genius untiring zeal, and conscientiousness. It is due from me to say that he is not a President of my making. I had no part nor lot in his election. I confess that he has agreeably disappointed me. He is a man of great ability, fidelity and patriotism."

In this interview General Scott announced his intention of immediately visiting Europe for his health, in the hope of relief from the vertigo with which he was affected. When he had accomplished this he would return to the city, which had been more or less his home for forty years. The next day, November 9th, accompanied by a few friends, he privately took his departure from the hotel and embarked on the steamship Arago for Havre, cheered on the way by the first reports, then reaching the North, through rebel sources, of the success of the naval expedition in the capture of Beaufort, an important event which will form the subject of another chapter

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE CAMP AT CAIRO AND BATTLE OF BELMONT, NOVEMBER 7, 1861.

The soldiers of Illinois, who were to bear so conspicuous a part in the coming war, were early in the field. The State, both by its geographical and political position, was likely to exercise a most important influence on the war. Bounded on the west and south by the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, it was in its power to control the vast supplies furnished to the South by those mighty channels of trade. Cairo, at the junction of these two streams, was the key to the Northwest. A military force stationed there might arrest the entire water communication of New Orleans and the intermediate cities with St. Louis, on the one side, and Cincinnati on the other, and the regions beyond, of which these commercial cities are the depots. Whichever of the two parties in the national conflict should first get possession of Cairo would hold an inestimable advantage in carrying on the war. Nor was the command of the State less important in its moral influences. The sympathies of its Southern portion might naturally be, as it was frequently stated they were, with its neighbors in Kentucky and Missouri. Next to the border slave States, its voice on the principles and conduct of the war was of the utmost significance. Had Illinois wavered, Kentucky and Tennessee would have been doubly resolute, and Missouri doubly hesitating. Happily, she had in the executive chair a man who saw clearly the nature of the issue, and had the will and spirit to lead the undoubted inclination and determination of her loyal population. No one stood forward, as the crisis approached, more firmly to arrest the downward course of rebellion than her Governor, Richard Yates. By his energetic patriotism, both the military and political power and authority of the State were promptly secured to the Government. In advance of the now imminent struggle, when there was but a spec of war in the horizon, he had, in his Inaugural in January, considerately and firmly declared his conviction of the duty of the people of Illinois to the Union. Of the vexed question of slavery, it was an institution, he declared, which could not exist for ever. "Die it must," was his language," sooner or later; die, that the philosophy of history may be demonstrated; die, that man's most cherished hopes may not wither; die, that God's eternal justice may be vindicated." But, he said at the same time, while the "outside territories of the Union were not to be surrendered to a policy that would retard their settlement," there was no reason why this inevitable work of emancipation should not be left to the discretion or necessities of the slave-holding States. He demanded only obedience to the Constitution and the laws, and less than this fidelity to the Union he would not accept. He could recognise but one theory of political action, that of "the perpetuity of the Constitution and the Government organized under it."

With these principles his course was thenceforward simple and direct. The call to arms found him ready and resolved. He promptly called the Legislature together in special session, and clearly set before its members the demands of the occasion. "Secession," said he, "has brought about its inevitable results, and we must crush it and treason wherever they raise their unsightly heads, or perish ourselves." He asked to be allowed to accept the services of ten regiments in addition to the quota called for by the General Government. This was the beginning of the army of Illinois. Previous to the war the entire uniformed militia of the State did not muster eight hundred men; before the close of the year more than seventy thousand of its citizens were in the army. Illinois, in her population of about a million seven hundred thousand, had four hundred thousand capable of bearing arms, and more than double that number of children in her free schools.*

Simultaneously with the meeting of the Illinois Legislature, at the end of April, Governor Yates, in obedience to an order of the War Department, stationed a portion of the Volunteer forces which had been hastily mustered, as a garrison at Cairo. An important seizure of a cargo of seven hundred kegs of powder and other war materials, on a boat descending the Mississippi, was one of the first fruits of the occupation. As troops were organized, the command was reinforced, and the natural defences of the place strengthened by military art. The embankment of the levees afforded an advantageous position for heavy guns; and before the rebels were prepared for its assault, Cairo was beyond the reach of capture. At the end of May Brigadier-General Prentiss had under his command, at Camp Defiance, some five thousand State volunteers, with a respectable force of artillery. An entrenched camp on the opposite station in Missouri, at Bird's Point, was occupied by Colonel Schuttner's regiment of St. Louis Volunteers, composed of Germans, Poles, and Hungarians, rendering the control of the Mississippi at this point complete.

We have an interesting account of a visit to Cairo the following month, in a letter of the London *Times'* correspondent, Mr. Russell. Just arrived from an examination of General Pillow's rival works at Memphis, and its vicinity, he sees the military value of the position, and bears witness to the general excellence of the defences. His sketch of the departure of an expedition on a guerrilla enterprise against a party of rebels at Commerce, on the Mississippi, affords a vivid glimpse of the stalwart men, "well set up, stout, powerful, infantry-looking, cheerful and full of confidence," who a few months later were to secure the plaudits of the country in their brave campaign in Tennessee. Nor were the humors of the camp forgotten by this lively observer. Here is an evening scene, doubtless freely sketched, in which his countrymen bore a part: "An Irish gentleman, who had been evincing his satisfaction at the receipt of his wages, *more Hibernico*, just now attempted to get past us. 'Who goes there?' 'A friend—shure you know I'm a friend!' 'Advance three paces and give the countersign.' The gentleman approached, and was brought up by the bayonet. 'Send for the captain, and he'll give you the word, bedad.' The intercession was unnecessary, for two policemen came up in hot pursuit, and the general, who was sitting by, ordered the guard to deliver their prisoner to the civil power. For some extraordinary reason, this act moved the prisoner to the greatest gratitude, and taking off his cap, he exclaimed, 'Thank you, general; long life to you. Indeed, general, I'm greatly obliged to you, on this account!' Another sentry who challenged an officer in the usual way, was asked by him, 'Do you know the countersign yourself?' 'Indeed, I don't, sir; it's not nine o'clock and they hav'n't given it out yet.' A very tolerable military band had played outside the hotel in the evening, and I was pleased to see the quiet manner in which the bystanders, of all ranks, sat down in the chairs as they were vacant, close to the general, without any intrusion, or any sense of impropriety arising from their difference in rank."

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* Inaugural Address of Governor Yates, Jan. 14, 1861. Allen C. Fuller's, Adjutant-General, Report, Dec. 12 1861

Among other military employments of the force at Cairo, in its service in this quarter, there was a spirited raid, on the 19th of August, of a party of about two hundred of the Illinois troops, led by Colonel Dougherty and Lieutenant-Colonel Ranson, against a band of Secessionists who were occupying Charleston, Missouri. On reaching the spot where the enemy were encamped in the court-house, church and other buildings, a charge was ordered, which resulted in a loss of forty killed and fifty or sixty wounded on the side of the rebels, and one killed and several wounded of the attacking party. The rebels were fully routed and fifteen prisoners with eighteen horses and other trophies were brought in to Bird's Point.

Besides its embankments and their defenders Cairo and the region under her guardianship had a more powerful means of protection and annoyance to the foe, in the little flotilla of gunboats destined to such signal service on the western waters. The construction of these vessels was commenced at Cincinnati in May, when Commander John Rodgers was sent by the Navy Department to superintend the work. Under his direction three stern-wheel steamers, the Tyler, Lexington and Conestoga, were purchased and prepared for military service. They were heavily cased with oak and severally armed with seven, six, and four guns. They reached Cairo in August, and henceforth we find them constantly enployed in checking the advances of the enemy and supporting the movements of the National troops.

Their first active employment was on the 9th of September, when, by order of General Grant, Lieutenant Phelps commanding the Conestoga and Lieutenant Stembel commanding the Lexington, were sent down the river to Norfolk, eight miles below Cairo on the Missouri shore, to coöperate with a land movement of Colonel Wagner upon the enemy at that place. The Conestoga led the way, and came in contact with a rebel battery at Lucas's Bend on the Missouri side, when a skirmishing fire was kept up for some time, the enemy following the movement of the steamers as they ascended the stream by advancing their flying rifled artillery along the shore. The fire was promptly returned, when the foe retreating, they were pursued by the steamers till the latter came up with two rebel vessels out of Columbus. One of these was the gunboat Yankee, upon which Lieutenant Stembel, at the distance of about two miles and a half, tried the force of one of his 8-inch guns charged with a 15-second shell. Giving the gun its greatest possible elevation, he fired, and "had the satisfaction of seeing the shell explode in the star-board wheel-house of the Yankee, careening her smoke-stack and otherwise crippling her, when both rebel steamers retreated towards Columbus, the batteries on the bluff alone preventing their capture."* One man only was injured on the Union side. In September Captain Andrew H. Foote, an officer of the United States Navy, presently to acquire great distinction in the service on the Mississippi, was assigned to the command of the Western Flotilla, for which a number of iron-clad gunboats and mortar boats were in active preparation. On the 30th of October he reported to the Department the ascent of the Conestoga, Lieutenant Phelps, with three companies of Major Philips' Illinois regiment, to Eddyville, sixty-two miles above Paducah on the Tennessee river. "Conjointly they had a handsome and successful skirmish, in which the rebels broke and fled in every direction, leaving seven dead on the field." Two of the Union party were severely and several slightly wounded. The spoils were forty-four prisoners, seven negroes, thirty-one horses, eleven mules and a fair quantity of military equipments.

The most considerable movement from Cairo previous to the great expeditions to the Tennessee and the Cumberland was the armed reconnoissance of General Ulysses S. Grant, then commanding the district of South Eastern Missouri, in the direction of Columbus, which resulted in the battle of Belmont. This officer, destined to distinguished service in the war, was a native of Ohio, and entered the Military Academy from that State in 1839. Graduating from that institution in due course, he was appointed brevet 2d Lieutenant to the 4th Infantry. He served with distinguished honor in the Mexican campaigns of both General Taylor and General Scott, and was brevetted Captain for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Chapultepec. He attained the full rank of Captain in the 4th Infantry in 1853. The following year he resigned his rank in the service, and settled in St. Louis county, Missouri, whence he removed to Galena, Illinois, in 1860. At the breaking out of the war of the rebellion he offered his services to Governor Yates and entered at once on active employment as Colonel of the 21st regiment of volunteers, serving in that capacity until he was promoted among the earliest appointments of the kind at Washington, to the rank which he held at Belmont, of Brigadier-General of Volunteers.

The object of the expedition from Cairo, as we learn from General Grant's Report, was to prevent the enemy in that quarter sending out reinforcements to Price's army in South-western Missouri, and also from cutting off two small columns that had been sent from Cairo and Cape Girardeau in pursuit of Jeff. Thompson, who was in command of a body of insurgents on St. Francis river. As the rebel force was known to be large, General Charles F. Smith, an officer of the regular army, who was stationed at Paducah, was requested to coöperate by demonstrations on the

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* Commander Stembel's Report to Commodore Foote, September 13, 1861.

Kentucky side, which he did by advancing small bodies of men toward Columbus. These arrangements having been made General Grant having also sent a small force into Kentucky in the same direction, embarked with nearly three thousand men on the evening of the sixth of November, from Cairo. He had with him five incomplete regiments; Colonel Dougherty's 22d, Colonel Buford's 27th, Colonel Foukes' 30th, Colonel Logan's 31st Illinois, Colonel Lanman's 7th Iowa, with Captain Ezra Taylor's Chicago Light Battery of four 6-pounder field guns, and two 12-pounder howitzers and two companies of Illinois cavalry, commanded by Captains Dollins and Delano. This force was transported on five steamers and was accompanied by the gunboats H. O. Tyler and Lexington, heavily armed, and commanded by Captains Walke and Stembel, of the United States Navy. The vessels stopped for the night about nine miles below Cairo, leaving the enemy to suppose from the operations on the Kentucky shore, that the immediate object was Columbus. It was really the camp opposite at Belmont, where several regiments of the enemy had been stationed. At daylight the next day the voyage was resumed to a point of the river just out of the range of the rebel guns, about two and a half miles distant, and the disembarkation from the transports there safely accomplished on the Missouri shore, about half-past eight o'clock. The heavy batteries of the enemy at Columbus, which had been directed at the gunboats, were turned against the advancing column, but without effect. Brigadier-General John A. McClernand, an eminent political leader in Illinois, a friend and supporter of the late Senator Douglass, who had passed, from his earnest advocacy of the cause of the Union in the recent Congress to serve the same great interest in the field, had immediate charge of the movement under the direction of General Grant. He now sent forward the cavalry with a skirmishing party to clear the way, while carefully reconnoitering the position of the enemy, he brought up his regiments within striking distance of the enemy's camp. "A sharp firing," says he in his vivid report to General Grant of the action which ensued, "having immediately commenced between the skirmishing parties of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first and the enemy, I ordered forward another party to their support, rode forward, selected a new position, and ordered up the balance of my command—the Twenty-seventh—to pass around the head of a pond, the Thirtieth and Thirty-first, with the artillery, crossing the dry bed of the same slough in their front. On their arrival, I re-formed the line of battle in the same order as before. It was my expectation that the Twenty-second Illinois and the Seventh Iowa would resume their former positions on the left wing, which would have perfected a line sufficient to enclose the enemy's camp, on all sides accessible to us, thus enabling us to command the river above and below them, and prevent the crossing of reinforcements from Columbus, insuring his capture as well as defeat. The Thirtieth and Thirty-first and the artillery, moving forward, promptly relieved the skirmishing parties, and soon became engaged with a heavy body of the enemy's infantry and cavalry. The struggle, which was continued for half an hour with great severity, threw our ranks into temporary disorder; but the men promptly rallied under the gallant example of Colonels Fouke and Logan, assisted by Major Berryman, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General of my brigade; also by Captain Schwartz, Acting Chief of Artillery, Captain Dresser, of the artillery, Lieutenant Babcock, of the Second Cavalry, and Lieutenant Eddy, of the Twenty-ninth Illinois regiment, who had, upon my invitation, kindly joined my staff. Our men pressed vigorously upon the enemy and drove him back, their cavalry leaving that part of the field and not appearing again until attacked by Captain Dollins, on the river bank below their encampment, and chased out of sight, near the close of the contest. Advancing about a quarter of a mile further, this force again came up with the enemy, who by this time had been reinforced upon this part of the field, as I since learn, by three regiments and a company of cavalry. Thus strengthened, they attempted to turn our left flank, but, ordering Colonel Logan to extend the line of battle by a flank movement, and bringing up a section of Taylor's battery, commanded by First Lieutenant B. H. White, under the direction of Captain Schwartz, to cover the space thus made between the Thirtieth and Thirty-first, the attempt was frustrated. Having completed that disposition, we again opened a deadly fire from both infantry and artillery, and after a desperate resistance drove the enemy back the third time, forcing them to seek cover among thick woods and brush, protected by the heavy guns at Columbus. In this struggle, while leading the charge, I received a ball in one of my holsters, which failed of harm by striking a pistol. Here Colonels Fouke and Logan urged on their men by the most energetic appeals; here Captain Dresser's horse was shot under him, while Captain Schwartz's horse was twice wounded; here the projectiles from the enemy's heavy guns at Columbus, and their artillery at Belmont crashed through the woods over and among us; here again, all my staff who were with me, displayed the greatest intrepidity and activity; and here, too, many of our officers were killed or wounded; nor shall I omit to add that this gallant conduct was stimulated by your presence, and inspired by your example. Here your horse was killed under you.

"While this struggle was going on, a tremendous fire from the 27th, which had approached the abattis on the right and rear of the tents, was heard. About the same time the 7th and 22d, which had passed the rear of the 30th and 31st, hastened up, and, closing the space between them and the 27th, poured a deadly fire upon the enemy. A combined movement was now made upon three sides of the enemy's works, and driving him across the abattis, we followed close upon his heels into the clear space around his camp. The 27th was the first seen by me entering upon this ground. I called the attention of the other regiments to their approach, and the whole line was quickened by eager and impatient emulation. In a few minutes our entire force was within the enclosure. Under the skillful direction of Captain Schwartz, Captain Taylor now brought up his battery within three hundred yards of the enemy's tents, and opened fire upon them. He fled with precipitation from the tents, and took shelter behind some buildings near the river, and into the woods above the camp, under cover of his batteries at Columbus. Near this battery I met Colonel Dougherty, who was leading the 7th and 22d through the open space toward the tents. At the same time our lines upon the right and left were pressing up to the line of fire from our battery, which now ceased firing, and our men rushed forward among the tents and toward some buildings near the river. Passing over to the right of the camp, I met Colonel Buford, for the first time since his detour around the pond, and congratulated him upon the ardor of his men, to be the first to pass the enemy's works. During the execution of this movement, Captain Alexander Bielaski, one of my aides-de-camp, who had accompanied Colonel Buford during the march of the 27th, separate from the main command, having dismounted from his horse, which had been several times wounded, was shot down while advancing with the flag of his adopted country in his hand, and calling on the men in his rear to follow him. Near him, and in a few minutes afterward, Colonel Lanman fell, severely wounded in the thigh, while leading his men in a desperate charge. Galloping my horse down to the river, I found Captain Bozart, of Company K, 27th regiment, supported by squads of men who had joined him, sharply engaged with a detachment of the enemy, whom he drove into the woods above the camp. Here the firing was very hot. My own head was grazed by a ball, my horse was wounded in the shoulder and his caparison torn in several places. Here, too, one of the enemy's caissons fell into my hands, and a capture of artillery was made by Captain Schwartz, a portion of the 7th gallantly assisting in achieving this result. Having complete possession of the enemy's camp in full view of his formidable batteries at Columbus, I gave the word for three cheers for the Union, to which the brave men around me responded with the most enthusiastic applause. Several of the enemy's steamers being within range above and below, I ordered a section of Taylor's battery, under the direction of Captain Schwartz, down near the river, and opened a fire upon them, and upon Columbus itself, with what effect I could not learn. The enemy's tents were set on fire, destroying his camp equipage, about four thousand blankets, and his means of transportation. Such horses and other property as could be removed were siezed, and four pieces of his artillery brought to the rear.

"The enemy at Columbus, seeing us in possession of his camp, directed upon us the fire of his heavy guns, but ranging too high inflicted no injury. Information came at the same time of the crossing of heavy bodies of troops above us, amounting, as I since learn, to five regiments, which, joining those which had fled in that direction, formed rapidly in our rear with the design of cutting off our communication with our transports. To prevent this, and having fully accomplished the object of the expedition, I ordered Captain Taylor to reverse his guns and open fire upon the enemy in his new position, which was done with great spirit and effect, breaking his line, and opening our way by the main road. Promptly responding to an order to that effect, Colonel Logan ordered his flag in front of his regiment, prepared to force his way in the same direction, if necessary. Moving on, he was followed by the whole force, except the 27th and the cavalry companies of Captains Dollins and Delano. Determined to preserve my command unbroken, and to defeat the evident design of the enemy to divide it, I twice rode back across the field to bring up the 27th and Dollins' cavalry, and also dispatched Major Brayman for the same purpose, but without accomplishing the object; they having sought, in returning, the same route by which they advanced in the morning. On passing into the woods the 30th, the 7th, and 22d encountered a heavy fire on their right and left successively, which was returned with such vigor and effect as to drive back the superior force of the enemy and silence his firing, but not until the 7th and 22d had been thrown into temporary disorder. Here Lieutenant-Colonel Wentz, of the 7th, and Captain Markley, of the 30th, with several privates were killed, and Colonel Dougherty, of the 22d, and Major McClurken, of the 30th, who was near me, were severely wounded. Here my body servant killed one of the enemy by a pistol shot. Driving the enemy back on either side, we moved on, occasionally exchanging shots with straggling parties, in the course of which my horse received another ball, being one of two fired at me from the corner of a field. Captain Schwartz was at my right when these shots were fired. At this stage of the contest, according to the admission of rebel officers, the enemy's forces had swelled, by frequent reinforcements from the other side of the river, to over thirteen regiments of infantry, and something less than two squadrons of cavalry; excluding his artillery, four pieces of which were in our possession, and two of which, after being spiked, together with part of one of our caissons were left on the way for want of animals to bring them off. The other two, with their horses and harness, were brought off. On reaching the landing and not finding the detachments of the 7th and 22d, which you had left behind in the morning to guard the boats, I ordered Delano's cavalry, which was embarking, to the rear of the field to watch the enemy. Within an hour all our forces which had arrived were embarked, Captain Schwartz, Captain Hatch, Assistant Quartermaster, and myself being the last to get on board. Suddenly the enemy, in strong force, (whose approach had been discovered by Lieutenant-Colonel John H. White, of the 31st, who was conspicuous through the day for his dauntless courage and conduct,) came within range of our musketry, when a terrible fire was opened upon him by the gunboats, as well as by Taylor's battery and the infantry. The engagement thus renewed was kept up with great spirit, and with a deadly effect upon the enemy, until the transports had passed beyond his reach. Exposed to the terrible fire of the gunboats and Taylor's battery, a great number of the enemy were killed and wounded in this, the closing scene of a battle of six hours' duration. The 27th and Dollins' cavalry being yet behind, I ordered my transport to continue in the rear of the fleet, excepting the gunboats; and after proceeding a short distance, landed and directed the gunboats to return and await their appearance. At this moment Lieutenant H. A. Rust, Adjutant of the 27th, hastened up and announced the approach of the 27th and Dollins' cavalry. Accompanied by Captains Schwartz and Hatch, I rode down the river bank and met Colonel Buford with a part of his command. Inferring that my transport was waiting to receive him, I went farther down the river, and met Captain Dollins, whom I also instructed to embark, and still farther met the remainder of the 27th, which had halted on the bank where the gunboat Tyler was lying to, the Lexington lying still farther down. The rest of the boats having gone forward, Captain Walker, of the Tyler, at my request promptly took the remainder of the 27th on board, Captain Stembel, of the Lexington, covering the embarkation. Having thus embarked all my command, I returned with Captains Schwartz and Hatch to my transports and reëmbarked, reaching Cairo about midnight, after a day of almost unceasing marching and conflict.

"I cannot bestow too high commendation upon all whom I had the honor to command on that day. Supplied with inferior and defective arms, many of which could not be discharged, and others bursting in use, they fought an enemy in woods, with which he was familiar, behind defensive works which he had been preparing for months, in the face of a battery at Belmont, and under his heavy guns at Columbus, and although numbering three or four to our one, beat him, capturing several stands of his colors, destroying his camp, and carrying off a large amount of property, already mentioned. From his own semi-official account his loss was six hundred killed, wounded and missing, including among the killed and wounded a number of officers, and probably among the missing one hundred and fifty-five prisoners who were brought to this post."

The number of the Union casualties does not differ greatly from this estimate of the loss of the enemy. There were eighty-four killed, chiefly of the 7th Iowa and 22d Illinois regiments, two hundred and eighty-eight wounded, and two hundred and thirty-five missing. Many of the wounded in the exigencies of the escape, were left on the field of battle, and many of the missing were prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The report of Commodore Foote to the Department at Washington, says generally of the part borne by the gunboats Tyler and Lexington, "that they rendered the most effective service on this occasion, having but one man killed and two wounded; in fact, I am informed, both by army and navy officers, that the boats, by covering the final retreat with well-directed fire of grape and canister, mowing down the enemy, prevented our troops from being almost, if not entirely, cut to pieces." He adds also the following comments on the engagement which serve to explain its objects and importance. "General Grant, the commanding general, informs me that there are 40,000 men and 108 guns of large calibre in Columbus and its vicinity, and that the rebels intend to make this point their principal stand against the movements of the gunboats and troops down the Mississippi river. A rifle shot weighing 90 pounds was picked up by one of our men, thrown a distance of three miles from one of the rebel batteries. The demonstration down the river was intended rather as an armed reconnoissance than an attack on Columbus; in fact, mainly for the purpose of destroying the detachment which had crossed the river, and this was effected by capturing the cannon and burning the tents and baggage, the latter accomplished by Quartermaster Hatch, with a detachment of men. This movement, it is believed, has prevented, for the present at least, a junction with General Price in Southwest Missouri, also the detachments being cut off which have been sent from here to attack Jeff. Thompson, as well as establishing the fact of Columbus being so strongly fortified that a large land force must coöperate with the gunboats, in order to move successfully beyond this point down the Mississippi river. On the other hand, General Grant is impressed with the idea that the rebels may retaliate by an attempt to seize "Bird's Point" or "Fort Holt," in this immediate vicinity, and, in view of this, wants early reinforcements of well-equipped regiments. The general estimates the loss on our side at two hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and missing, and the enemy's loss in killed alone at three hundred. My opinion is, after careful inquiry, as stragglers are still coming in, that our loss of killed, wounded and missing, will amount to five hundred persons, together with twenty-five baggage wagons, one hundred horses, one thousand overcoats, and one thousand blankets. The men fought with great gallantry, and Generals Grant and McClernand had their horses shot under them; and had not the troops been flushed with their early success, and commenced looting, instead of being prepared to retire when the object of the expedition was accomplished, they might have left with comparatively little loss, but the delay gave the enemy time to cross from Columbus in great force, and hence the comparative disastrous termination in the withdrawal of our forces." *

The day after the battle General Grant sent Major Webster with a flag of truce to Columbus, bearing a number of the rebel sick and wounded whom he offered unconditionally, asking the privilege of supplying the wants of our own men in like condition. After some parley with the adjutant-general of General Polk, a mutual exchange of the wounded was accomplished, without any formal recognition of the belligerent rights. A working party of an Illinois regiment was admitted to the battle-field and permitted to succor the suffering and bury the dead. In the discharge of these duties the wounded were surrendered and mutually received by their friends. General Polk, touched by sympathy with the suffering, hesitated to interfere with the arrangement, though he felt compelled to consult the etiquette of the camp. "My

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* Commodore A. H. Foote to the Hon. Gideon Welles, U. S. Gunboat Lexington, off Cairo, November 9, 1861.

own feelings," he wrote, in reply to General Grant, " would prompt me to waive again the unimportant affectation of declining to recognize these states as belligerents, in the interests of humanity, but my government requires all prisoners to be placed at the disposal of the Secretary of War."

The brief official report of General Polk bears witness to this severely contested field. " The enemy," he wrote to Headquarters, through General A. S. Johnston, " came down on the opposite side of the river, Belmont, to-day, about 7,500 strong, landed under cover of gunboats and attacked Colonel Tappan's camp. I sent over three regiments under General Pillow to his relief, then at intervals three others, then General Cheatham. I then took over two others in person, to support a flank movement which I had directed. It was a hard fought battle, lasting from half-past ten in the morning to five in the afternoon. They took Beltzhooyer's battery, four pieces of which we recaptured. The enemy were thoroughly routed. We pursued them to their boats seven miles, then drove their boats before us. The road was strewn with their dead and wounded, guns, ammunition and equipments. Our loss considerable ; theirs heavy." It will be noticed in this, that while the number of the Union forces is greatly exaggerated, made nearly threefold, the calculation by the other side, of the extensive reinforcements of the enemy is fully sustained. The actual contest stood three or four of the rebels to one of the Unionists, but, at the end, the disparity was somewhat lessened by the fire and protection of the gun-boats. A General order issued by Brigadier-General McClernand on the 8th of November, the day after the battle, from his headquarters at Camp Cairo, paid a deserved tribute to the valor displayed by his command. General Grant also, in an official order, returned his thanks to the troops under his command in the battle. " It had been his fortune," he said, " to have been in all the battles fought in Mexico by Generals Scott and Taylor, save Buena Vista, and he never saw one more hotly contested, or where troops behaved with more gallantry."

The disaster at Belmont was a severe one, for nearly one-fourth of those who went into the action were killed, wounded, or prisoners ; and it was doubly felt at the time when an impatient public, tired of the slow proceedings of the war, were eagerly demanding some decisive action. The attack, though parried, was, doubtless, however, felt by the enemy who, if they had any intentions of assisting the rebels in Missouri were diverted from the purpose, and who certainly were taught that the war was a reality, and that the Northern soldiers, whom they had affected to despise, were no feeble antagonists. So far from discouraging the camp at Cairo, it steeled the courage of its inmates and caused them eagerly to long for another contest, when on more equal terms they could renew the fight so valiantly begun at Belmont.

CHAPTER XLIV.

AFFAIRS IN KENTUCKY, AUGUST TO NOVEMBER, 1861.

THE dream of neutrality in Kentucky, it was soon evident, must yield to the practical realities of the day. While legislators and politicians were passing resolutions the people were acting for themselves. The sympathizers with the rebels were freely enlisting in the Confederate army and bands of loyal citizens were enrolling themselves during the summer as Home Guards for the protection of the State. They were, however, without arms and could accomplish little against the rebel influences at work around them. In this condition of affairs, while the State was threatened with invasion on its southern frontier, and the property of Union men was exposed to pillage from the secessionist militia or State guard raised by General Buckner at home, the Government at Washington at length interposed, supplied arms to the loyal citizens and mustered their forces into her service under officers holding commissions from the United States. A camp of loyal men called together to protect the State, as a member of the National Union, from aggression from armed assailants without or within its borders, was formed in Garrand County. It bore the name Camp Dick Robinson, and was under the command of General William Nelson, a native of Kentucky, formerly an officer of the navy, who had entered the military service in 1855. It was of convenient access from East Tennessee and was reinforced by a regiment of loyal refugees from that region. There was another camp of note of loyal Kentuckians, named in honor of the patriotic orator, Camp Joe Holt. It was situated nearly opposite Louisville on the Indiana shore by the Falls of the Ohio. It was commanded by an ardent patriot, Colonel Lovell H. Rousseau, whose efforts in the Kentucky legislature to arrest the incoming tide of secession, we have already spoken of. These proceedings did not escape the jealous vigilance of Governor Magoffin. We have seen his ill success with the Governors of Ohio and Indiana. He now fared little better with the President of the United States. Addressing an epistle to President Lincoln, through a special embassy to Washington composed of two gentlemen of Lexington, Mr. W. A. Dudley and Mr. F. K. Hunt, in terms of remonstrance at the mustering of the national troops, he earnestly requested their withdrawal, urging his belief that if such a course were pursued "the peace of the people of Kentucky would be preserved and the horrors of a bloody war averted from a people now peaceful and tranquil." The President received the embassy, on their arrival, with his accustomed courtesy, and a day or two after communicated to them his reply to the Governor, in the following letter :

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Aug.* 24, 1861.

To His Ex'y, B. Magoffin, Gov. of the State of Kentucky.

SIR : Your letter of the 19th inst., in which you "*urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military force now organized, and in camp within said State,*" is received. I may not possess full and precisely accurate knowledge upon this subject ; but I believe it is true that there is a military force in camp within Kentucky, acting by authority of the United States, which force is not very large, and is not now being augmented. I also believe that some arms have been furnished to this force by the United States. I also believe this force consists exclusively of Kentuckians, having their camp in the immediate vicinity of their own homes, and not assailing or menacing any of the good people of Kentucky. In all I have done in the premises, I have acted upon the urgent solicitation of many Kentuckians, and in accordance with what I believed, and still believe, to be the wish of a majority of all the Union-loving people of Kentucky. While I have conversed on this subject with many eminent men of Kentucky, including a large majority of her members of Congress, I do not remember that any one of them, or any other person, except your Excellency and the bearers of your Excellency's letter, has urged me to remove the military force from Kentucky, or to disband it. One other very worthy citizen of Kentucky did solicit me to have the augmenting of the force suspended for a time. Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment, I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that this force shall be removed beyond her limits; and, with this impression, I must respectfully decline to so remove it. I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my own native State, Kentucky; but it is with regret I search, and cannot find, in your not very short letter, any declaration, or intimation, that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

The closing rebuke of the letter of the President was enforced by the potent voice of the people of the State, who in the recent elections for members of Congress and the State Legislature had given an overwhelming majority to the Union candidates. Notwithstanding, however, the latter convincing demonstration of the popular will, Governor Magoffin met the new Legislature in September with a message in the old strain of disaffection to the acts of the Federal Government, which he held to account in this portentous arraignment: "And now, addressing myself to the representatives of the people of Kentucky, I protest, in their name and presence, in the name of constitutional liberty, and in presence of heaven and earth, against all and every of the President's usurpations, and unconstitutional and illegal acts; and I protest, furthermore, against the further prosecution of a war professedly for the object of restoring the government, an object utterly impossible of attainment by such insane means as a war of coercion; and I protest, moreover, against Kentucky being made a camping ground, or the pathway for the movement of forces, by either belligerent; and I recommend earnestly to the General Assembly the prompt passage of resolutions requiring both belligerents to keep off our soil, and to respect in good faith the neutrality which the people of Kentucky, with unexampled unanimity, in good faith desire to preserve. The valor and fortitude of the Southern people are underrated by those who imagine that they can be subjected to terms of humiliating submission by any military force which the North can possibly find means to maintain in the field. It is my opinion, therefore, that the General Assembly of Kentucky ought to declare, by solemn resolution, that this war ought to be instantly stopped. If it is not, our people, already oppressed by taxation, will be bankrupted, our markets destroyed, our trade ruined, our fields ravaged, every home made desolate and in mourning; and after the expenditure of all our treasure and the loss of a million of lives in the vain effort to subjugate the South, the belligerents at last will be compelled to negotiate a peace, the people and our children having been made barbarians, and the last hope of liberty extinguished. It is the policy of Kentucky to take no part in it. She should keep firmly her present position of neutrality, and when opportunity offers, *as a mediator*, present terms of peace and of settlement alike honorable to both of the contending parties."

However any one may be disinclined to approve of the course of Governor Magoffin in its bearing on the interests of the Government and the true welfare of Kentucky and the Nation, there certainly can be no hesitation in admiring the persistency and consistency of his Messages and Proclamations. But while he thus resolutely adhered to his convictions, he declared his intention to abide by the will of the people. "It is my duty," he said, "to execute all constitutional laws of the Commonwealth, and no matter what may be my opinions in regard to their wisdom, my respect for States rights, States sovereignty, and the will of a majority of the people is such as to make me acquiesce in their decision and bow in respectful submission to that will as long as I am a citizen of Kentucky." In justice to the people, it may be said, that they were not long in giving Governor Magoffin an opportunity to practice his democratic virtue.

The temper of the Legislature was not to be mistaken. More than two-thirds of the members of both branches were decided Unionists. The special vote of the House to raise the old flag over their place of meeting indicated their resolve to support the national authority. Major Anderson was already on his way from Washington to Louisville, commissioned to execute that authority in his military department of the Kentucky and Tennessee. General Fremont, in his adjoining command covering Illinois and Missouri, was hastening his preparations on the Mississippi. All were indications of the advancing supremacy of the Union, not likely to be neglected by the Confederate commanders. When Governor Magoffin wrote to President Lincoln concerning the occupation of the State by the soldiers of the United States, he also addressed a similar letter to the President of the Confederate States, asking for an "authoritative assurance" that the neutral position of Kentucky would be respected by that government, to which Jefferson Davis replied, that it would be respected "so long as her people maintained it themselves;" adding significantly, "if the door be opened on the one side for the aggressions of one of the belligerent parties upon the other, it ought not to be shut to the assailed when they seek to enter it for purposes of self-defence." In other words, when he required the soil of Kentucky for the purposes of his strategy, he would use it.

The occasion was close at hand. On the fourth of September, Major-General Leonidas Polk, the successor of General Pillow in the command of the Confederate army in Tennessee, ascended the river with several thousand troops from Memphis, and took forcible possession of the town of Columbus. It was an important station, as the event proved, having railway communication with the great southern lines in the interior, and commanding the waters of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio. This was an invasion of Kentucky in earnest. Few persons could be honestly in doubt of the constitutional right of the general government to march its troops over the soil of any of the States; none whatever could hesitate as to the monstrous abuse of State sovereignty for another State or a combination of States, or a power calling itself Foreign, thus to enter and take forcible possession. General Polk, as an officer and gentleman, to say nothing of his position in relation to a Border State, felt himself called upon for an explanation, and he gave it in the form usual with all military commanders—he issued a proclamation. It was as follows:

"Columbus, September 4, 1861. The Federal Government having, in defiance of the wishes of the people of Kentucky, disregarded their neutrality by establishing camp depots for their armies, and by organizing military companies within the territory, and by constructing military works on the Missouri shore immediately opposite and commanding Columbus, evidently intended to cover the landing of troops for the seizure of that town, it has become a military necessity for the defence of the territory of the Confederate States, that a Confederate force should occupy Columbus in advance. The Major-General commanding has, therefore, not felt himself at liberty to assume the loss of so important a position, but has decided to occupy it. In pursuance of this decision, he has thrown a sufficient force into the town, and ordered them to fortify it. It is gratifying to know that the presence of his troops is acceptable to the people of Columbus, and on this occasion he assures them that every precaution will be taken to insure their quiet and the protection of their property, with all their personal and corporate rights." In further explanation or apology for this transaction, General Polk, some days after, addressed this letter to Governor Magoffin :

"Columbus, Kentucky, September 9th. Governor B. Magoffin : I should have dispatched you immediately the troops under my command, took possession of this position, the very few words I addressed to the people here ; but my duties since that time have so pressed me, that I have but now the first leisure time to communicate with you. It will be sufficient for me to inform you, which my short address here will do, that I had information on which I could rely, that the Federal forces intended, and were preparing to seize Columbus. I need not describe the danger resulting to West Tennessee from such success. Realizing my responsibility, I could not permit them quietly to lose, through the command entrusted to me so important a position. In evidence of the information possessed, I will state, as the Confederate forces occupied this place, the federal troops were formed on the opposite bank in formidable numbers, with their cannon turned upon Columbus. The citizens of the town had fled with terror, and not a word of assurance of safety or protection had been addressed to them. Since I have taken possession of this place, I have been informed, by highly responsible citizens of your State, that certain representatives of the Federal government are setting up complaints of my act of occupying it, and are making it a pretence for seizing other positions. Upon this course of proceeding I have no comment to make, but I am prepared to say, that I will agree to withdraw the Confederate troops from Kentucky, provided she will agree that the troops of the Federal government be withdrawn simultaneously, with a guaranty, which I will give reciprocally for the Confederate government, that the Federal troops shall not be allowed to enter or occupy any point in Kentucky in the future."

The author of this proclamation, General Polk, a native of Tennessee, had been educated at the Military Academy at West Point, graduating with credit at that institution in 1827, when he entered the National service with the rank of Second Lieutenant of artillery. In a few months, however, he abandoned the profession of arms for another of a very different character. He studied divinity and took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, where he rapidly rose to its most responsible office, being consecrated Bishop of Louisiana in 1838. He was considered a zealous and high toned officer of the Church, and was known by his efforts to promote the cause of education at the South. Possessed of considerable wealth, an accomplished scholar, a large slave owner, and a strenuous supporter of what were called "Southern Rights," he exercised much influence in the promotion of opinions in that region of the country. His advocacy of Secession at the breaking out of the Rebellion, was no doubt an important aid in the furtherance of that political heresy, through the influence which the precept and example of a man of his high character and position must have had with the better portion of the community. Certainly it was in one way a master stroke to secure him as a military leader, and convert the highly respected Right Reverend Bishop Polk into a Major-General in the Confederate service. He had, we are told, some hesitation in assuming the office, and while it was being urged upon him, consulted his friend the venerable Bishop Meade of Virginia, as to its acceptance. If we may trust the Richmond correspondent of the *New Orleans Picayune*, who published an account of the interview, Bishop Meade reminded his visitor "that he already held a commission in a very different army to which he held allegiance 'till life's journey ends.'" To this truly Christian and apostolic intimation, Bishop Polk is stated to have replied in this remarkable language: "I know that very well and I do not intend to resign it. On the contrary, I shall only prove the more faithful to it by doing all that in me lies to bring this unhallowed and unnatural war to a speedy and happy close. We of the Confederate States are the last bulwarks of civil and religious liberty; we fight for our hearthstones and our altars; above all we fight for a race that has been by Divine Providence entrusted to our most sacred keeping. When I accept a commission in the Confederate army, therefore, I not only perform the duties of a good citizen, but contend for the principles which lie at the foundation of our social, political and religious polity."

That we may do no injustice to the spirit which governed Bishop Polk in accepting his command, we cite the words of the Proclamation or order which he sent forth, as his first official act in his new capacity of Major-General: "Headquarters Division No. 2, Memphis, July 13, 1861. Having been assigned to the charge of the defence of that part of the Valley of the Mississippi which is embraced within the boundaries of Division No. 2, I hereby assume command. All officers on duty within the limits of said division will report accordingly. In assuming this very grave responsibility, the General in command is constrained to declare his deep and long-settled conviction that the war in which we are engaged is one not warranted by reason or any necessity, political or social, of our existing condition; but that it is indefensible and of unparalleled atrocity. We have protested, and do protest, that all we desire is to be let alone, to repose in quietness under our own vine and our own fig-tree. We have sought, and only sought, the undisturbed enjoyment of the inherent and indefeasible right of self-government—a right which freemen can never relinquish, and which none but tyrants could ever seek to wrest from us. Those with whom we have been lately associated in the bonds of a pretended fraternal regard have wished and endeavored to deprive us of this, our great birthright as American freemen. Nor is this all; they have sought to deprive us of this inestimable right by a merciless war, which can attain no other possible end than the ruin of fortunes and the destruction of lives, for the subjugation of Christian freemen is out of the question.

"A war which has thus no motive except lust or hate, and no object except ruin and devastation, under the shallow pretence of the restoration of the Union, is surely a war against Heaven as well as a war against earth. Of all the absurdities ever enacted, of all the hypocrisies ever practiced, an attempt to restore a union of minds, and hearts, and wills like that which once existed in North America, by the ravages of fire and sword, is assuredly the most prodigious. As sure as there is a righteous Ruler of the Universe, such a war must end in disaster to those by whom it was inaugurated and by whom it is now prosecuted with circumstances of barbarity which it was fondly believed would never more disgrace the annals of a civilized people. Numbers may be against us, but the battle is not always to the strong. Justice will triumph, and an earnest of this triumph is already beheld in the mighty uprising of the whole Southern heart. Almost as one man this great section comes to the rescue, resolved to perish rather than yield to the oppressor, who, in the name of Freedom, yet under the prime inspiration of an infidel horde, seeks to reduce eight millions of freemen to abject bondage and subjection. All ages and conditions are united in the one grand and holy purpose of rolling back the desolating tide of invasion, and of restoring to the people of the South that peace, independence, and right of self-government to which they are by nature and nature's God as justly entitled as those who seek thus ruthlessly to enslave them.

"The General in command, having the strongest confidence in the intelligence and firmness of purpose of those belonging to his department, enjoins upon them the maintenance of a calm, patient, persistent, and undaunted determination to resist the invasion at all hazards, and to the last extremity. It comes bringing with it a contempt for constitutional liberty, and the withering influence of the infidelity of New England and Germany combined. Its success would deprive us of a future. The best men among our invaders opposed the course they are pursuing at the first, but they have been overborne or swept into the wake of the prevailing current, and now, under the promptings of their fears, or the delusion of some idolatrous reverence due to a favorite symbol, are as active as any in instigating this unnatural, unchristian, and cruel war. Our protests, which we here solemnly repeat in the face of the civilized world, have been hitherto unheeded, and we are left alone, under God, to the resources of our manhood. Upon them, knowing as he does those whom he addresses as well as those with whom you are coöperating throughout the South, the General in command feels we may rely with unwavering confidence. Let every man, then, throughout the land arm himself in the most effective manner, and hold himself in readiness to support the combined resistance. A cause which has for its object nothing less than the security of civil liberty and the preservation of the purity of religious truth, is the cause of Heaven, and may well challenge the homage and service of the patriot and the Christian. In God is our trust. LEONIDAS POLK, Major-General P. A. C. S. Commanding."

There were many comments on the course of the Bishop of Louisiana—some in anger, many in sorrow, some in jest, at the melancholy humor of the situation, others pathetically in earnest; but perhaps the most significant reply to the Proclamation was in the quotation in a newspaper of the day, of a passage of Shakespeare's King Henry IV., from the scene between Archbishop Scroop, and the Earl of Westmoreland.

"ARCHBISHOP—Say on, my Lord of Westmoreland, in peace;
What doth concern your coming?
WESTMORELAND— Then, my lord,
Unto your Grace do I in chief address
The substance of my speech. If that rebellion
Came like itself, in base and abject routs,
Led on by bloody youth, guarded with rage,
And countenanced by boys and beggary;
I say, if damn'd commotion so appeared
In his true, native and most proper shape,
You, reverend father, and these noble lords,
Had not been here to dress the ugly form
Of base and bloody insurrection
With your fair honors. You, lord archbishop,
Whose See is by a civil peace maintained;
Whose beard the silver hand of peace hath touch'd;
Whose learning and good letters peace hath tutor'd;
Whose white investments figure innocence,
The dove and very blessed spirit of peace—
Wherefore do you so ill translate yourself,
Out of the speech of peace, that bears such grace,
Into the harsh and boisterous tongue of war?
Turning your books to greaves, your ink to blood,
Your pens to lances, and your tongue divine
To a loud trumpet and a point of war?
ARCHBISHOP—Wherefore do I this? so the question stands.

> Briefly to this end: we are all diseased;
> And with our surfeiting and wanton hours
> Have brought ourselves into a burning fever,
> And we must bleed for it."

Returning to the conduct of the war, we find General Grant, the commander of the National forces at Cairo, not an idle spectator of the movement of the rebel General upon Columbus. He saw clearly as his rival the immense importance in the conduct of the war of the strategic points of South Western Kentucky. One of these, Columbus, commanding the Mississippi, was already in the hands of the enemy, who it was not to be expected would be insensible of, or hesitate to grasp, the advantage of the others. These were Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee River, and Smithland, at the mouth of the Cumberland. Both, at favorable seasons of the water, commanded a vast extent of country in the interior. The navigable current of the Tennessee might be traversed through the whole breadth of the State, whose name it bore into Northern Alabama, where it wound its way from its head waters in Eastern Tennessee. The Cumberland, pursuing a parallel course at a distance descended from Eastern Kentucky, swept by Nashville, the wealthy capital of Tennessee, and flowing thence to the North, kept close company with its fellow stream to the Ohio. To hold the entrance to these rivers was, as the event proved, to be master of Central Tennessee.

It was a close race for their possession. General Grant was fortunately early in the field. Had his movements been delayed a day longer, there is reason to fear he would have been too late. The very day after General Polk's seizure of Columbus, his preparations were made. He embarked at Cairo in the night with two Illinois regiments and four pieces of artillery, conveyed by the gunboats Tyler and Conestoga, reached the mouth of the Tennessee the next morning, and quietly took possession of Paducah. The Secession feeling of the town was strong, but his force was sufficient, and the few people of the place were submissive. A considerable quantity of stores, intended for transmission to the rebels were found and appropriated. The Conestoga was sent up the river some distance, scoured it of various secession craft, and made some valuable prizes. The inhabitants hurried from the town in anticipation of the contest between the Union and Confederate forces, which would arise on the arrival of General Pillow, whom they looked for from the South. The next day the post was reinforced by additional troops from Cape Girardeau, and Pillow was no longer expected.

General Grant, of course, immediately sent forth his Proclamation to the inhabitants. "I have come among you," was its language, "not as an enemy, but as your fellow-citizen; not to maltreat or annoy you, but to respect and enforce the rights of all loyal citizens. An enemy in rebellion against our common Government has taken possession of, and planted its guns on, the soil of Kentucky, and fired upon you. Columbus and Hickman are in his hands. He is moving upon your city. I am here to defend you against this enemy, to assist the authority and sovereignty of your Government. I have nothing to do with opinions, and shall deal only with armed rebellion and its aiders and abettors. You can pursue your usual avocations without fear. The strong arm of the Government is here to protect its friends and punish its enemies. Whenever it is manifest that you are able to defend yourselves and maintain the authority of Government, and protect the rights of loyal citizens, I shall withdraw the forces under my command."

General Polk's occupation of Columbus settled the neutrality question in Kentucky. It did for that State what the attack upon Sumter accomplished for the Nation—dispelling dreams and theories, and bringing it face to face with a stern reality. The Legislature, on receiving the tidings, were indignant at the outrage. When the letter of General Polk was communicated on the 10th, resolutions were introduced, and two days after passed in both houses by large majorities, declaring that without cause the peace and neutrality of the State had been wantonly violated, her soil invaded and the rights of her citizens grossly infringed by the so-called Southern Confederate forces. The Governor was requested to call out the military force of the State to expel and drive out the invaders; the United States were invoked to give the aid and assistance guaranteed to the several States by the Constitution, and General Anderson was requested to enter immediately upon the active discharge of his duties in the military district to which he had been appointed. The people of the State were appealed to, "by the ties of patriotism and honor, by the ties of common interest and common defence, by the remembrances of the past and by the hopes of the future national existence, to assist in repelling and driving out the wanton violators of our peace and neutrality, the lawless invaders of the soil." Such was the answer given by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky to the letter of Major-General Polk, and to the unpatriotic arguments and suggestions of Governor Magoffin.

Both replied according to their ability. The General doubtless reinforced his garrison and strengthened his ramparts; the Governor promptly vetoed the Resolutions. The Assembly, however, was not now to be stopped in its career. It immediately set aside the veto by a vote of more than the requisite two-thirds of the members. The Governor was instructed "to inform those concerned that Kentucky expects the Confederate or Tennessee troops to be withdrawn from her soil unconditionally." The command was obeyed by the Governor, who issued a Proclamation, briefly reciting the few words of the Resolution.

In a few days after, another message came from General Zollicoffer, the rebel commander at Knoxville, informing the Governor that "the safety of Tennessee requiring it, he had occupied the mountain passes at Cumberland and the three long mountains in Kentucky." He would remove his forces, he said, if the Federal troops, gathering in the Eastern portion of the State, should be withdrawn. General Polk, we have seen, made a similar proposition. and it was very sagaciously presented, as a glance at the map will demonstrate. Kentucky, as the outpost of the Southern slave-holding States, was their protecting barrier against the North, from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. If she would employ her sons and treasure in guarding the passes of the mountains and the great entrances to the rivers, the saving to the Confederacy on the score of economy and the immense additional security, were obvious.

The Assembly was not disposed to yield to force what the people had denied to persuasion. It grew every day more determined in its action, resolving to pay the quota of the National expenses assigned to the State, organizing the Home Guard, under the command of General Thomas L. Crittenden, and authorizing General Anderson to call out troops to repel invasion. Obedient to the summons, the defender of Fort Sumter made his appearance on the field and entered upon his work. His Proclamation, dated the 24th of September, marks an era in the history of the State:—"Kentuckians,—Called by the Legislature of this my native State, I hereby assume command of this Department. I come to enforce, not to make laws, and God willing, to protect your property and lives. The enemies of the country have dared to invade our soil. Kentucky is in danger. She has vainly striven to keep peace with her neighbors. Our State is now invaded by those who professed to be her friends, but who now seek to conquer her. No true son of Kentucky can longer hesitate as to his duty to his State and country. The invaders must and, God willing, will be expelled. The leader of the hostile forces who now approaches is, I regret to say, a Kentuckian, making war on Kentucky and Kentuckians. Let all past differences of opinion be overlooked. Every one who now rallies to the support of our Union and our State is a friend. Rally then, my countrymen, around the flag our fathers loved and which has shielded us so long. I call you to arms for self-defence, and for the protection of all that is dear to freemen. Let us trust in God and do our duty as did our fathers."

The allusion of General Anderson to the Kentuckian in arms against his native State, was to General Buckner, whose services as Inspector-General in marshalling the State Guard, we have seen so warmly commended by Governor Magoffin. After using the influence of his position till it could with safety be used no longer in favoring the interests of the Rebellion, he had left the State for Tennessee, and had now returned a Brigadier in the army of the Confederate States, with a band of invaders composed of several regiments of refugee Kentuckians from Camp Boone—a rebel resort on the Tennessee frontier—joined by a considerable body of Tennesseeans, to occupy the central position at Bowling Green, in Warran County, of importance for its capability of defence and its railway connections with Nashville and Memphis. He would, it is thought, have advanced farther to Muldraugh's Hill, but for the timely preoccupation of that advantageous locality by the Union forces.

General Buckner had announced his arrival at Bowling Green by a Proclamation. It was addressed to the People of Kentucky, and opened with a denunciation of the Legislature. "They have endeavored," said he, "to make your gallant State a fortress in which, under the guise of neutrality, the armed forces of the United States might secretly prepare to subjugate alike the people of Kentucky and the Southern States." The invasion by Polk was described as a defensive position by the troops of the Confederacy taken on the invitation of the people of the State. "I return among you, citizens of Kentucky," he added, "at the head of a force, the advance of which is composed entirely of Kentuckians. We do not come to molest any citizen, whatever may be his political opinions. Unlike the agents of the Northern despotism, who seek to reduce us to the condition of dependent vassals, we believe that the recognition of the civil rights of citizens is the foundation of constitutional liberty, and that the claim of the President of the United States to declare martial law, to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus and to convert every barrack and prison in the land into a bastile, is nothing but the claim which other tyrants have assumed to subjugate a free people. The Confederate States occupy Bowling Green as a defensive position."* One of the first acts of General Anderson, in his military administration, was to address a kind letter to Judge James Pryor, urging him to appeal to a band of misguided persons who had assembled in arms at Liberty in Owen county, with the evident intention of forming a rebel camp, to return to their homes as good citizens. The subject was brought, by Judge Pryor, before Colonel Humphrey Marshall, the master-spirit of the organization, who wrote a long epistle in reply, assuring his correspondent and General Anderson that the assemblage of men in question "contemplated no raid upon any town or upon any body." He had, indeed, advised them to form companies, elect officers and drill, but he held no military commission and commanded no military force. He had consented to instruct the men in their duties and, if the people should desire, "to collect together and organize for the protection of their constitutional right and of their persons from violence and wrong, to command any camp they will thus form, provided it be attended by such numbers as to be able to protect itself if properly directed." The admission of the letter, in spite of its denials, implicated its writer with the disaffected Southern Rights partisans in the State. Its readers had no reason to be surprised at the subsequent directly belligerent attitude which the Hon. Humphrey Marshall assumed towards the Government of the Union.*

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* Proclamation of Simon B. Buckner, Brigadier General C. S. A., Bowling Green, September 18, 1861.

The health of General Anderson did not permit him to encounter the fatigues and exposure of active command, and, in consequence, after he had given the influence of his birth and character to the cause of the Union in the State, he requested to be relieved. This was granted, and Brigadier-General W. T. Sherman was appointed to the Department in his stead. On the 8th of October, General Anderson took leave in a General order, in which he commended the interests of the State to his successor. "God grant," was his emphatic expression, "that he may be the means of delivering this Department from the marauding bands, who, under the guise of relieving and befriending Kentucky, are doing all the injury they can to those who will not join them in their accursed warfare."

There is an instructive memorial of the state of affairs at this time in Kentucky in General Thomas' memorable report of his tour of inspection in the West with Secretary Cameron. On the 16th of October, he says, the party arrived at Louisville and had an interview with General Sherman. "He gave a gloomy picture of affairs in Kentucky, stating that the young men were generally secessionists and had joined the Confederates, while the Union men, the aged and conservatives, would not enroll themselves to engage in conflict with their relatives on the other side. But few regiments could be raised." He represented Buckner in advance of Green River threatening Louisville, while he, Sherman, had but ten thousand troops on that line, nine thousand in the East acting in conjunction with General Thomas, and two regiments at Henderson on the Ohio. "On being asked the question, what force he deemed necessary, he promptly replied, 'two hundred thousand men.'" Such was the disheartening situation as it then appeared to General Sherman, commander of the Department of the Cumberland. If two hundred thousand men were required to expel the enemy and garrison the loyal State of Kentucky, whose population was thus hostile or indifferent, what, it was asked, was the prospect of dealing with the openly rebellious States of the South. Yet, in two months, by the aid of the valiant men of the West, who were poured into the State, and more inspiring counsels at headquarters, the question was, for the time, at least, settled for Kentucky, and by one resolute battle on her soil, a blow was struck, felt by the enemy throughout their entire Confederacy.

Not content with open attacks of armed invasion from without, the sympathizers with the South sought to give a color of revolution to their proceedings within the State. For this purpose certain leaders held a preliminary meeting at the town of Russellville, on the border of Tennessee, on the 29th of October, when they expressed their dissatisfaction with the action of the legislature, as a violation of the neutrality of the State, denounced its patriotic proceedings as "the unconstitutional edicts of a factious majority," and pronouncing themselves thus abandoned and betrayed on the one hand by the "Lincolnites," and on the other "being as *yet* no part of the Southern Confederacy," resolved to call a Convention to be "chosen, elected or appointed in any manner now possible by the people of the several counties of the State," and meet at the same place the following month. The body thus loosely summoned was recommended to sever forever the connection of Kentucky with the United States, and adopt a provisional government, or take such measures as might be expedient for their purposes. This meeting was presided over by the Hon. H. C. Burnett of Trigg county, who had been recently elected, the only disunionist out of ten members, to the National House of Representatives. A committee was appointed to carry out the Resolutions, of which John C. Breckenridge and Humphrey Marshall were members. According to appointment, this so-called Convention met at Russellville on the 18th of November. It was composed of some two hundred persons, professing to represent sixty-five counties, but the terms on which they had been invited did not warrant much scrutiny as to their credentials. They proceeded, however, to their work, with the formality and solemnity of the best accredited delegates in the world, drew up a formidable Declaration of Independence, pronounced a Decree of Separation, and adopted a Plan of Provisional Government, one of the sections of which directed the appointment of Commissioners to treat with the Confederate States for the earliest practicable admission of Kentucky into that body. George W. Johnson of Scott county, was appointed Provisional Governor under this instrument. On the 9th of December the Rebel Congress at Richmond, recognizing the "Convention," admitted Kentucky to the Confederate States of America. Governor Magoffin, it may be added, by no means approved of the proceedings at Russellville. When Provisional Governor Johnson intimated in a "Message" that he would resign his position whenever "the regularly elected Governor should escape from his virtual imprisonment at Frankfort, that he might be placed at the head of this movement for the emancipation of Kentucky,"—Governor Magoffin wrote to the Louisville *Journal* that he had not given his sanction to any such use of his name. On the contrary, he expressed his strong disapprobation of the Convention. "Self-constituted as it was," he wrote, "and without authority from the people, it cannot be justified by similar revolutionary acts in other States, by minorities to overthrow the State Governments. I condemned their action, and I condemn the action of this one." *

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* Letter of Colonel H. Marshall to the Hon. James Pryor, Lusby's Mill, Owen county, Ky., September 26, 1861.

All that treason could accomplish by Resolutions and Proclamations, was thus attempted. Not an expedient of that sort seems to have been left untried. Yet the State stood firm for the Union, in spite of the declarations of her disappointed politicians, a hundred times repeated, that she was tyrannically treated and betrayed. The people had given their allegiance to law and order under a beneficent government, in preference to the cruel tender mercies of the Confederate usurpaiton. If any thing was to be gained by the rebels it was evident it was to be accomplished not by words but by violence.

The first military encounter of consequence in the State, was in the Southeastern region, where the rebel General Zollicoffer, at the head of a band of marauders, was conducting a series of predatory attacks upon the Unionists. This officer, destined to leave a lasting memory of his brief military career, was not bred to the profession of arms, but had risen to his rank in the Confederate army by his services in various political campaigns. He was a native of Western Tennessee, had received but a limited education in his boyhood, had improved it by service in a printing-office, and at the age of seventeen had undertaken the management of a country newspaper. He had been much engaged in editorial life, editing the Nashville *Banner* and other journals, and had held various political offices of trust and profit in Tennessee. In 1853 he was elected to Congress by the American party from the Nashville District. He was a man of energy and ambition, and, though without military experience, was relied upon as an efficient officer by the rebels of the Southwest.

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* Letter of Governor Magoffin to the Editors of the Louisville *Journal*, Frankfort, Ky., December 13, 1861.

Advancing from Tennessee he had inflicted various injuries upon an unoffending population, plundering Barboursville and London, when on the 21st of October he made his appearance before the Union encampments on Rock Castle Creek, which bore the characteristic appellation of Camp Wild Cat. Colonel Garrard had held command of the place with a single Kentucky regiment, but it was now strengthened by the 17th Ohio Infantry, and Colonel Woolford's Kentucky cavalry. Brigadier-General Alvin Schoepff, a recently appointed Hungarian officer, had also just arrived and was in command. We have no information of the exact number of Zollicoffer's force confronted by General Schoepff, but it is represented as large—the newspaper accounts say six thousand—and well supplied with cavalry and artillery. A correspondent of the *Boston Courier*, writing from the camp the next day, gives this account of the fight:

"Colonel Garrard was encamped at the junction of the three roads,—the Mount Vernon road leading to Camp Dick Robinson, along which the reinforcements came; the London road by which the rebels approached, and the Winding Blades road leading to Richmond. Between the last two roads, and commanding Colonel Garrard's position, is a high conical hill. The whole face of the country is covered with a heavy growth of timber, except where it has been felled by the soldiers since they were stationed here. The first attack, about eight in the morning, was made in a hollow extending from the London road to the Winding Blades road. After the repulse, the rebels formed again and attempted to come along the London road. By this time the 33d Indiana regiment had come upon the ground, and a portion of them were led to the top of the conical hill. A battery of artillery, too, arrived at this critical juncture. The rebels advanced shouting as before, supported by their artillery, at every discharge of which they screamed like fiends. A shell from the first of our guns silenced both their shouts and their cannonade, and sent them flying again with astonishment and consternation. Retreating out of sight they deliberated a third attack, this time selecting the conical hill as the point of approach. With much labor they opened a road through the woods along the side of a high ridge on the other side of the London road, and planted a piece of their artillery. On our side, the 14th Ohio regiment, under Colonel Steadman, came into the field by a forced march, and took position. One piece of cannon was taken on the shoulders of the men to the top of the hill and every preparation made to give the rebels a handsome reception. As they approached on the rear of the hill, they came in the guise of friends, bearing their hats on the points of their guns and calling out as they approached, 'We are Union men!' 'Then,' said our men, 'lay down your arms and come along.' Approached now within twenty yards of our lines, they cried, 'Now, d——n you we've got you!' 'Give 'em the lead!' was the fierce reply. The conflict was obstinate and the carnage terrible. Volley after volley was delivered into the tottering ranks of rebellion, until, throwing aside their muskets still loaded, they fled the third time. The first fire of their cannon, planted with such infinite pains, drew forth a reply from our piece on the hill, which disabled and silenced it. The battle was now over and the victory won."

The retreat of the rebels to Barboursville is described as most disastrous to them. All along the road farmers and others, indignant at the outrages which they had practiced, came forth with their guns to harass their flight. "You start 'em," is said to have been the exclamation of these resolute yeomen to Colonel Garrard, "we'll keep 'em going;" and every where they poured their fire upon them, as the New England farmers once smote the British in their retreat from Lexington. The loss of Zollicoffer's troops, loosely estimated at a thousand to fifteen hundred, was certainly severe; that of the defenders was slight, less than ten, it is said, killed, and but fifty in any way wounded.

"I have called this," says the writer whose account of the battle we have cited, "an important action. Such it is for the number of the troops and obstinacy of the fight, but far more for its moral effects. It is the first battle upon the soil of Kentucky, the first resistance to an invasion that for enormity and atrocious barbarity has seldom been equalled. While Zollicoffer has created but little solicitude among military men, his name will live among the dwellers of these mountains for generations as a synonym of terror and distress, desolate houses, ravaged fields, and fugitive old men, women and children. If history preserves his name, it will be in the execrable category with Claverhouse, and Tarleton, and Haynau, the oppressors and enemies of the human race."

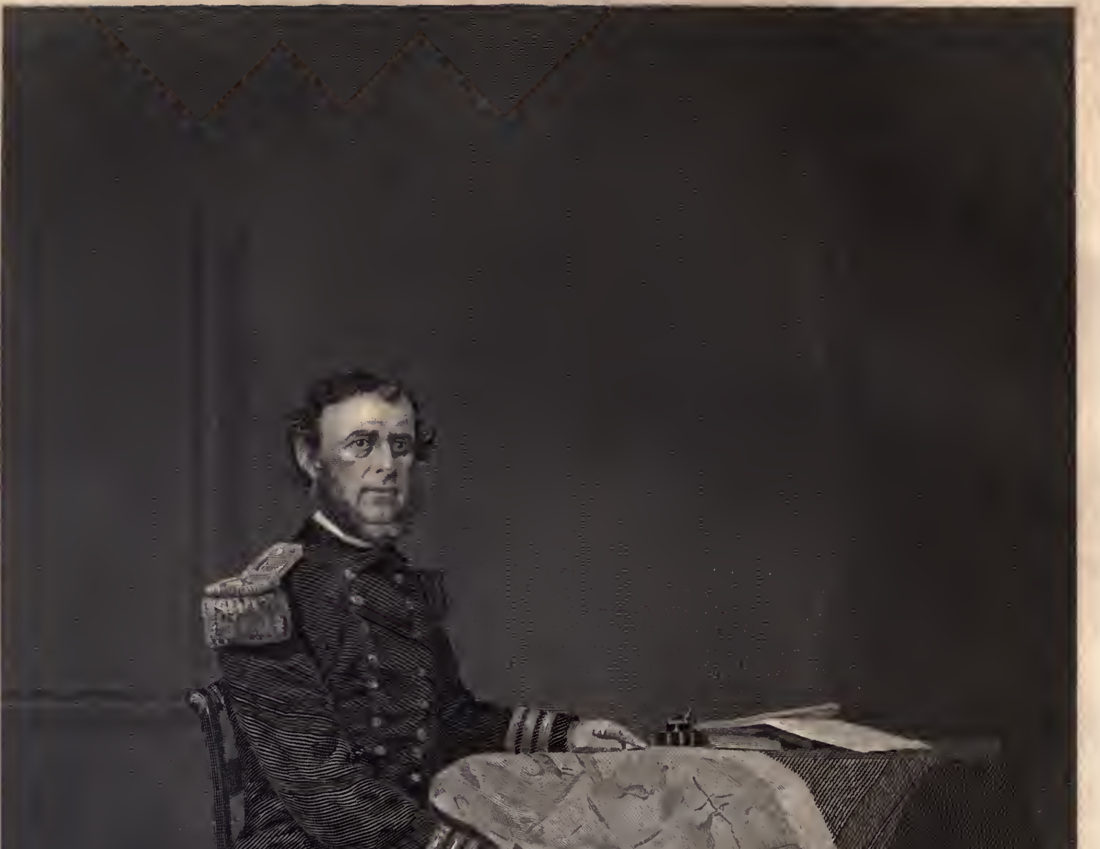
About a fortnight after a second lesson was administered to the rebels in Eastern Kentucky, in the onward march of General Nelson, with a body of Ohio and Kentucky Volunteers, through and beyond Prestonburg to Pikeville, where Colonel Williams, an insurgent officer, was at the head of a considerable force. General Nelson's advance met the enemy at a narrow defile of Joy Mountain, near Pikeville, where they were lying in wait at the turn of the road, in the mountain side above and on the opposite bank of the creek which skirted the sharp declivity of the narrow pathway. Four were killed and thirteen wounded of Colonel Marshall's Kentucky Battalion, on their sudden approach to the enemy. A charge was then ordered; the Ohio Volunteers as they came up deployed along the mountain, and two pieces of artillery were got in position on the road and opened fire. The skirmishing lasted an hour and twenty minutes, when the insurgents were thoroughly routed. Thirty of the enemy were found dead on the field. The Union loss was six killed and twenty-four wounded. From his Headquarters, Camp 'Hopeless Chase,' Piketon, General Nelson, on the 10th of November, issued this order to his soldiers:—"I thank you for what you have done. In a campaign of twenty days you have driven the rebels from Eastern Kentucky, and given repose to that portion of the State. You have made continual forced marches over wretched roads deep in mud. Badly clad, you have bivouacked on the wet ground in the November rain without a murmur. With scarcely half rations you have pressed forward with unfailing perseverance. The only place that the enemy made a stand, though ambushed and very strong, you drove him from you in the most brilliant style. For your constancy and courage I thank you, and with the qualities which you have shown that you possess, I expect great things from you in the future."

CHAPTER XLV.

THE CAPTURE OF PORT ROYAL, NOVEMBER, 1861.

THE obvious need by the Government of the possession of a series of harbors on the Southern Coast, to serve as the stations and places of refuge of the blockading fleet during the approaching inclement season, as well as to provide a basis of operations for future military movements against the Southern States, and afford protection to loyal citizens, required the prosecution of those naval undertakings which had been commenced with such success in the victory at Hatteras Inlet. The attention of the Navy Department had been early directed to this necessity, and in June a special board of army and Navy officers was ordered for the thorough investigation of the whole subject. The board was composed of Captains Samuel F. Dupont and Charles H. Davis of the Navy, Major John G. Barnard of the Engineer Corps of the Army, and Professor Alexander Bache of the Coast Survey. The Commission prepared several elaborate reports, exhibiting the position and advantage of almost every available point on the Coast, and it was in accordance with their recommendations that the expeditions to the Southern Coast in the summer and autumn of 1861 were undertaken. The rapidly increasing resources of the Department, in connection with the larger requirements of the war, demanded the equipment of a Naval Expedition on a larger scale, and one productive of more important results than that which had so readily gained possession of the forts at Hatteras. Accordingly, for the month or two following that event, there were rumors of the preparation of a fleet to be accompanied by a military force and to be directed against some important point of the Southern Coast, the popular conjectures of the precise locality to be assailed ranging widely from North Corolina to Texas, with a special inclination, in view of their value, to the harbors of Georgia and South Carolina. In the month of October the enterprise which had been energetically forwarded by the Secretary of the Navy and his efficient assistant, Mr. Fox, began to take definite shape to the eye of the public, in the gathering of a large squadron in Hampton Roads, and the collection of a considerable body of troops at a convenient point for embarkation at Annapolis. It was, of course, an object, as far as possible, to keep these movements secret from the enemy, and the press was consequently put under restraint in reporting the progress of the Expedition. At length, however, the completeness and unavoidable publicity of the preparations rendered secrecy no longer practicable, and the public, a few days before the departure of the fleet, were made acquainted with its military proportions and resources, though its particular destination was sedulously kept secret even in official circles.

At the head of the Naval Expedition was placed Commodore Samuel F. Dupont, the chairman of the board of Inquiry, just mentioned, who consequently was in full possession of the knowledge acquired by the Government in reference to the opportunities of the enterprise, and largely shared with the Administration the responsibility of its success. Indeed, so thoroughly had he studied the matter, and so confident was the reliance on his judgment, that the selection within certain limits, of the place where the



Painted by   Alonzo Chappel

S. F. Du Pont

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life.

Johnson Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 18[illegible] by Johnson, Fry & Co. in the clerks office of the district court of the Southern District of N.Y.

assault should first be made, was left to his discretion. This officer now assigned to so important a command, was born in New Jersey about the year 1802. He entered the navy from the State of Delaware in 1815, and had consequently been attached to the service some forty-six years, nearly half of which had been passed in active duty at sea. He had held many responsible commands in the West Indies, on the Pacific, the Coast of California, where he served with distinction in the Mexican War, and elsewhere, having attained the rank of Captain in 1855. His last service at sea was in command of the Minnesota on the China Station in 1859. He was subsequently commander of the Philadelphia Navy Yard. The naval vessels of the expedition assembled at Hampton Roads, consisted of the flag-ship, the Wabash, of 44 guns, accompanied by a fleet of sixteen gun-boats, the Pawnee, Ottawa, Seminole, and others, some of which had been newly purchased, and all of which were provided with powerful armaments. Other larger and more effective vessels of the Navy were expected to join the expedition from the Southern Stations as it approached the scene of operations.

The land forces of the Expedition numbered about 15,000 men, and were placed under charge of Brigadier-General Thomas W. Sherman, as acting Major-General. This officer, a native of Rhode Island, was a graduate of the Military Academy of the year 1836, when he was appointed 2d Lieutenant in the 3d United States Artillery. Having served with distinction in the Indian Wars in Florida, he was promoted to a Captaincy in May, 1846, at the opening of the Mexican War, joined the army of General Taylor, and was brevetted Major for gallant and meritorious conduct on the battle-field of Buena Vista. He had since been employed in the Indian country in the West, where in 1857 he distinguished himself by his prudence and fitness in preventing a war with the Sioux. His battery of Light Artillery, "Sherman's Battery," had a wide reputation for the skill and efficiency with which it was handled. At the outbreak of the rebellion he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel of the new 5th Regiment of Artillery, and was presently appointed Brigadier-General of Volunteers. He was in command of his brigade on the battle-field of Bull Run, where, it will be remembered, he had charge of some of the most important operations of the day. His experience pointed him out as one peculiarly fitted to organize the land forces of the projected Southern Expedition, and he was accordingly entrusted with the work. Previously to the gathering at Annapolis, a camp of instruction was formed under his direction at Hempstead, Long Island.

The army division under General Sherman in the Southern Expedition was divided into three brigades, commanded respectively by Brigadier-Generals Egbert S. Viele, Isaac J. Stevens and Horatio G. Wright. General Viele, a native of New York, was born in Saratoga County in 1825. He was a graduate of West Point of 1846, served in the Mexican War, and was subsequently appointed Chief Engineer of the State of New Jersey, in which capacity he made a trigonometrical survey of the State. He was afterward Chief Engineer in the preliminary laying out of the Central Park in New York. On the 17th of August, 1861, he was appointed Brigadier-General of Volunteers. His brigade in the new Southern Expedition was composed of the 3d New Hampshire, 8th Maine, 46th, 47th and 48th New York Regiments.

Brigadier-General Stevens, the commander of the Second Brigade, a man of eminent capacity and worth, was born at Andover, Massachusetts, in 1818, graduated at the head of his class at West Point in 1839, and was appointed First Lieutenant of Engineers the following year. He was on the staff of General

Scott in the Mexican war, was brevetted Captain for gallant and meritorious conduct at Contreras and Cherubusco, and Major for his gallantry before the city of Mexico. After the war he was engaged upon the United States Coast Survey, and subsequently was at the head of the Government Survey of the Northern railway route to the Pacific, in which he was associated with General, then Captain, McClellan. In 1853 he was appointed Governor of Washington Territory, and in 1857 represented the Territory in Congress. Associated with the Southern democracy in the late canvass for the Presidency, he was chairman of the National Executive Committee. This, however, did not hinder a prompt expression by him of loyalty to the Government, on the outbreak of the rebellion. He offered his services to the Government and entered the army with the appointment of Colonel of the 79th New York Highland regiment of Volunteers, as the successor of Colonel Cameron, on the death of that officer at Bull Run. His appointment of Brigadier-General of Volunteers was dated 28th of September, 1861. His brigade in the expedition consisted of the 8th Michigan, 50th Pennsylvania, the Round-Head Pennsylvania, and 79th New York regiments.

Brigadier-General Horatio G. Wright, the commander of the Third Brigade, a native of Connecticut, graduated at West Point second in his class, in 1841, when he was appointed 2d Lieutenant of Engineers. For the three following years he was Acting Assistant Professor and Assistant Professor of Engineering, in the Military Academy, was made 1st Lieutenant in 1848, Captain of Engineers in 1855, attained the rank of Major in the Engineer corps in August, 1861, and the next month was appointed Brigadier-General of Volunteers. His brigade in the expedition was composed of the 6th and 7th Connecticut, the 9th Maine, the 4th New Hampshire, the 3d Rhode Island regiments, a battalion of Volunteer Engineers under Colonel Serrell, and a battery of six rifled cannon, formerly Sherman's, now commanded by Captain Hamilton.

The fleet of transport and merchant ships for carrying the troops with the various supplies of ammunition, equipments, cavalry horses, and quartermaster's stores, numbered some thirty-five vessels, including not a few of the most distinguished in the United States Mercantile service. The steamships Atlantic under Captain Oliver Eldridge, the headquarters of this division, and the Baltic, Captain Joseph Comstock, of the New York and Liverpool Collins' Line, carried each a full New Hampshire regiment, and were laden with vast quantities of stores. These vessels bore also a number of rifled cannon, surf boats to land troops, a launch to take ashore the heavy guns, and the frames of houses, bricks for building, etc. The fast sailing Vanderbilt, the Ericsson, Empire City, Daniel Webster, Ocean Queen, and the New York Ship Great Republic of 3350 tons, which had been employed in similar service by the British Government in the Crimean war, were among the vessels of this fleet, which fully represented the ample resources of the well-furnished American Mercantile Marine. Bringing up the rear in this naval inventory, were a half-dozen ferry boats, such as are employed in the harbor of New York, capacious, admirably constructed vessels of their class, of the lightest draft, admirably adapted for the transportation and landing of troops in peaceful waters, but little fitted to breast the stormy waves of the Atlantic in a tempestuous season. The total tonnage of the transport steamers, it was calculated, amounted to 32, 391 tons, and of the Great Republic and other sailing vessels, 7,151 tons.

On the 21st of October the embarkation of the troops having been completed, and the weather, which had been foggy for the last few days, permitting the movement, the huge transport fleet left Annapolis for the place of rendezvous at Hampton Roads. The fleet sailed early to accomplish the voyage by daylight, the removal of the various buoys and lights by the rebels in the Chesapeake rendering it unsafe to proceed by night. The day becoming obscured, and a heavy gale blowing, it was not till the next morning that the vessels arrived opposite Fortress Monroe to join the vast and imposing gathering of frigates, gunboats, and other vessels of war already assembled there, with an immense train of provision transports, among which towered the formidable Wabash, Minnesota, Roanoke, Vandalia, and other familiar ships of the old navy.

A week was now passed in various preparations incidental to so extensive an enterprise, in connection with the drill and equipment of the several departments, when, at dawn on Tuesday, the 29th of October, the expected gun from the Wabash gave the signal of getting under way. At five the anchors were weighed throughout the fleet, and half an hour after the flag-ship steamed out in advance, and the vast armada was in motion. The morning was one of the fairest of the season at Hampton Roads, with not a cloud in the bright blue sky, and scarcely a breeze ruffling the surface of the water. The fleet, in general accordance with a preconcerted arrangement, was formed in three parallel lines corresponding to the military divisions, the flag-ship Wabash leading the van in the centre, flanked on either side by a squadron of gunboats, the Curlew, Isaac Smith, Pawnee, Ottawa, Unadilla, Seneca, Pembina, R. B. Forbes, and Penguin. The Baltic, towing the Ocean Express, led the column on the left, supported by the Pocahontas; the Illinois, towing the Golden Eagle, followed with the Locust Point, Star of the South, Parkersburg, Belvidere, the Alabama, Coatzacoalcos, Marion, Governor, and Mohican. At the head of the central line the Atlantic led, followed by the Vanderbilt towing the Great Republic; the Ocean Queen, towing the Zenas Coffin; succeeded by the Potomac, Winfield Scott, Union, Oriental, Cahawba, R. B. Forbes, O. M. Pettit, and Vixen. At the right the Empire City led, followed by the Ericsson, Florida, Philadelphia, Roanoke, Matanzas, Ben Deford, two ferry boats, the Daniel Webster, the Augusta, Ariel, Peerless, Mayflower, Mercury, and Osceola.

The fleet, following as far as practicable this programme, in which due care was taken to distribute the armed vessels for the security of the transports, presented a grand appearance as it left the Capes of Virginia. There were, of course, some irregularities even at the start, and it could hardly be expected that the symmetrical arrangement could be long pursued on the Atlantic, in the region of Hatteras, in the month of September. The space occupied by the fleet is described in extent from the eastern to the western limits, and from north to south, as about twelve miles in either direction—a splendid spectacle, as the huge area was filled with the diversified craft, from the stately frigate and monster steamers, through the various gradations of naval architecture to the humble ferry boat. In addition to the fifty vessels of the fleet, including the transports, Commodore Dupont had despatched the day before twenty-five coal vessels, under convoy of the Vandalia, to rendezvous off Savannah, not wishing, as he says, to give the true point. The real place of destination, Port Royal, was not known through the fleet till it was well at sea. It appears from the report of Commodore Dupont, that some other point was first thought of, and that the one chosen was adopted at the suggestion and by the decision of that officer. "After mature deliberation," says he, addressing Secretary Welles, "aided by the professional knowledge and great intelligence of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Fox, and upon taking into consideration the magnitude to which the joint naval and military expedition had been extended, to which you have called my attention, I came to the conclusion that the original intention of the department, if first carried out, would fall short of the expectations of the country, and of the capabilities of the expedition; while Port Royal, I thought, would meet both in a high degree. I therefore submitted to Brigadier-General Sherman, commanding the military part of the expedition, this modification of our earliest matured plans, and had the satisfaction to receive his full concurrence, though he and the commanders of brigades very justly laid great stress on the necessity, if possible, of getting this frigate, (the Wabash,) into the harbor of Port Royal."

The fleet kept well together during the first day, and at night were mostly in sight of one another, the signal and other lights brilliantly animating the scene. The wind from the southwest freshened before morning, and the effects of the increasing sea began to be seen in the scattering of the vessels and the test of their ocean qualities. Thursday was a fair day, with a change of wind to the northwest, and considerable progress was made along the coast. The landsmen of course experienced the novel inconveniences of the agitated ocean, aggravated by their crowded ranks, the encumbered decks, and the entire novelty, to most of them, of their position. The dreaded Hatteras, however, had been passed the previous evening, and no less than thirty-eight vessels could be counted in the forenoon, companions of her way, from the deck of the Atlantic.* Friday, the fourth day of the voyage, was fair during the greater part of the day, but in the evening a severe storm set in from the southeast, which continued during the night—a night which will be long remembered by the thousands in the expedition for its fearful hardships and hazards, and the actual disasters suffered by many of the vessels of the expedition. So entire was the dispersion of the fleet, that on Saturday morning but a single sail was visible from the deck of the Wabash. The Vanderbilt, in another quarter, had in sight only the Great Republic, from which she had been obliged to separate, cutting the towing hawser at ten o'clock the previous night. The scattering of the fleet rendering the communication of directions by signals no longer possible; the sealed orders, with which each vessel was provided, were opened, and the place of rendezvous ascertained by those on board to be Port Royal—a point which all were not destined to reach.

The transport steamer Governor, Captain C. L. Litchfield, a boat built to run between Bangor and Boston, carrying a marine battalion of about three hundred and fifty men commanded by Major John George Reynolds, and heavily laden with stores, after encountering hardships of great severity, foundered on Sunday. The steamer had kept up with the other vessels of the fleet near the flag-ship Wabash until Friday, the 1st of November. On the morning of that day she was separated from her companions by the rising gale, and in the afternoon began to suffer from the buffetings of the sea. The port and starboard hog braces, struck by a succession of heavy waves, were broken, requiring great exertions on the part of the officers and men of the battalion to support them. This injury was followed by the giving way of the brace chains holding the smoke stack, which was broken off some three feet above the hurricane deck, and went overboard, creating additional alarm for the safety of the vessel from conflagration. The portion which remained, however, was sufficient for keeping up the fires. The engine which had hitherto worked well was presently partially disabled by the bursting of the steam pipe. This required the engine to be frequently stopped to increase the head of steam. The pumps of the engine, meanwhile, when it could be worked, were clearing the vessel of the water which was entering freely. About five in the afternoon, a steamer was discovered, supposed to be the Ocean Queen. "To attract attention," continues Major Reynolds, in his vivid report of the disastrous voyage, "we sent up rockets, which signal she answered. When our rockets (six in all) were gone, we kept up a fire of musketry for a long time, but the sea running high, and the wind being violent, she could render us no assistance. She continued on her course in sight, the greater part of the night. About three o'clock Saturday morning the packing around the cylinder head blew out, rendering the engine perfectly useless for some time. The engine was finally put in running order, although it worked very slowly. The rudder chain was carried away during the night. The water gained constantly on us, and the boat labored violently. At every lurch we apprehended the hog-brace would be carried away, the effect of which would have been to tear out the entire starboard side of the boat, collapse the boiler, and carry away the wheel-house. Early in the morning the rudder-head broke, the engine was of very little use, the water still gaining on us rapidly, and we entirely at the mercy of the wind. It was only by the untiring exertions of our men that we were kept afloat. Nearly one hundred of them were kept constantly pumping and baling, and the rest were holding fast the ropes which supported the hog-braces.

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* Atlantic Correspondence of the *N. Y. Tribune*, November 14, 1861.

"Toward morning the weather, which during the night had been dark and rainy, seemed to brighten, and the wind to lull. At daybreak two vessels were seen on our starboard bow, one of which proved to be the United States steamer, Isaac P. Smith, commanded by Lieutenant W. A. Nicholson, of the navy. She descried our signal of distress, which was ensign half-mast, union down, and stood for us. About ten o'clock we were hailed by the Smith, and given to understand that, if possible, we should all be taken on board. A boat was lowered from her, and we were enabled to take a hawser. This, through the carelessness of Captain Litchfield of the Governor, was soon cast off or unavoidably let go. The water was still gaining on us, the engines could be worked but little, and it appeared that our only hope of safety was gone. The Smith now stood off, but soon returned, and by one o'clock we had another hawser from her, and were again in tow. A sail, (the propeller bark Young Rover,) which had been discovered on our starboard bow during the morning, was soon within hailing distance. The captain proffered all the assistance he could give, though at the time he could do nothing, owing to the severity of the weather. The hawser from the Smith again parted, and we were once more adrift. The Young Rover now stood for us again, and the captain said he would stand by us till the last, for which encouragement he received a heartfelt cheer from the men. He also informed us a large frigate was ahead, standing for us. He then stood for the frigate, made signals of distress, and returned. The frigate soon came into view, and hope once more cheered the hearts of all aboard the transport.

"Between two and three o'clock the United States frigate Sabine (Captain Ringgold) was within hail, and the assurance given that all hands would be taken on board. After a little delay the Sabine came to anchor. We followed her example, and a hawser was passed to us. It was now late in the day, and there were no signs of an abatement of the gale. It was evident that whatever was to be done for our safety, must be done without delay. About eight or nine o'clock the Sabine had paid out enough chain to bring her stern close to our bow. Spars were rigged out over the stern of the frigate, and every arrangement made for whipping our men on board, and some thirty men were rescued by this means. Three or four hawsers and an iron stream cable were parted by the plunging of the vessels. The Governor at this time had about three feet of water, which was rapidly increasing. It was now evidently intended by the commanding officer of the Sabine to get the Governor alongside, and let our men jump from the boat to the frigate. In our condition this appeared extremely hazardous. It seemed impossible for us to strike the frigate without instantly going to pieces. We, however, were brought alongside, and some forty men succeeded in getting on board the frigate. One was crushed to death between the frigate and the steamer in attempting to gain a foothold on the frigate. The port bow of the Governor struck the starboard quarter of the frigate, and carried away about twenty feet of the hurricane deck from the stem to the wheel-house. The sea was running so high, and we being tossed so violently, it was deemed prudent to slack up the hawser and let the Governor fall astern of the frigate, with the faint hope of weathering the gale till morning. All our provisions and other stores, indeed every movable article, were thrown overboard, and the water-casks started to lighten the vessel. From half-past three until daybreak the Governor floated in comparative safety, notwithstanding the water was rapidly gaining on her. At daybreak preparations were made for sending boats to our relief, although the sea was running high; and, it being exceedingly dangerous for a boat to approach the guards of the steamer in consequence, the boats lay off and the men were obliged to jump into the sea, and then be hauled into the boats. All hands were thus providentially rescued from the wreck, with the exception, I am pained to say, of one corporal and six privates, who were drowned or killed by the crush or contact of the vessels. Those drowned were lost through their disobedience of orders in leaving the ranks or abandoning their posts. After the troops were safely reembarked, every exertion was directed to securing the arms, accoutrements, ammunition, and other property which might have been saved after lightening the wreck, and I am gratified in being able to say, nearly all the arms were saved, and about half the accoutrements. The knapsacks, haversacks, and canteens were nearly all lost." About ten thousand rounds of cartridges were fortunately saved, and nine thousand lost. The transport continued to float some three hours after she was abandoned, when she sunk.

It remains to add to this narrative of extraordinary peril and hardship, the warm testimony of Major Reynolds to the courage and fortitude of the men in this desperate emergency, and his lively tribute of gratitude to the officers of the Sabine, who rescued his command from utter destruction. "Too much praise," says he, "cannot be bestowed upon the officers and men under my command—all did nobly. The firmness with which they performed their duty is beyond all praise. For forty-eight hours they stood at the ropes and passed water to keep the ship afloat. Refreshments in both eating and drinking were passed to them at their posts by non-commissioned officers. It is impossible for troops to have conducted themselves better under such trying circumstances. * * * Under God we owe our preservation to Captain Ringgold and the officers of the Sabine, to whom we tender our heartfelt thanks for their untiring labors while we were in danger and their unceasing kindness since we have been on board the frigate."*

The Peerless, a small steamer formerly employed on Lake Ontario, between

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* Major Reynolds to Flag-officer Dupont, U. S. Ship Sabine, At Sea, November 8, 1861.

Lewiston and Toronto, laden with beef cattle, also fell a victim to the gale. She gave signals of distress when the Star of the South came up, and in the tumult of the storm unhappily ran into her quarter. She was so much injured by the collision, that though the cattle, eighty-seven in number, were thrown overboard to lighten her, she was unable further to struggle with the waves. The gunboat Mohican, Commander Gordon, came to her aid, and took off all on board, twenty-six in number. The captain was the last to leave the fast sinking vessel. He quietly launched his life-boat, placed his trunk in it and reached his deliverer in perfect safety.*

The propeller Osceola, Captain J. F. Morrill, of 177 tons, belonging to New York, which had joined the fleet at Hampton Roads, laden with beef cattle and provisions, was driven in the gale, before dawn on Saturday, on the Day Breaker, off North Island, near Georgetown, on the coast of South Carolina. She bilged in two hours, the cattle, of which there were thirty-nine on board, soon taking to the water, and many of them reaching shore. The vessel having become a wreck, the officers and crew, twenty in number, took to their boats and reached North Island, where they were taken prisoners.†

The Union, Captain J. I. Sawin, a new steamer, a staunch, fast vessel, built at New York for the use of the Quartermaster's Department at Fortress Monroe, went ashore in the gale off Beaufort, North Carolina, where her crew and passengers,—a few soldiers,—seventy-three in all, were landed in safety, taken by the enemy, and carried prisoners of war into the interior. The Union was heavily laden with stores which were destroyed with the wreck. A few of the horses on board were saved.‡

The Winfield Scott, government transport, a new iron steamer, barely escaped destruction. She had on board five hundred men of the 50th Pennsylvania regiment, whose efficient conduct assisted greatly in the preservation of the ship. "She had been laboring fearfully all Friday afternoon and night, when the discovery was made about one A. M. that the after hold contained five feet of water. An examination showed an extensive leak around the rudder-head, and, what was still more alarming, that the woodwork of the upper part of the vessel, at its uniting point with the iron hull, on the whole of the starboard side, abaft the wheel, yawed open at every lurch, affording an entrance for immense volumes of water. The Captain immediately ordered the ship to be lightened, by throwing overboard her cargo, and two rifled cannon, which constituted his armament. This was commenced, and the after hold soon afterwards was emptied of the immense quantities of provisions, tents and camp equipage which it contained. The soldiers worked energetically with the crew in baling, and their efforts were vastly more arduous in consequence of the choking of the vessel's steam pump by the rubbish in the hold. This labor was persistently kept up during the whole night, but all they could do only sufficed to keep the leak from gaining. In the interval the masts had been cut away, and the light hamper of the upper deck torn off. At 8 A. M. the gunboat Bienville bore down to them, and, having been informed of their condition, was requested to remain by them. A boat was then sent from the Winfield Scott to the Bienville, containing three disabled soldiers and a woman, the wife of one of the officers. This boat was swamped alongside the gunboat after the passengers had left it, and then the Bienville sent one of her life-boats to bring away some of the soldiers. After one trip, performed safely, this boat met a similar fate to the other. Among those, however, who left the leaking steamer on this occasion, was the Chief Engineer and his third assistant. They cowardly abandoned their posts without the shadow of an excuse. The vessel being divided into three water-tight compartments, her engines in the centre division, not a drop of water touched them, and they escaped injury, and never ceased working until the steamer dropped anchor at this place. I am glad to say that both delinquents have been returned to their vessel, where they are now confined in irons, pending the time when the punishment they deserved shall be administered. The name of the Chief Engineer, I understand, is Saven; that of the other I did not learn. Finding that the transhipment of the men could not be accomplished by means of boats, the Bienville ran alongside the disabled steamer and twenty of the soldiers at that time scrambled on board. The Bienville boarded on the port-bow, and in doing so had her gunwales carried away by catching them upon the anchor. This mode of proceeding also proving a failure, the Bienville contented herself by remaining by the Scott until three and a half o'clock P. M., by which time the weather had moderated. Some more of the soldiers—making the aggregate number about forty—were then taken off, when the sea becoming comparatively smooth, it was found that the steamer ceased to take in water and could be saved. Accordingly the Bienville left her and by nightfall she had been pumped out, her leaks stopped, and was making her way comfortably to the rendezvous. On the next evening (Sunday,) the Vanderbilt took her in tow and brought her to the anchorage. A serious error happened during the height of the confusion on board, which I should have thought could only have resulted from a panic among the soldiers, but I am assured by the officers that the men never for a moment lost their presence of mind. When the order was given to throw the guns overboard, meaning the rifled cannon, about three hundred of the soldiers plunged their muskets into the sea, under the impression that they were obeying directions, and in their zeal it was not long before their overcoats followed their arms."*

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* Port Royal Correspondence of the *N. Y. Tribune*, November 14, 1861.

† Statement of Capt. Morrill, *N. Y. Herald*, Nov. 14, 1861.

‡ *New York Herald*, November 14, 1861.

The Mayflower, a small river boat, resisted the tempest bravely under the guidance of her skillful commander, Captain Phillips; one of her paddle-boxes was stove, but she escaped other injury and was towed out of the region of the tempest by the friendly Atlantic.† The gunboat Mercury lost one of her two rifled guns thrown overboard to lighten her, and the Isaac Smith, for the same sufficient reason, was compelled to part in the same way with an armament of eight 8-inch guns. The Florida, a side-wheel steamer of about twelve hundred tons, and nine guns, was disabled in her machinery and put back in distress. The transport Belvidere and two of the New York ferry-boats, the Ethan Allen and Commodore Perry, put back to Fortress Monroe, and brought the first news of the storm.

The weather moderating on Saturday, the steamers and ships began to rejoin the Wabash off the Coast of South Carolina. On passing Charleston, Commodore Dupont sent in the Seneca to direct Captain Lardner to bring the steamer Susquehanna to Port Royal, and on Monday the 4th of November, at eight in the morning, the flag-ship was anchored off the bar at Port Royal with some twenty-five vessels in company and many more heaving in sight.‡

In consequence of the peculiar configuration of the coast, simply bringing the vessels to the scene of action was a work of no slight difficulty and embarrassment. It required consummate knowledge and the nicest adjustment of skill. Fortunately the amplest resources of this nature had been provided in the composition and equipment of the fleet. Beside the experience to be looked for in the naval officers, which was in no respect wanting on the occasion, especially in the skill of the chief of Commodore Dupont's staff, and fleet captain Commander Charles H. Davis, the expedition was provided with a most important coadjutor in Mr. Boutelle, a gentleman of rare scientific ability, who had been employed for several seasons within a few years past in the government survey of this very coast. Others also were well informed of the peculiar trials of the service, and they had every artificial aid at hand to meet them. It was first necessary to strike the channel from the sea some ten miles from the land, a formidable bar stretching at that distance seaward over more than two miles. The usual buoys marking this ocean pathway had been removed by the rebels and there was no feature of sufficient prominence on the shore line to make any bearings reliable. The channel was, however, by the aid of the fleet-captain, Commander Davis and Mr. Boutelle in the Vixen, discovered at once, sounded out and buoyed.

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* Correspondent, Steamship Atlantic, Port Royal Inlet, November 4. New York *Times*, November 14, 1861.

† Atlantic Correspondence of the *Herald*, November 14, 1861.

‡ Flag-Officer Dupont to Secretary Welles, November 6, 1861.

These proceedings were the rapid work of several hours, when at three o'clock the flag-officer, Commodore Dupont, was informed that he could with safety send forward the lighter transports, drawing less than eighteen feet, and all the gunboats. This was immediately effected, and before dark they were securely anchored in the roadstead of Port Royal. There they were met by the mosquito fleet, as it was popularly termed, of Commodore or Admiral Josiah Tatnall, a venerable officer of the American Navy, who, at the outset of the struggle, abandoning an honorable post of duty at Sackett's Harbor, had sheltered himself in his native State, and was now employed in leading the inadequate naval defences of the region. The force at his disposal consisted of a squadron of eight small armed steamers fitted for the inland navigation among the islands. They opened fire, but their stings were feeble and fruitless and they were readily brushed away by a shot or two from the national gunboats, when they retired under the shelter of the forts.

The next day, Tuesday, was employed in a reconnoissance in force by Commander John Rogers of the United States Steamer Flag, who, being temporarily on board the flag-ship as a passenger on the way to his vessel, had offered his services and been placed on the staff of the Commodore. He was accompanied by Brigadier-General Wright in the gunboat Ottawa and supported by the Seneca, Curlew and the Isaac Smith. The object of the movement was to test the strength of the batteries on shore, which were found to consist of several important works erected on either side of the entrance. On the one side at the south-easterly point of Hilton Head Island stood Fort Walker, evidently a regularly constructed earthwork of considerable extent, and on the opposite land of Bay Point on Phillip's Island, about two and a half miles across the channel, another work, Fort Beauregard of inferior dimensions and less regularity, but still formidable from its position and armament. The advance of the portion of the fleet sent in called forth the fire of the forts and demonstrated their scientific construction, relative importance, and power of resistance, mounting at least twenty guns each. The batteries of both forts were engaged for about forty-five minutes with no other injury to the defenders than three men slightly burnt in Fort Beauregard from the explosion of a caisson struck by a rifle shell.* Meanwhile, the tide serving, the passage of the formidable bar was effected by the gigantic flag-ship of the Expedition, the Wabash, an affair of no little anxiety and peril, for the opportunity had to be carefully watched, and the transit left but a foot or two of water under her keel. Had she failed and been stranded the success of the Expedition might at least have been seriously impaired. Well might the arrival of this proud vessel in the safe waters beyond be greeted by lusty cheers of the crew of the frigate Susquehanna and the crowded ranks of the soldiers in the Atlantic, Vanderbilt, and other huge transports which followed her. This was the work of the morning. The after part of the day was passed in laying down the necessary buoys for further progress. There was also a slight detention from the temporary grounding of the Wabash on a dangerous shoal as she ventured too far within in the anxiety of her commander to get the outline of the forts before dark. At night, however, all were anchored out of reach of the guns of the fort, ready for a struggle on the next day, which, proving to be ill adapted for the advance in consequence of a stormy wind off shore from the southward and westward, the attack was necessarily postponed. While the delay gave the defenders of the forts opportunity to marshal their men, receive reinforcements and strengthen the work, the constant watchfulness and anxiety to which it subjected them on the other hand tended to neutralize these advantages.

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* Official Report of General Drayton.

The next day, Thursday the 7th, proved favorable, and under the clear sky of a morning of great beauty, the flood tide serving in the forenoon, it being high water that day, about half-past eleven, the armed vessels of the fleet advanced over the tranquil water to the deadly encounter. The transports, freighted with their thousands of soldiers, destined from the peculiar nature of the service to be spectators, rather than, as they at first anticipated, participators in the fight, remained behind, yet within sight of the grand movement. The loss of the ferry boats which had been provided to transport the troops over the shallow waters to the shore in the rear of the forts, had compelled a change of plan, by which the coöperation of the military was abandoned, and the whole responsibility of the attack was thrown upon the navy.

It had been ascertained by the reconnoissance, that Fort Walker, on Hilton Head, was the most powerfully armed of the defences, that the greater part of its guns were presented on two water fronts, and that the flanks were but slightly guarded, especially on the north, where an attack was less to be expected. Tatnall's fleet of seven steamers was known to occupy the northern portion of the harbor, stretching across the distance between the two islands which bounded the entrance. Under these circumstances the fleet made its advance.

The order of battle, as described by Commodore Dupont in his official report, "comprised a main squadron ranged in a line ahead, and a flanking squadron, which was to be thrown off on the northern section of the harbor to engage the enemy's flotilla and prevent them taking the rear ships of the main line when it turned to the southward, or cutting off a disabled vessel. The main squadron consisted of the frigate Wabash, Commander C. R. P. Rodgers, the leading ship; the frigate Susquehanna, Captain J. L. Lardner; the sloop Mohican, Commander L. W. Gordon; the sloop Seminole, Commander J. P. Gillis; the sloop Pawnee, Lieutenant Commanding R. H. Wyman; the gunboat Unadilla, Lieutenant Commanding N. Collins; the gunboat Ottawa, Lieutenant Commanding T. H. Stevens; the gunboat Pembina, Lieutenant Commanding J. P. Bankhead, and the sailing sloop Vandalia, Commander F. S. Haggerty, towed by the Isaac Smith, Lieutenant Commanding J. W. A. Nicholson. The flanking squadron consisted of the gunboat Bienville, Commander Charles Steedman, the leading ship; the gunboat Seneca, Lieutenant Commanding Daniel Ammen; the gunboat Curlew, Lieutenant Commanding P. G. Watmough; the gunboat Penguin, Lieutenant Commanding T. A. Budd, and the gunboat Augusta, Commander E. G. Parrott, the closing ship of that line. The plan of attack was to pass up midway between Forts Walker and Beauregard (receiving and returning the fire of both) to a certain distance about two and a half miles north of the latter. At that point the line was to turn to the south, round by the west, and close in with Fort Walker, encountering it on its weakest flank, and at the same time enfilading, in nearly a direct line, its two water faces. While standing to the southward, the vessels of the line were head to tide, which kept them under command, whilst the rate of going was diminished. When abreast of the fort, the engine was to be slowed, and the movement reduced to only as much as would be just sufficient to overcome the tide, to preserve the order of battle by passing the batteries in slow succession, and to avoid becoming a fixed mark for the enemy's fire. On reaching the extremity of Hilton Head and the shoal ground making off from it, the line was to turn to the north by the east, and, passing to the northward, to engage Fort Walker with the port battery nearer than when first on the same course. These evolutions were to be repeated. The captains of the ships had been called on board and instructed as to the general formation of the lines and their own respective places."

The plan of the action in pursuing a series of elliptical movements thus definitely pre-arranged by Commodore Dupont, was systematically adhered to in the engagement. Of the mode in which it was carried out, the Commodore gives the following outline in his report:

"At eight o'clock the signal was made to get under way. At 8.10 the ship, (the flag-ship Wabash,) riding to the flood, tripped her anchor; and at 8.30 the ship turned, and was headed in for the forts. At 9 the signal was made for close order. At 9.26 the action was commenced by a gun from Fort Walker, immediately followed by another from Fort Beauregard. This was answered at once from this ship, and immediately after from the Susquehanna. At 10 o'clock the leading ship of the line turned to the southward, and made signal to the Vandalia (which ship, in tow of the Isaac Smith, was dropping astern, and was exposed, without support, to the fire of Fort Beauregard) to join company. At 10.15 the signal was made for closer action, the Wabash slowly passing Fort Walker at a distance, when abreast, of eight hundred yards. At 11 the signal was made to get into and preserve stations, and at 11.15 to follow the motions of the commander-in-chief. Standing to the northward, the ship's head was again turned to the southward, and she passed the guns of Fort Walker at a distance less than six hundred yards, (the sights were adjusted to five hundred and fifty yards.) At 11.30 the enemy's flag was shot away. The second fire with the starboard guns of the Wabash and of Captain Lardner, in the Susquehanna, my second in command, who always kept so near as to give me the entire support of his formidable battery, seems, at this short distance, to have discomforted the enemy. Its effect was increased by the shells thrown from the smaller vessels at the enfilading point. It was evident that the enemy's fire was becoming much less frequent, and finally it was kept up at such long intervals and with so few guns as to be of little consequence. After the Wabash and Susquehanna had passed to the northward and given the fort the fire of their port battery the third time, the enemy had entirely ceased to reply, and the battle was ended."

Of more personal interest, and bringing us more in sympathy with the feeling with the hour, was a private letter, written by Commodore Dupont, describing the engagement to his friend the Assistant Secretary of the Navy at Washington, with whom doubtless he had held many an anxious consultation in the planning and preparation of the Expedition. "My dear Mr. Fox," he wrote from the flag-ship, Port Royal, November 9, in the first enthusiasm of difficulties overcome and success honorably achieved, "during the disheartening events of our passage, my faith never gave way, but at some moments it seemed appalling. On the other hand I permit no elation at our success, yet I cannot refrain from telling you that it has been more complete and brilliant than I ever could have believed. * * I kept under way and made three turns, though I passed five times between the forts. I had a flanking division of five ships to watch, and old Tatnall, too, who had eight small and swift steamers, ready to pounce upon any of ours should they be disabled. I could get none of my big frigates up. I thought the Sabine would have gotten clear up to the St. Lawrence. I sent no word, however, and the Savannah was blown off. I do not regret it now, except on their account. I believe my plan was clever. I stood against the side and had the management the better in consequence. Their confidence was extreme that they could drive us away. They fought bravely, and their rifle guns never missed. An 80-pounder rifle ball went through our mainmast in the very centre, making an awful hole. They aimed at our bridge, where they knew they could make a hole if they were lucky. A shot in the centre let water into the after magazine, but I saved a hundred lives by keeping under way and bearing in close. We found their sights graduated at six hundred yards. When they once broke the stampede was intense and not a gun was spiked. In truth, I never conceived of such a fire as that of this ship on her second turn, and I am told that its effect upon the spectators outside of her was intense. I learn that when they saw our flag flying on shore, the troops were powerless to cheer, but wept. General Sherman was deeply affected, and the soldiers are loud and unstinting in their expressions of admiration and gratitude."

Such, in brief, was the action by which the harbor of Port Royal, with its series of island dependencies, was gained to the Union cause. The success of the movement was complete, as the various vessels of the fleet kept on in their destructive circuit, pouring a deadly fire into the forts. The twenty-two gun broadside of the Wabash, at short range, discharging in her several rounds eight hundred and eighty shells, chiefly with five-second fuses, with a fire of grape in the latter part of the action, in concert with the bombardment by the other heavily armed vessels of the fleet, was indeed terrific. So well directed was the firing that it was calculated that more than fifty shells were exploded each minute within the fort, an unintermitted storm of iron hail, bursting, rending and destroying with the instantaneous, resistless force of the thunderbolt. Stout John Rogers, the aid of the Commander on the Wabash, during these perilous hours, forcibly pictures the ship "a destroying angel, hugging the shore, calling the soundings with cold indifference, allowing the engine only to give steerage way, signalling the vessels their various evolutions, and at the same time raining shells, as in target practice, too fast to count. During the action, (he adds,) I looked carefully at the fort with a powerful sky-glass. Shell fell in it as fast as a horse's feet beat the ground on a gallop." *

No valor within the defences could withstand this unsparing attack. In vain were the heavy guns of the forts

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* Letter to a Friend, dated Port Royal Harbor, November 9, 1861, published in the *New York Tribune* of November 14.

loaded with kindred missives and discharged by faithful hands with consummate bravery against the fleet. They were directed too high, at too long a range, or were foiled by the skillful manœuvring of the ships as they slowly revolved in their fiery circuit. When the shots struck they hit no vital part, or the damage was not such as materially to impede the progress of the attack. An 80-pounder rifle ball indeed was sent through the very centre of the mainmast of the Wabash, about twelve feet above the rail, but the lofty structure was not overthrown. The flag-ship was also much cut up in her rigging, and her spars and hull were struck nine times. Two of the shots were in the water line, one making a leak in the after magazine passage, but the magazine escaped the threatening flood. A gun was dismounted, its captain killed and two seamen slightly wounded. The Bienville, a side wheel steamer mounting eight guns, suffered several casualties in the after part of the action, when, at close quarters she was open to point blank range of the whole battery of Fort Walker, and received their entire concentrated fire. She was struck in various places. "One shot passed through the ship just forward of the foremast, between the two upper decks ; one struck on one of the forward boat davits ; one carried away the cook's funnel ; one cut off a shroud of the main rigging ; one came through the water ways, forward, killing two men and wounding three others at the starboard guns of the forward division." *

The steam chest of the Penguin, a gunboat, was struck and exploded when she was successfully withdrawn from the action. There were various other disasters, but of a minor character. Altogether it was a marvellous preservation of the attacking fleet. The vessels of the squadron indeed, safe in their temerity, seemed to bear a charmed life as they successively emerged in order in long line, apparently unharmed, and ready again for action, out of the smoke of the previous discharge.

"At 1.15," continues Commodore Dupont in his official report, "the Ottawa signalled that the works at Hilton Head were abandoned. This information was, a few minutes later, repeated by the Pembina. As soon as the starboard guns of this ship and the Susquehanna had been brought to bear a third time upon Fort Walker, I sent Commander John Rogers on shore with a flag of truce. The hasty flight of the enemy was visible, and was reported from the tops. At twenty minutes after two Captain Rogers hoisted the flag of the Union over the deserted post. At forty-five minutes after two I anchored and sent Commander C. R. P. Rodgers on shore with the marines and a party of seamen to took possession, and prevent, if necessary, the destruction of public property. The transports now got under way and came up rapidly, and by nightfall Brigadier-General Wright's brigade had landed and entered upon the occupation of the ground. I have said, in the beginning of this report, that the plan of attack designed making the reduction of Fort Walker the business of the day. In passing to the northward, however, we had improved every opportunity of firing at long range upon Fort Beauregard. As soon as the fate of Fort Walker was decided, I despatched a small squadron to Fort Beauregard to reconnoitre and ascertain its condition, and to prevent the rebel steamers returning to carry away either persons or property. Near sunset it was discovered that the flag upon this fort was hauled down, and that the fort was apparently abandoned. At sunrise, the next day, the American ensign was hoisted on the flag-staff of Fort Beauregard by Lieutenant Commanding Ammen. The Pocahontas, Commander Percival Drayton, had suffered from the gale of Friday night so badly as not to

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* Letter from an officer of the Bienville, Nov. 7, 1861, *New York Tribune*, Nov. 14, 1861.

be able to enter Port Royal until the morning of the 7th. He reached the scene of action about 12 o'clock, and rendered gallant service by engaging the batteries on both sides in succession. Lieutenant Commanding H. L. Newcombe, of the R. B. Forbes, which vessel had been employed in towing in the Great Republic, arrived in time to take good part in the action. And finally the tug Mercury, Acting-Master Martin commanding, employed his single Parrot gun with skill and effect."

It is characteristic of the nature of this unhappy warfare, brought upon the country by a domestic foe, that the victors, at the first moment of exultation as the honored old symbol of the nation once more ascended to the skies, in place of the dethroned signal of rebellion, which since the memorable day of Sumter had usurped its place on the soil of South Carolina, showed their emotion not in shouts of triumph, but in tears. The troops, in the expressive language of Dupont, "were powerless to cheer, but wept." There were not long wanting, however, hearty hurrahs, as the various bands of music in the fleet struck up the national airs, and the resounding acclamations of the soldiers cheered the toil-worn combatants.

The rout was most complete, presenting every indication of a sudden abandonment of the position. One or two severely wounded men remained within the precincts of the fort. Everywhere around, in pools of blood, fragments of lacerated limbs and broken members of human bodies were sickening signs of horrible carnage, the abundant images of death. The broken carriages of the dismounted guns were stained and splashed with the flesh and life blood of their valiant, sadly misguided German defenders. The remains were speedily and reverently interred by the victors in a soldier's grave.

The guns in the fort, with the exception of one, were found unspiked, while around lay not only the most valuable small arms and military equipments, but such personal effects as purses, watches, trinkets, and a quantity of private and official correspondence. Among the latter was, it is said, a telegraphic dispatch from President Jefferson Davis, assuring the commander that Port Royal was the destined object of attack by the fleet. A costly sword, a rare relic, the blade inscribed with oriental characters, fitted with a scabbard of solid silver, was reserved for Captain Dupont. On the road, even to the distant wharf of embarkation, emblems of flight were strewn in all directions in arms, equipments and private property. Many valuable horses were captured, running riderless in the woods. A day or two after two pieces of cannon were found deserted at a distance of six miles from the fort, where they had been brought with the intention of aiding in the defence.*

Admiral Tatnall, who at the approach of the fleet held a position above in the river, fled with his mosquito squadron at an early moment of the engagement, burning the vessels in the upper waters of the region and making good his escape with his crews.

The official report of General Drayton informs us of the force of the enemy at the two forts and of the dispositions made to repel the attack. On the arrival of the fleet off the Sound on the 4th instant there were on Hilton Head Island, and to man the guns within the fort and for an infantry reserve outside, two companies of Colonel Wagoner's 1st Regiment Artillery, South Carolina militia ; three companies Colonel Hayward's 9th Regiment South Carolina Volunteers and four companies Colonel Dunovant's 12th Regiment South Carolina Volunteers, under Major Jones,—in all six hundred and twenty-two men. There were also stationed on the beach, at Camp Lookout, six miles off, Captain Screven's mounted guerillas numbering sixty-five, who acted as scouts and couriers. The guns of various calibre mounted at Fort Walker at this time were twenty in number, of which thirteen were on the channel Battery. The force on the island was increased on the afternoon of the 6th by 450 infantry from Georgia under command of Captain Berry, C. S. A., and Captain Read's battery of two 11-pound howitzers and 50 men. The same afternoon another reinforcement arrived of Colonel DeSaussure's 15th Regiment South Carolina Volunteers, numbering 650 men. There were thus 1837 men on the island to meet the enemy on their approach the following morning.

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* Correspondence *N. Y. Herald*, Nov. 16, 1861.

The incidents of the day on the island are thus described by General Drayton: "At last the memorable 7th dawned upon us, bright and serene; not a ripple upon the broad expanse of water to disturb the accuracy of fire from the broad decks of that magnificent armada, about advancing in battle array, to vomit forth its iron hail with all the spiteful energy of long-suppressed rage and conscious strength. At 9.25 A. M. one 9-inch Dahlgren gun opened fire upon the sixty-gun steamship Wabash, flag-ship of Captain Dupont, which led the van, closely succeeded by fourteen other large steamers and gunboats. The shell from the Dahlgren exploded near the muzzle, and was harmless. Other shots followed from both forts, and soon the fire became general on land and water. In spite of our fire, directed with deliberation and coolness, the fleet soon passed both batteries, apparently unharmed, and then returning, delivered, in their changing rounds, a terrific shower of shot and shell in flank and front. Besides this moving battery, the fort was enfiladed by two gunboats, anchored to the north, off the mouth of Fish Hall Creek, and another at a point on the edge of the shoal to the south. This enfilading fire on so still a sea annoyed and damaged us excessively, particularly as we had no gun on either flank of the bastion to reply with; for the 32-pounder on the right flank was shattered very early by a round shot; and in the north flank, for want of a carriage, no gun had been mounted. After the fourth fire the 10-inch columbiad bounded over the hurter, and became useless. The 24-pounder rifled cannon was choked while ramming down a shell, and lay idle during nearly the whole engagement. The shells for the 9-inch Dahlgren were also too large; the fourth shell attempted to be rammed home could not be driven below the trunions, and was then at great risk discharged. Thus far the fire of the enemy had been endured and replied to with the unruffled courage of veterans. At 10½ o'clock our gunners became so fatigued that I left the fort, accompanied by one of my Volunteer Aids, Captain H. Rose, and went back to Captain Read's Battery, (one and three-quarter miles in the rear of the fort,) and brought the greater part of his men back to take the places of our exhausted men inside the fort. It was while thus engaged with Captain Read's company that Colonel W. H. Stiles rode up and reported his regiment about two miles distant. I instantly directed my aid, Lieutenant Drayton, to accompany Colonel Stiles to the road along which his regiment was advancing, and to station it in position by the side of the other Georgia troops. On entering the fort with Captain Read's company, they were cordially greeted by both officers and men.

"The vigorous attack from the fleet continued unabated, with still no decided damage to any of their ships. About 12½ P. M. I again went out of the fort, with my Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Young, for the purpose of mustering together the infantry and reserves, and have them in readiness for any eventuality. Before leaving, however, I turned over the command to Colonel Heyward, with directions to hold out as long as any effective fire could be returned. Having mounted our horses, we rejoined the troops near Hospital No. 2. I received information through one of the videttes that a steamer and small boats were sounding close to the beach; I detached Captain Berry, with three companies of his battalion, under the guidance of Captain Ephraim Barnard, volunteer aid, to watch the enemy, beat them back if they attempted to land, and give notice if he wanted support. I then, with some of my staff, rode to collect together the other troops, who, through ignorance of our inland roads, had lost their way and had not yet come up. On the road leading to a wharf on Skull Creek, about one-fourth of a mile from Fort Walker, I unexpectedly met General Ripley and Staff. Saluting him, I inquired if he visited the island to assume command, and whether he wished to go back with me into the fort? He said no, but that he would return to Coosawhatchie to collect and bring back two or three regiments to my support. We then moved from under the fire of the ships to the shelter of some myrtles, where we could not be seen. I then stated to him the incidents of the morning, how the men fought, that the day was going against us, and that I was then collecting my forces for any emergency that might arise, and if compelled to defend the island, it should be retained to the last extremity. We then parted, he taking the road toward the ferry, and I in pursuit of the purposes which brought me out of the fort. On reaching my reserves, at Hospital No. 2, I learned that the enemy had ceased making soundings, and had gone back to sea; whereupon I dispatched Captain Read to order Captain Berry to return from the beach. Two o'clock had now arrived, when I noticed our men coming out of the fort, which they had bravely defended for four and a half hours against fearful odds, and then only retiring when all but three of the guns on the water-front had been disabled, and only five hundred pounds of powder in the magazine; commencing the action with 220 men inside the fort, afterward increased to 255, by the accession of Read's Battery. These heroic men retired slowly and sadly from their well-fought guns, which, to have defended longer, would have exhibited the energy of despair rather than the manly pluck of the true soldier.

"The defence of this post involved a two-fold preparation. First, to repel the attack from the fleet; and, second, an assault by the beach from the troops upon the transports. By the beach we had to provide against an attack from the north, under cover of the bluff south of Fish Hall Creek, and from the south by the beach, under cover of the woods between, where a picket of men were posted, under Captain Paul H. Seabrook; and, lastly, by the road leading from the beach to the second hospital. To guard against surprise, either by Fish Hall Creek or by the beach, when I was returning to the fort with a portion of Captain Reade's company, I at the same time led up Colonel DeSaussure's regiment to the hollow west of the wood, and directed them to lie down. They were perfectly masked from the fire of the fort, but not that of the fleet, for the watchmen at the mastheads gave notice of their position, compelling Colonel DeSaussure, after a short time, to fall back under a heavy fire, to a less dangerous locality. Had the intrenched camp, with storehouses and magazines, been made in time, several lives and large quantities of public property might have been saved. But it was impossible to have made this within the short time and with the diminutive forces at my disposal; for on my arrival at headquarters in Beaufort, on the night of the 17th of October, the number of troops at Camp Walker was but 362, afterwards increased, on the 24th, to 622, by the accession of four companies under Major Jones, of the 12th Regiment South Carolina Volunteers. To this may be added the engineer force of some sixty men, who, with the soldiers, worked incessantly day and night. As for evidence of what they accomplished, the 8-inch columbiad, on the water-front, was only mounted on the 1st of November, one 8-inch howitzer in the salient of the south bastion, mounted on the 4th; one 32-pounder on the right flank of the bastion, mounted on the 5th; one 8-inch howitzer, mounted on a ship-carriage; embrasure cut through parapet of demilune; on the night of the 5th covered way and hot-shot furnace for 42-pounders, constructed of earth and dry masonry—on the morning of the 6th—together with wads of moss and hay for the same, splinter-proof, occupying only one-half terreplein behind the principle traverse, which was finished on the morning of the engagement, (7th instant,) the material not having arrived before the 4th instant.

"The retreat was commenced about three P. M., toward Ferry Point, about six miles off, Colonel DeSaussure's regiment and Captain Read's company of artillery bringing up the rear. At one and a half A. M., by the aid of Commodore Tatnall's fleet, the steamers St. Louis and Edisto and three large flats, capable of holding one hundred and fifty men each, the troops were all safely embarked, without provisions; no ammunition but what was contained in the cartridge-boxes, (the 100,000 cartridges I had made requisition for, and been anxiously expecting, not having reached us till after the battle.) Fearing that our retreat would be cut off by the enemy's gunboats at Skull Creek, no other alternative was left but to leave the island and concentrate upon the mainland, where we would be enabled to fight the enemy on more equal terms, should he venture beyond the protection of his fleet and attack us there. The muskets captured by the enemy, with the exception of some ten or fifteen, were those left in the fort, shattered by shot and shell—others left in camp, belonging to men on sick leave, or to those engaged in heating hot-shot furnaces two days before the fight—and some boxes of arms which had been left on the wharf the night before the battle, belonging to the sick men of Colonel DeSaussure's regiment, who had been left behind at Lightwood Knot. These could have been saved, with a box of swords, if the Captains of the steamers Edisto and St. John's had not refused to take them on board when directed to do so. To Captain Tatnall, Flag-Officer of the Confederate States Navy, and the officers and men of his little fleet, I cannot too highly express my admiration of their intrepidity and hardihood in attacking the enemy's gunboats, on the 4th and 5th inst. These encounters, by interrupting their soundings and the location of their buoys, no doubt prevented our being attacked on Tuesday, the 5th instant, before our reinforcements reached us. I must also acknowledge the assistance extended to us by the gallant Commodore with his boats on the night of our retreat from the island."

Fort Beauregard, though by no means neglected in the bombardment, was, as we have seen, less an object of attack than its more important associate. The force on Bay Point, as stated by General Drayton, was 640 men, commanded by Colonel R. G. M. Dunovant, 12th Regiment South Carolina Volunteers. Of the above, 149 garrisoned Fort Beauregard, under the immediate command of Captain Stephen Elliott, Jr., Beaufort Volunteer Artillery, Company A, 9th Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers. The infantry force of Colonel Dunovant's regiment was intrusted with the protection of the eastern part of the island, and of the defence of the bastion line of the Island Narrows, where an attack was expected from the enemy. Aware of the small force of Captain Elliott to man his batteries, General Drayton made several efforts to reinforce him by sending troops from Hilton Head, but without success. The last attempt made on the morning of the battle was defeated by the advance of the fleet, which compelled the steamer bearing Captain Stuart's company of South Carolina Volunteers to put back whilst crossing the Sound. "Here again," says General Drayton, "was exhibited another act of heroism on the part of our veteran Commodore, who, to save the Emma, interposed his own frail flag steamer between her and the advancing flag-ship of Commodore Dupont, drawing upon himself her entire broadside, and thus diverting this huge leviathan temporarily from her course, secured the safety of the Emma at the peril of his own vessel." The safety of Fort Beauregard under these circumstances depended upon the ability to hold Fort Walker. When the latter work was abandoned, there was but one course for the defenders on the opposite side of the water to adopt,—simply to escape before they were captured. During the night of the 7th they availed themselves of the opportunity, spiking the guns as they departed, and throwing a considerable portion of the ammunition into a pool of water in the rear of the fort. An incident of the ingenuity which has characterized many of the acts of the rebels in this nefarious war, was the parting attempt to turn the taking down of the secession flag and the elevation of its legitimate successor, at the fort at Bay Point, to a means of destruction. The halyards of the flagstaff were left so connected with a percussion cap apparatus that on being handled they would explode a mine of gunpowder prepared in the works beneath. The scheme, indeed, partially succeeded. A quantity of powder was ignited by the act but the mischievous engine failed to perfect its work, the train being partly covered with sand, and no loss of life resulted from the slight explosion.* An act like this scarcely compared with the humane injunction left in writing in the fort, addressed by Captain Stephen Elliott, its commander, to the humanity of his captors. Oddly enough it was conveyed in a scrap of Latin, an adaptation of the line of Virgil, in which Dido, calling to mind her own misfortunes with a woman's heart, pities the errors of Æneas. "Bay Point, November 7, 1861. I am compelled to leave some poor fellows who cannot be removed. Treat them kindly. Let your motto be *Haud ignarum* (sic) *mali miseris succurrere disco.* After the other fort had fallen we preferred leaving our untenable position to assist in establishing the Southern Confederacy to better purposes than we can in Fort Lafayette."*

A careful examination of the guns and munitions of war at the captured forts was made by order of Commodore Dupont. Fort Walker was found to be a regularly constructed enclosed bastioned work, with two water fronts, and an outwork in the rear commanding the approach by land. These defences mounted altogether twenty-three guns, all left in good condition and serviceable, among which were twelve 32-pounders, two 8 and 10-inch columbiads, two 6-inch rifled guns, several heavy sea-coast howitzers, and an English siege gun. A profusion of ammunition was left when the fort was abandoned. Fort Beauregard proved to be an enclosed work with four faces, each looking on the water, and mounting thirteen guns, including five 32s, and two 8 and 10-inch columbiads. Upon each flank of the main works, at a distance of about a hundred and fifty yards were smaller works, mounting two 24 and three 32-pounders, making in all twenty guns. In both Forts Walker and Beauregard there were furnaces for heating shot.

In the fortune of war it happened that a brother of General Drayton, the commander of Fort Walker, Percival Drayton, an officer of the United States

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* Correspondence of the *Tribune*, November 14, 1861.

* Correspondence of the New York *Express*, Hilton Head, November 16, 1861.

Navy, commanded the gunboat Pochahontas, which bore its resolute part in the death-dealing circuits of the encounter. The spot, too, where the battle was fought was the native region of both. The story is told of the Union officer and a brother South Carolinian, Acting-Master Frank Smith, of the Bienville, facing one another on the decks of their vessels as they both sped onward to the assault. "Three cheers for South Carolina," shouted Smith, swinging his hat over his head. "Three cheers for South Carolina and the American flag," was the prompt response of Drayton, as he waved his hat in reply.* Captain Steedman, of the Bienville, was also a native of South Carolina. The victory was thus in a peculiar manner a loyal triumph.

The casualties on board the fleet were comparatively very few. A total loss was reported of eight killed, six wounded severely and seventeen slightly. At evening of the day after the action, a solemn procession of seventeen boats from the Wabash conducted the remains of the dead to their burial-place, in a beautiful grove of palm, orange and fir trees, in the neighborhood of the fort. The loss of the enemy, according to the official report of General Drayton, was ten killed and twenty wounded in Fort Walker, one killed and fifteen severely wounded in Colonel DeSaussure's 15th regiment South Carolina Volunteers on Hilton Head Island, outside the fort, thirteen wounded in Fort Beauregard, four missing and three taken prisoners, sick in hospital.

The day after the engagement, Commodore Dupont issued the following general order, complimenting all who had taken part in the action: "It is the grateful duty of the commander-in-chief to make a public acknowledgment of his entire commendation of the coolness, discipline, skill, and gallantry displayed by the officers and men under his command, in the capture of the batteries on Hilton Head and Bay Point, after an action of four hours duration. The flag-officer fully sympathises with the officers and men of the squadron in the satisfaction they must feel at seeing the ensign of the Union flying once more in the State of South Carolina, which has been the chief promoter of the wicked and unprovoked rebellion they have been called upon to suppress."

On the receipt of the first intelligence of the victory at Washington, the Secretary of the Navy issued a General Order, announcing to the Navy and to the country the high gratification of the Department at the brilliant success of the combined army and navy forces, and in commemoration of this signal victory ordering a national salute to be fired from each navy yard, at meridian on the day after the reception of the order. When this order was communicated to Commodore Dupont, it was accompanied by the following personal letter from Secretary Welles, which, with the General Order, he directed should be read to that officer's command: "Sir: It is with no ordinary emotion that I tender to you and your command, the heartfelt congratulations and thanks of the Government and the country, for the brilliant success achieved at Port Royal. In the war now waging against the Government in this most causeless and unnatural rebellion that ever afflicted a country, high hopes have been indulged in the navy, and great confidence reposed in its efforts. The result of the skill and bravery of yourselves and others, has equalled and surpassed our highest expectations. To you and your associates, under the providence of God, we are indebted for this great achievement, by the largest squadron ever fitted out under that flag which you have so gallantly vindicated, and which you will bear onward to continued success." *

Immediately after the landing at Hilton Head and occupation of the island, a reconnoissance of the waters beyond was resolved upon. On the day following the engagement, the Seminole ran some miles up the river toward Beaufort, and met with no obstructions, though the reports of concealed batteries justified caution in proceeding further. Accordingly the gunboats Seneca, Curlew and Pembina, nnder command of Lieutenant Ammen, were sent to clear the way, but had no difficulty in reaching Beaufort. On landing at the village it was found entirely abandoned by the white inhabitants, with the exception of one man, who "appeared overcome with fear or drink." The negroes left in possession had already begun to pillage and destroy. They reported that their masters, before their departure, had sought to drive them back into the woods, had fired upon them and killed numbers of them. "The whole country have left, sir," said an intelligent mulatto boy to Lieutenant Sproston, "and all the soldiers gone to Port Royal Ferry. They did not think that you could do it, sir."

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* Special Correspondence of the *World*, Nov. 14, 1861.

* Gideon Welles to Flag-Officer Samuel F. Dupont Washington, Nov. 16, 1861.

The reconnoissance having been accomplished, the vessels returned to Port Royal. A day or two after, on the 12th, Commodore Dupont and General Sherman, with Captain Davis and other officers of the expedition, embarking on the Seneca, visited Beaufort for a further examination of the town. Everywhere, on landing, they witnessed the work of destruction which, in the excitement of their suddenly acquired liberty, had been perpetrated by the negroes. The warehouses, shops and stores had been broken open, and rifled of their contents, and the dwellings of the wealthy residents entered and the furniture carried off or broken and destroyed in the most wanton manner. Not a single white person was visible, though the visitors were informed that small parties of the former residents stealthily returned to the place by night. The negroes were warned to desist from the outrages they had committed, and a good example was set them in the scrupulous forbearance of the party in evading any appropriation of the property abandoned in the houses.

One of the first official acts of General Sherman, after landing and taking possession of the forts, was to issue a Proclamation, addressed "to the people of South Carolina." Courteously worded, even deferential in its mention of the "great sovereign State," it thus appealed to the intelligence and sense of propriety of the rebels, urging them to desist from their unhallowed course. "In obedience," was its language, "to the orders of the President of these United States of America, I have landed on your shores with a small force of National troops. The dictates of a duty which under the Constitution, I owe to a great sovereign State and to a proud and hospitable people, among whom I have passed some of the pleasantest days of my life, prompt me to proclaim that we have come among you with no feelings of personal animosity; no desire to harm your citizens, destroy your property, or interfere with any of your lawful laws, rights, or your social and local institutions, beyond what the causes herein briefly alluded to, may render unavoidable.

"Citizens of South Carolina: The civilized world stands appalled at the course you are pursuing!—appalled at the crime you are committing against your own mother; the best, the most enlightened, and heretofore the most prosperous of nations. You are in a state of active rebellion against the laws of your country. You have lawlessly seized upon the forts, arsenals, and other property belonging to our common country, and within your borders, with this property, you are in arms and waging a ruthless war against your constitutional Government, and thus threatening the existence of a Government which you are bound, by the terms of the solemn compact, to live under and faithfully support. In doing this you are not only undermining and preparing the way for totally ignoring your own political and social existence, but you are threatening the civilized world with the odious sentiment that self-government is impossible with civilized men.

"Fellow-Citizens: I implore you to pause and reflect upon the tenor and consequences of your acts. If the awful sacrifices made by the devastation of our property, the shedding of fraternal blood in battle, the mourning and wailing of widows and orphans throughout our land, are insufficient to deter you from further pursuing this unholy war, then ponder, I beseech you, upon the ultimate, but not the less certain, result which its further progress must necessarily and naturally entail upon your once happy and prosperous State. Indeed, can you pursue this fratricidal war, and continue to imbrue your hands in the loyal blood of your countrymen, your friends, your kinsmen, for no other object than to unlawfully disrupt the confederacy of a great people, a confederacy established by your own hands, in order to set up, were it possible, an independent government, under which you can never live in peace, prosperity, or quietness.

"Carolinians: We have come among you as loyal men, fully impressed with our constitutional obligations to the citizens of your State; those obligations shall be performed as far as in our power, but be not deceived; the obligation of suppressing armed combinations against the constitutional authorities, is paramount to all others. If, in the performance of this duty, other minor but important obligations should be in any way neglected, it must be attributed to the necessities of the case, because rights dependent on the laws of the State must be necessarily subordinate to military exigencies, created by insurrection and rebellion."

The pill, whatever might be its active qualities, was thus well gilded. Would the Proclamation be received, and with what result? The first experiment, certainly, was not very encouraging. There had been, it seems, at Beaufort a certain Rev. Mr. Wilson, who had taken his departure with his fellow-townsmen, but who left a letter, asking protection as a British subject. Taking advantage of this as an entrance for opening intercourse with the rebels, General Sherman addressed a courteous letter to the divine, enclosing his Proclamation, which he desired also, at the same time to communicate to the refractory South Carolinians, there being no proper persons in the vicinity to receive it unless it were discharged from the mouth of a cannon. On the 14th of the month, six days after the date of the document, two chosen messengers, Lieutenant Wagner of the General's staff, and Dr. Francis Bacon, Surgeon of the 7th Connecticut Volunteers, were landed at Beaufort for the purpose of proceeding with the peace-inviting missive into the interior. They were further fortified with a circular letter, stating the character of their journey, and earnestly inviting all loyal citizens to return and protect their property from the ravages of the negroes, with the assurance that they should "receive the benefits of all constitutional enactments in their behalf." Thus peacefully commissioned, without any weapons of war, the heralds were rather indifferently mounted—a circumstance which detracted nothing from their civic character—on a pair of mules, borrowed for the occasion from the stray property at Beaufort. Thus equipped, and guided by some of the negroes who had not accompanied their masters in their retreat, they made their way onward, bearing a prominent flag of truce. After proceedin some eight miles or more, and finding all deserted, they at length alighted upon a gentleman who proved to be a second clergyman of Beaufort, the Rev. Mr. Walker. An effort was promptly made to serve a copy of the Proclamation upon him, but it was unsuccessful. He declined to receive it, and with reluctance consented to bear the note addressed to the Rev. Mr. Wilson. A short distance beyond brought the travellers to the neighborhood of the Port Royal Ferry, separating the island from the main land, where a boat, with a flag of truce, bearing a party of two officers and a private, came over to receive them. The officers proved to be Captain Thomas O. Barnwell, and Lieutenant H. McKee, of the 12th Regiment of South Carolina Militia. The interview which followed was civil on the part of the Confederates under the circumstances, but quite unsatisfactory, considering the particular object of the expedition. The Proclamation, the messengers were told, was idle, for there were no "loyal" citizens in South Carolina to receive it. The single copy, however, enclosed to the Rev. Mr. Wilson, was permitted to be forwarded, and thus far at least the mission was successful. After a further adventure with another party of the enemy—a group of cavalry—of no interest except in the exhibition of a little official importance by a Lieutenant, the bearers of the Proclamation returned in safety to their camp.*

The attention of General Sherman had been at once engrossed in the work of fortifying his position on Hilton Head. Outposts were thrown out, entrenchments made, and the whole island, some twelve miles in length by seven in breadth, was occupied. There was also much to be done on the instant by the men, in receiving the huge quantities of supplies from the transports, an employment of peculiar difficulty in consequence of the shallow water on the shore, and the absence of any pier or accommodation for landing. When brought ashore by men unloading the boats in the water, the provisions and various articles required warehouses in which to be stored. This was a necessity which had been foreseen in fitting out the expedition, and large supplies of lumber and other materials, with a force of mechanics capable of using them, were brought out in the transports. These trained artisans enlisted in New York under the command of Colonel Serrell, set to work with a good will, and in the course of a fortnight four vast storehouses and a stable, extending, in their united lengths, thirteen hundred and fifty feet, bore witness to their exertions. Others were employed in constructing a huge wharf which, extending beyond the shallow water of the shore, might receive the burdens of vessels of the deepest draught. The plantations of pine on the island afforded ample materials for this purpose. Logs of large size were cut and hauled or floated to the destined point.

An important question immediately arose at Port Royal, as to the disposition which should be made of the crops and other property of the rebels left abandoned in the neighborhood. A vast quantity of valuable cotton of the Sea Island variety, to which this peculiar region gave name, lay ripe for picking, ungathered in the fields or was stored in barns. It was desirable, of course, to possess this. Indeed, it had been urged as one of the objects of the expedition to acquire it. Some thought that a port being opened, there would be loyal planters found who would avail themselves of the opportunity to get a good price for their commodity, which had now tripled in value in the markets of New York and Liverpool. If this expectation was entertained it was soon felt to be idle in face of the fanaticism of the rebel owners, or the stringent government which constrained them. Not a bale, they had determined, should be offered for sale; and accordingly the order went forth for its destruction by fire. Night after night the sky was lightened by the glare, or obscured by the smoke, of the burning plantations.

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* Correspondence of the *N. Y. Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1861.

"At eleven o'clock last night," says the *Charleston Mercury* of November 30, "the heavens to the southwest were brilliantly illuminated with the patriotic flames ascending from burning cotton. As the spectators witnessed it they involuntarily burst forth with cheer after cheer, and each heart was warmed as with a new pulse. Such a people can never be subjugated. Let the holy flames continue to ascend, and let the demons of hell, who come here on their diabolical errand, learn a lesson and tremble. Let the torch be applied wherever the invader pollutes our soil, and let him find, as is meet, that our people will welcome him only with devastation and ruin. Our people are in earnest, men, women and children—and their sacrifice will ascend as a sacred holocaust to God, crying aloud for vengeance against the fiends in human shape who are disgracing humanity, trampling down civilization, and would blot out Christianity. Patriotic planters on the seaboard are hourly applying the torch to their crops of cotton and rice. Some are authorized by military authorities to destroy their crops to prevent ravages by the enemy. Plantations on North Edisto and in the neighborhood and elsewhere on the coast of South Carolina, are one sheet of flames and smoke. The commanding officers of all the exposed points on our coast, have received positive instructions to burn or destroy all property which cannot be conveniently taken away, and is likely to be seized by the enemy."

For the Union forces to leave the cotton untouched, not to gather the precious product for the want of which the world was suffering, and the loss of which, as it affected the policy of foreign nations, might endanger the National cause itself, to say nothing of the opportunity of securing a partial remuneration from the rebels of the expenses of the war which they had recklessly brought upon the country—to witness the wanton destruction of the crop gathered or ripe for the market—would be an excess of scrupulosity calculated to excite the wonder of both the North and the South. To spare or abandon the valuable commodity would be an idle exercise of liberality which could hardly be expected by the enemy. An order accordingly was presently issued from Washington by the Secretary of the Treasury, to whom the work of rescuing the products of the South from destruction was temporarily assigned as a portion of an original duty to regulate commerce with the revolted States. The order was dated November 30, and prescribed the appointment of agents at the ports or places occupied by the forces of the United States, who should secure and prepare for market the cotton and the products and property which might be found or brought within the lines of the army or under the control of the Federal authority. To enable the agents to perform this duty, the military and naval authorities, it was stated, would be directed to render the requisite "military protection and aid." The slaves or negroes on the spot, or, as the State paper in the customary euphemistic language of the nation styled them, "persons held to service for life under State laws," were to be enlisted and systematically organized to secure and prepare the various crops for market, in compensation for which they were to receive stipulated pay as laborers. The cotton when thus gathered, it was directed, should be shipped to New York and there sold by regularly appointed agents, and the proceeds paid to the United States Government. A careful register and account were to be kept of the negroes employed and the particular products of the various plantations. On receipt of these orders at Port Royal, General Sherman distributed his forces to give the required aid to preserve what the torch of the rebels—which was every night of impunity employed with greater vigor—had left of the crops in the vicinity. Otter

Island, which, with other islands on St. Helena Sound to the north in the direction of Charleston, had been visited by a reconnoitering party under Captain Drayton, and found abandoned, was occupied, and possession was at length formally taken, by an adequate force, of Beaufort Island, one month after the first arrival of the fleet. The organization of the negroes abandoned by their masters, or thronging in numbers to the Union lines, was a matter of no little difficulty. Fortunately the Government was assisted in the enterprise thus thrown upon its hands, by a band of cultivated and devoted officers either specially appointed or already attached to the military service, who gave to the subject their most earnest attention. The general superintendence and direction of the plantations with a view to their preservation as far as possible and the care and regulation of the negro cultivators, was assigned by Secretary Chase to Mr. Edward L. Pierce as the special agent of the Treasury Department. We have already called the reader's attention to the services of this gentleman in a similar employment in the charge of the contrabands in the department of General Butler at Fortress Monroe.* The ability which he exhibited and the experience gained in that duty, pointed him out for the larger and more responsible sphere in South Carolina. From the two reports which he presented to the Treasury Department, reports distinguished for their philosophical candor and systematic accuracy of statement, we are enabled to present an intelligent account of some of the more important results of this novel and exceedingly embarrassing undertaking.

On the 3d of February, 1862, Mr. Pierce reported to the Department about two hundred plantations on some fifteen of the South Carolina Coast islands occupied or under the control of the Union forces. On these islands, exclusive of several thousand refugees and others about the encampments at Beaufort and Hilton Head, there was an aggregate negro population of about eight thousand—a sufficient number to test the capacity and disposition of the race for the improvement of the opportunities of advancement suddenly thrown in its way. The plan proposed for the treatment of the negroes had two objects in view,—their industrial employment and their improvement by education. By the former their immediate wants would be supplied, the plantations saved from ruin by cultivation, and various crops secured, while missionaries and teachers would instruct the young, and by cultivating the intellectual and moral capacity of those under their care, prepare them gradually for the real responsibilities and duties to which they were subjected. After a cautious review of the condition of this people, Mr. Pierce found many favorable elements for the solution of the problem before him. He came to the conclusion that they were "naturally religious and simple-hearted—attached to the places where they have lived, still adhering to them both from a feeling of local attachment and self-interest in securing the means of subsistance—that they have the knowledge and experience requisite to do all the labor from the preparation of the ground for planting until the cotton is baled, ready to be exported; that they, the great mass of them, are disposed to labor with proper inducements thereto—that they lean upon white men and desire their protection, and could, therefore, under a wise system, be easily brought under subordination—that they are susceptible to the higher considerations, as duty, and the love of offspring, and are not in any way inherently vicious, their defects coming from that peculiar condition in the past or present, and not from constitutional proneness to evil beyond what may be attributed to human nature —that they have among them natural chiefs, either by virtue of religious leadership or superior intelligence, who, being first addressed, may exert a healthful influence on the rest. In a word, that, in spite of their condition, reported to be worse here than in many other parts of the rebellious region, there are such features in their life and character, that the opportunity is now offered to make of them, partially in this generation and fully in the next, a happy, industrious, law-abiding, free and Christian people, if we have but the patience and courage to accept it."*

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* Ante vol. i. p. 266–7.

To maintain and improve these conditions was the work before the Government. Mr. Pierce, as its special agent, recommended the appointment of Superintendents for the plantations, clothed with sufficient power to regulate the conduct and promote the welfare of the negroes, by a kind of paternal control. A Director General or Governor, it was advised, should preside over the whole and maintain a proper police authority, in important cases conferring with the military authorities in punishing offences. Wages were to be given for labor, a proper amount of work required from all, and should there be any failure to perform this duty, the lash was in no case to be resorted to, but a trial was to be made of "the milder and more effective punishments of deprivation of privileges, isolation from family and society, the work-house or even the prison." Forty cents a day was named as a rate of remuneration sufficient to supply the wants of the laborer, no rent being paid for the small house which he occupied. In accordance with former habits, he was to possess his patch of ground to raise corn or vegetables, for consumption or sale. Missionaries and teachers were to be employed in churches and schools. The system, of course, was to be only a temporary one—to meet in the best possible way a difficulty of the times.

This proposed organization of labor for the plantations was quite distinct from the method pursued with the negroes at the camps at Hilton Head and Beaufort. There they fell under the charge of the Quartermaster's Department, the Chief Quartermaster of the Expeditionary Corps, Captain R. Saxton, "a humane officer, deeply interested in the matter," having appointed, in November, Mr. Barnard K. Lee, Jr., of Boston, the Superintendent at Hilton Head. The rate of wages was fixed from eight to twelve dollars a month for mechanics, and from four to eight for other laborers. Of the 472 registered at Hilton Head at the beginning of February, 1862, 137 were on the pay roll. Mr. Lee appears to have had little difficulty in maintaining the necessary order and discipline. At Beaufort, where the negroes were some six hundred in number, a school was opened with considerable success by the Rev. William Peck of Roxbury, Mass.

Such were the plans and prospects before the Government at the end of two months from the first occupation of the islands. Four months later, when the supervision of these affairs was transferred from the Treasury to the War Department, Mr. Pierce made a final report to the former of his agency. The means for the plan of superintendence and instruction which he had proposed, and which had been accepted by the Government, in the absence of authority in the Treasury Department to pay the requisite salaries, had been supplied by voluntary charitable associations at the North, as the Educational Commission of Boston, the National Freedman's Relief Association of New York, and the Port Royal Relief Committee of Philadelphia. On the 9th of March, forty-one men and twelve women, accepted for the duties of superintendents and teachers, landed with Mr. Pierce at Beaufort. All were cultivated, intelligent people, the men being of various occupations, farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, teachers, physicians, clergymen. Others were afterwards added, making seventy-four men and nineteen women, all of whom were assigned to posts of duty on the plantations, as enumerated in the month of June, 189 in number on 17 islands, with a negro population of 9,050. Among these were 309 mechanics and house servants, 693 old, sickly, and unable to work, 3619 children not useful for field labor, and 4429 field hands. More than four thousand of the last were paid for their labor on the cotton crop, covering 5480 acres of land. In addition, 8315 acres of provisions, corn, potatoes, etc., were planted. A satisfactory statement, considering the disadvantages under which the work was undertaken, in the partial demoralization of the laborers in the interval of months of idleness after the departure of their masters, the loss of cattle and beasts of burden, and the stores of corn on the plantations, the want of clothing, the inadequate supply of implements of agriculture, the unfavorable effects of intercourse with the army, and not least the discouraging influence of the non-payment at the proper time of the wages promised for the labor on the last year's crop of cotton, which had been taken possession of by the Government. Among 4,030 laborers, $5,479 was paid under Mr. Pierce's agency—a very small sum certainly, for several months' labor, though eked out by various contributions of clothing and provisions. Small, however, as the payment was, we are told, "the laborers received it with great satisfaction, as, if nothing more, it was at least a recognition of their title to wages, and to treatment as freemen." The number of cases of discipline for idleness reported to and acted upon by the military authorities, did not exceed forty. The systematic efforts at education and religious instruction had been pursued with the most encouraging results. Reading and spelling, and in some instances writing, had been taught to the children, and the Sabbath Schools and Churches had been well attended. Though in his opinion more might have been accomplished, the agent, considering the disadvantages and obstructions of the work, came to the conclusion "that under the guidance and with the help of the fugitive masters, had they been so disposed, these people might have made their way from bondage and its enforced labor, to freedom and its voluntary and compensated labor, without any essential diminution of products, or any appreciable derangement of social order. In this as in all things, the universe is so ordered that the most beneficent revolutions, which cost life and treasure, may be accomplished justly and in peace, if men have only the heart to accept them."*

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* Mr. Pierce's Report to the Secretary of the Treasury, Port Royal, February 3, 1862.

Following the occupation of Port Royal, possession was taken by Captain Dupont of Tybee Island, at the mouth of the Savannah River. It was supposed that this important position, offering a ready means of assault upon Fort Pulaski, and controlling the approach to Savannah, would not be taken without a struggle. The defences, however, consisting of a strong martello tower and battery at its base, were found abandoned on the arrival of the Union fleet, which quietly anchored in the harbor; and the objects of the expedition in closing the channel was further facilitated by the obstructions placed by the enemy in the river at Fort Pulaski. On the 25th of November, Captain Dupont reported to Secretary Welles,—"I have the honor to inform the department, that the flag of the United States is flying over the territory of the State of Georgia. * * By the fall of Tybee Island, the reduction of Fort Pulaski, which is within easy mortar distance, becomes only a question of time."

A prominent event on the coast of South Carolina was the arrival in December of what was called the "Stone

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* Mr. Pierce's Report to the Secretary of the Treasury, Port Royal, June 2, 1862.

Fleet." This was a collection of old and condemned merchant vessels, chiefly whalers, which had been purchased in the New England ports by order of the Secretary of the Navy, with the intention of aiding the Southern blockade by sinking them as an obstruction to the entrances of the harbors of Charleston and Savannah. A similar attempt had been made in the month of September, when a number of schooners, purchased in Baltimore, had been sunk in Ocracoke Inlet, in North Carolina. Much was expected from the fleet, which set sail on its errand from New Bedford, at the end of November. The vessels, some twenty-five in number, of three or four hundred tons each, had been especially prepared for their peculiar errand. They were stripped of their copper, and of all but the necessary equipment to enable them to reach their destination, and were as heavily laden as the navigation of the Atlantic would permit, with blocks of granite. Holes were bored in the sides, under water, in which pipes were inserted, carefully secured with plugs, to be withdrawn at the proper time, for the sinking of the vessels. Thus laden and provided, this novel expedition in due time was gathered to the blockading squadron on the coast of South Carolina, and on the 20th of December an important portion of it, sixteen of the whaling vessels from New Bedford and New London, some of them notable ships in their day, were sunk off the harbor of Charleston. The operation, which was conducted under the charge of Fleet-Captain Charles H. Davis, was skillfully and scientifically contrived. The place chosen for the sinking of the vessels was the bar at the entrance of the main ship channel, six miles distant, in a direct southern line, from Fort Sumter. The plan was to arrange the ships in such a manner as, without entirely destroying, would effectually perplex the navigation. They were accordingly placed at intervals from one another, chequer-wise, so that they might form disturbing currents, and it was supposed, would be held in their places by the same influences which had aided in the formation of the bar. The weather was favorable for the operation, and though there was some irregularity in the settling of the vessels, turning them from their appointed places, the affair, upon the whole, was carried out according to the programme and pronounced a success. "The bar," wrote an enthusiastic reporter, when he had witnessed the removal of the sails, the departure of the captains with the final spoil of the dismantled vessels, and had listened to the harmless guns of Sumter as the last vessel was submerged, "the bar is paved with granite, and the harbor is a thing of the past."* This opinion or expectation was freely expressed by a portion of the press in exaggeration of the consequences of the measure, which was on the other hand pronounced, by persons acquainted with the nature of the coast, as at most but a temporary inconvenience. The former notion for a while, however, appeared to prevail, and was eagerly caught up by foreign journals indisposed to show much consideration for the necessities of the United States Government, and was made the occasion for the most violent outcries against the proceeding, as a barbarous and cruel violation of the laws of nature, and rights of the civilized world. It was even made the subject of diplomatic inquiry and remonstrance, when the British Foreign Minister was assured by Mr. Seward that there was no intention of permanently destroying one of the harbors of the world, and reminded that even after the sinking of the ships the port had been entered, and the blockade broken without difficulty by an unfriendly contraband English trader.

A more serious disaster, at the time to Charleston, was the extensive conflagration which broke out while this stone fleet expedition was in progress. It commenced on the night of the 14th of December, and continued the following day. A number of churches and public buildings, with several hundred dwellings, warehouses and factories were destroyed, inflicting a loss of millions—a loss probably far greater than would have been experienced by a serious bombardment by the fleet lying off the harbor, and in the neighboring waters of Port Royal.

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* Special Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*, December 26, 1861.

The first movement of consequence in General Sherman's Department after the occupation of Beaufort, was a joint military and naval expedition, directed against a fortified position of the enemy on a mainland at Port Royal Ferry. To destroy the works at this point was an obvious necessity, as they gave the command of the narrow river communication, surrounding Port Royal Island with opportunities for its permanent obstruction to the foe, opposed any attempt to penetrate the country, and threatened the Union troops at Beaufort. A small Government steamer, the Mayflower, had been fired into while proceeding to sound the channel of the river, and one man killed. Accordingly, at the end of December, a method of attack was arranged by General Sherman and Captain Dupont, in which their forces were jointly to coöperate. The enemy's works at the ferry being situated midway opposite the northern shore of the island, on the Coosaw River, it was arranged that they should be assailed by the gunboats approaching from both east and west, while a heavy force should be thrown across below, to attack them on their left flank. Another body of troops was to be at the ferry, ready to cross as soon as the way was prepared by the gunboats. The command of the naval operations was assigned to Commander C. R. P. Rodgers; the military movements were conducted by Brigadier-General Stevens. The preparations of both were made with the greatest skill, and carried out with remarkable accuracy. To give spirit and eclat to the movement, the first day of the New Year was selected for its accomplishment. Though probably well assured of the final result, in the resources of the gunboats, there was prospect enough of serious work should the assault, as was to be expected, be resisted with determination, to give to the undertaking sufficient importance and responsibility.

On the 31st of December the last preparations were made for the attack. Commander Rodgers brought up from the station at Hilton Head to Beaufort the gunboats Ottawa, Lieutenant Commanding Stevens, the Pembina, Lieutenant Commanding Bankhead, and the four large boats of the Wabash, each carrying a 12-pound howitzer, under Lieutenants Upshur, Luce and Irwin, and Acting-Master Kempff. At sunset they were joined by the armed steamer Hale, Acting-Master Commanding Foster. The two other vessels of the force assigned to Commander Rodgers, the gunboat Seneca, Lieutenant Commanding Ammen, and the ferry boat Ellen, Master Commanding Budd, passed up the Broad River, on the westerly side of Port Royal Island, to approach the ferry by Whale River towards the north. In the night, the vessels in Beaufort River ascended to within two miles of the Coosaw, awaiting the movement at daylight. General Stevens, meanwhile, was forwarding his forces to the vicinity of the ferry, and to the point of embarkation at the corner of the island, where Brickyard Creek, a continuation of the Beaufort River, unites with the Coosaw. The troops destined for the expedition, were Colonel Frazer's 47th and Colonel Perry's 48th New York regiments, and the regiments of General Stevens' brigade, the 79th New York Highlanders, Major Morrison, the 50th Pennsylvania, Colonel Crist, the 8th Michigan, Colonel Fenton, and the 100th Pennsylvania "Roundheads," Colonel Leasure.

At four in the morning Commander Rodgers started in advance with the launches, and at daylight joined General Stevens at the place of embarkation on the river. The troops were placed on flatboats, and at eight o'clock the first detachment—the Highlanders and 50th Pennsylvania—was landed in safety, under cover of the launches at Chisholm's Plantation, about four miles below the ferry, by water. Lieutenant Irwin of the navy, accompanied them with two of the light howitzers from the Wabash. The Ottawa, Pembina and Hale now entered the Coosaw, and the expedition proceeded in force to the next landing, about a mile above, at Adam's Plantation. There the remainder of the troops intended for this movement were landed, and, joined by the party from below, proceeded with the military operations of the day.

At half-past one in the afternoon, General Stevens set his column in motion, throwing out skirmishers in advance, whose work was greatly facilitated by the steady fire from the gunboats into the woods in their front as they proceeded. The 79th Highlanders led the way, while the brunt of the affair, as it proved, fell upon the Michigan regiment, which was employed in skirmishing on the right flank. On approaching the ferry, fire was opened from a concealed battery of the enemy, in the woods, which the Michigan soldiers met at close quarters with great gallantry. Nine members of the regiment were wounded in the conflict, including Major Watson. The only other casualties of the day were two members of the 50th Pennsylvania slightly wounded. The Ottawa presently reached the Ferry, but no answer was returned to her guns from the shore. In anticipation of the visit of the gunboats, the fort had been abandoned, and the guns, with the exception of one, removed. The Seneca and Ellen, meanwhile, had come within signal distance from the other side, having assisted in destroying the works of the enemy at Seabrook on their way. The ferry was now reöpened, when the Pennsylvania Roundheads passed over, and occupied the fort, where they were joined about four o'clock by General Stevens' advanced guard. "The enemy," continues Commodore Rodgers, in his Report, "appearing in force and in line of battle upon the right of our troops, at fifteen minutes past four o'clock the Ottawa moved down the river a short distance with the Pembina, and opened fire with 11-inch Parrott guns, their shells falling among the enemy's troops with great effect, driving them into the woods and clearing the flank of our column, where the skirmishers had been engaged, and the enemy had opened fire from a field battery of several pieces. Soon after sunset we ceased firing for a while, and the enemy sent a flag of truce to one of our advanced posts, to ask permission to carry off their killed and wounded. Just then the gunboats reöpened, and before General Stevens' messenger could convey his reply, that the firing should cease for an hour, to enable the enemy to carry off their wounded, the officer who had brought the flag had galloped off. At sunset I landed our heavy howitzer, directing Lieutenant Upshur to place it in battery with the guns already on shore under Lieutenant Irwin, there being no artillery with the brigade but that of the Wabash. At the same time Lieutenant Luce, with the second launch and its rifled gun, and Lieutenant Barnes, with the Hale, were sent to the lower landing to protect the boats and steamer in which our troops had crossed, and superintend their removal to the ferry, which was accomplished about midnight. At sunrise we reëmbarked our boat-guns. At thirty minutes past nine o'clock on the morning of the 2d, the enemy again appearing in the wood, we opened a hot fire of shot and shells from the Ottawa, Seneca, Pembina, Ellen, and Hale, and after firing briskly for a time, slackened the fire so as to drop a shot or shell into the woods about once a minute. At forty minutes past nine o'clock our troops began to recross the ferry, and were all over by noon, our field-guns having been landed, at the request of General Stevens, to cover the rear of the returning column. The enemy made no further demonstration." The batteries were destroyed, and the houses in the vicinity burnt. The rebels suffered severely from the fire of the gunboats, and the muskets of the Michigan regiment. Such was the affair at Port Royal Ferry on the 1st of January—a simple but effective demonstration of the resources and spirit of the Union forces on the coast which secured the uninterrupted possession of the advantages gained on the islands by the victory at Hilton Head.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE TRENT AFFAIR.

A FEW days after the occupation of Port Royal, described in the last chapter, while men's minds were fully occupied with the calculation of the possibilities or probable consequences of the recent victory, loyal citizens throughout the country were gratified with the unexpected intelligence of the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, the newly appointed Confederate Commissioners to England and France. The escape of the blockade by these persons with their Secretaries of Legation from Charleston, South Carolina, had been a matter of particular congratulation with the rebels. They were the bearers, it was understood, of communications to the respective Governments to which they were sent, which would doubtless advance the much longed for recognition by the great European powers of the Southern Confederacy. The prominent position of the Ambassadors among the chief promoters and instigators of the rebellion from the beginning; the confident arrogance of the Virginian who had the credit of representing the pride and spirit of the Old Dominion in their intensest form of hostility to the North, with the well-known bold intriguing character of Slidell, undoubtedly gave to their movements peculiar interest and importance.

James Murray Mason was born in Fairfax County, Virginia, in the year 1797. He was a member of one of the oldest and most honored families in the State. The first ancestor of the family who came to the country, was an English royalist who had been a member of the English Parliament in the reign of Charles I., had served as an officer in the loyalist army in the Revolution, and on the defeat at Worcester escaped in the disguise of a peasant and embarked for Virginia. A member of the family, in the American Colonial Era, married a daughter of Sir William Temple. All will remember the services in the War of Independence rendered by George Mason, and the prominent part borne by him in the formation and adoption of the Constitution. He was the grandfather of the present Confederate ambassador to England. Educated at the University of Pennsylvania and at the College of William and Mary, at Williamsburg, where he was prepared for the bar, the grandson early entered upon political life. He was several times a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, became a Member of Congress in 1837, and ten years after took that seat in the United States Senate which he held till the outbreak of the rebellion. His position in that body for several sessions as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, doubtless had its influence in his selection as a diplomatic agent abroad of the Confederate States. We have seen his choice on occasion of the Secession and the part he took in his native State in its assaults upon the Government.* His course in the Senate was chiefly noticeable for the defiant tone with which he supported the pretensions of the Southern party. Unlike his grandfather, who was a resolute opponent of the institution of slavery, he was one of the most strenuous advocates of the new pro-slavery policy—was the author of the fugitive slave bill—and had long made up his mind in favor of the separation from the Union of the Southern States.

John Slidell, the Commissioner to France, was a native of New York. Born in the year 1798, he was a few years older than his coadjutor. A duel in his youth with Stephen Price the well-known theatrical manager, was followed by his retirement to New Orleans, where he pushed his fortunes in the law and in political life. He was appointed United States District Attorney at that city by President Jackson, was frequently sent to the State Legislature, and was elected a member of the national House of Representatives. While a member of Congress he was prominently brought to the notice of the public by his appointment by President Polk as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Mexico on the eve of the war with that country. The difficulties, however, between the two nations had gone too far for negotiation—at least it was so thought by the government at Mexico, and Mr. Slidell was not received in his diplomatic capacity. On the retirement of Mr. Soulé from his seat in the United States Senate to enter upon his mission to Spain, Mr. Slidell was appointed as his successor, and upon the conclusion of the term was again elected. He was an active agent of Mr. Buchanan's administration, which he greatly influenced, and the rebellion found him among the most conspicuous of the secessionists. We have already noticed his farewell to the Senate.* Of late years he had also borne a prominent part in the disturbed local politics of New Orleans, and undoubtedly was well qualified, as a thorough partisan and ambitious advocate of Southern independence, to represent the Confederacy wherever he might be sent.

Of course persons so well known would not think of making their way through the Northern States to embark for Europe. A better chance was to take the risk of the blockade. Accordingly, a little before midnight of the 11th of October the party consisting of Mr. Mason of Virginia, his secretary Mr. McFarland, Mr. John Slidell of Louisiana, accompanied by his wife and four children and his secretary Mr. Eustis with his wife, together with some other agents of the Confederates, among whom, it was said, was Captain Coxeter, late of the Privateer Jeff. Davis, embarked at Charleston on board the small steamer Theodora. The night was dark and the obscurity was increased by a light rain. Under these favoring circumstances the steamer escaped the notice of the Union ships off the harbor and made her way in safety to the port of Nassau, in New Providence. There the party would have disembarked and taken the British steamer by which communication is kept up between England and the island, but learning that this vessel made New York her stopping place, they were needs compelled to choose some other route. "However gratifying a sight of New York might have been under other circumstances," as the Charleston *Mercury*, in reciting these particulars, with an unintentional foreshadowing of coming events, remarked, "the commissioners determined on this instance to forego the pleasure." The Theodora then sailed for

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* Ante vol. i. p. 248.

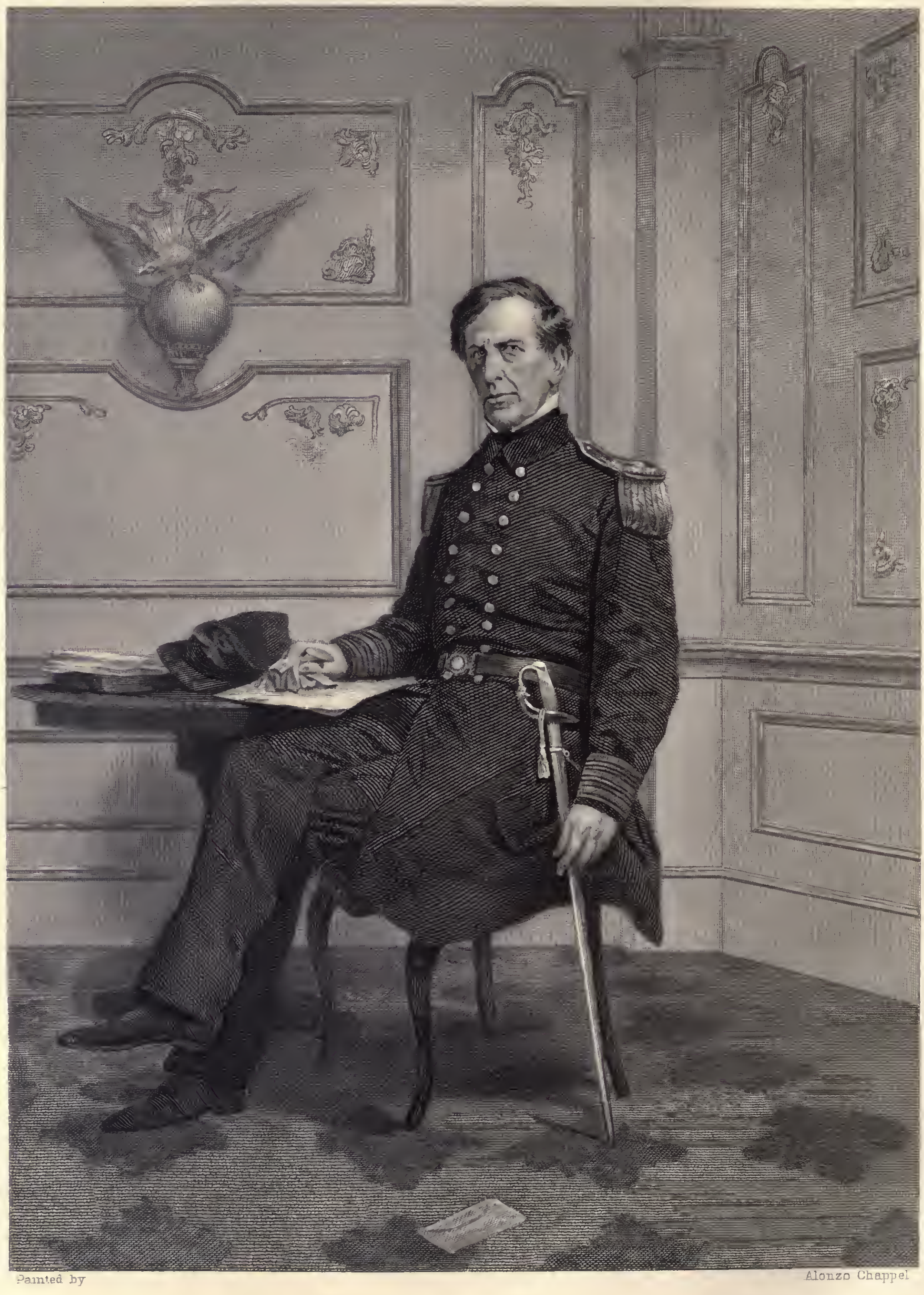
* Ante vol. i. p. 57.

Cuba, landed the commissioners at Cardenas on the 16th, and the next day entered the port of Havana displaying the Confederate flag. There the ambassadors were well received by their friends and the supporters of the Southern revolt.

Meanwhile the reported departure of the Commissioners had made some stir at Washington and throughout the country. It was said on the authority of a Southern newspaper, that they had escaped from Charleston in the steamer Nashville, a privateering vessel fitting out at that port, which, as subsequently ascertained, did not leave till more than a fortnight after the Theodora. Government vessels were immediately dispatched in pursuit to the Bermudas, whither the Nashville had directed her course, and to the coast of England, whither it was supposed she would speedily proceed. To none of the vessels, however, specially sent out to intercept the Nashville, were the ambassadors the destined prize. Their capture was reserved for an eminent officer of the American Navy, whose accidental return to this region from a foreign station threw him at the time upon their track.

Captain Charles Wilkes, into whose hands they fell, a native of the State of New York, born in 1805, had entered the navy at the age of thirteen, and had long been distinguished in the service, being specially known by his scientific acquirements and by his command of the Exploring Expedition sent out by the American Government to the South Pacific in 1838. His narrative of the observations and discoveries of the Expedition covering a period of four years, published on his return, brought him to the notice of the European public, and he received the gold medal of the London Geographical Society as a recognition of his achievements. He subsequently published a work relating to California and Oregon, entitled "Western America." Of late years he had been assigned to special duty near Washington. At the time of the departure of the Confederate Commissioners he was on his way home from the Coast of Africa in command of the United States vessel San Jacinto, a first class screw steam sloop, mounting thirteen guns.

Approaching the American Coast, Captain Wilkes put into the island of St. Thomas, and there, gaining information of the movements of the Confederate privateer Sumter, went in pursuit of her in the Gulf of Mexico and at various West India stations. At Cienfuegos he learnt that the Theodora had run the blockade from Charleston and reached Havana, whither he proceeded to watch her movements and capture her if possible on her return to the Southern States. On reaching Havana, on the 31st of October, he found that the Theodora had already departed, leaving the Confederate ambassadors and their suite, enjoying the hospitality of the British Consul and their sympathizing friends while they awaited the arrival of the West India packet, the regular means of communication with Europe, the English steamer Trent, Captain Moir, which would leave the island on the 7th of November. The Trent ran from Vera Cruz by way of Havana to St. Thomas, where another vessel carried the passengers and mails to Southampton. Having ascertained the intention of the Commissioners, and having satisfied himself of his legal rights in the premises, Captain Wilkes at once came to the conclusion that it was his duty to capture the ambassadors on their passage. In his own words: "I made up my mind to fill up with coal and leave the port as soon as possible to await at a suitable position on the route of the steamer to St. Thomas to intercept her and take them out." Accordingly, making his preparations in haste, he left the port on the 2d of November, and presently directed his course to Key West, where he expected to find the



Painted by Alonzo Chappel

Charles Wilkes

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life.

Johnson, Fry & Co Publishers, New York

[illegible] of Congress AD [illegible] office of the district court for the southern district of N.Y.

Powhatan or some other steamer to accompany him to the Bahama Channel "to make it impossible for the steamer in which Messrs. Slidell and Mason were to embark to escape either in the night or day." The Powhatan, however, had left the day before his arrival, and he was obliged to rely solely upon the vigilance of the officers and crew of his own ship. Running back to the northern side of Cuba on the 4th, he was in hopes of receiving a telegraphic communication from the coast from the United States consul-general, Mr. Shufelt, advising him of the exact time of the departure of the English packet. In this also he was disappointed, when he ran to the eastward some ninety miles where the old Bahama Channel contracts to the width of fifteen miles some two hundred and forty miles from the Havana, and in sight of the Paredon del Grande lighthouse. There, continues Captain Wilkes in his report to the Secretary of the Navy, "we cruised until the morning of the 8th awaiting the steamer, believing that if she left at the usual time she must pass us about noon of the 8th, and we could not possibly miss her. At 11.40 A. M. on the 8th her smoke was first seen; at 12 M. our position was to the westward of the entrance into the narrowest part of the channel, and about nine miles northeast from the lighthouse of Paredon del Grande, the nearest point of Cuba to us. We were all prepared for her, beat to quarters, and orders were given to Lieutenant D. M. Fairfax to have two boats manned and armed to board her and make Messrs. Slidell, Mason, Eustis, and Macfarland prisoners, and send them immediately on board. The steamer approached and hoisted English colors, our ensign was hoisted, and a shot was fired across her bow; she maintained her speed and showed no disposition to heave-to; then a shell was fired across her bow, which brought her to. I hailed that I intended to send a boat on board, and Lieutenant Fairfax, with the second cutter of this ship, was despatched. He met with some difficulty, and remaining on board the steamer with a part of the boat's crew, sent her back to request more assistance: the captain of the steamer having declined to show his papers and passenger list, a force became necessary to search her. Lieutenant James A. Greer was at once despatched in the third cutter, also manned and armed. Messrs. Slidell, Mason, Eustis, and Macfarland were recognized and told they were required to go on board this ship. This they objected to until an overpowering force compelled them: much persuasion was used and a little force, and at about two o'clock they were brought on board this ship and received by me. Two other boats were then sent to expedite the removal of their baggage and some stores, when the steamer, which proved to be the Trent, was suffered to proceed on her route to the eastward, and at 3.30 P. M. we bore away to the northward and westward. The whole time employed was two hours and thirteen minutes.

"It was my determination," adds Captain Wilkes, "to have taken possession of the Trent, and sent her to Key West as a prize, for resisting the search and carrying these passengers, whose character and objects were well known to the captain; but the reduced number of my officers and crew, and the large number of passengers on board, bound to Europe, who would be put to great inconvenience, decided me to allow them to proceed. Finding the families of Messrs. Slidell and Eustis on board, I tendered them the offer of my cabin for their accommodation to accompany their husbands; this they declined, however, and proceeded in the Trent. Before closing this despatch I would bring to your notice the notorious action of her British Majesty's subjects, the consul general of Cuba and those on board the Trent, in doing everything to aid and abet the escape of these four persons, and endeavoring to conceal their persons on board. No passports or papers of any description were in possession of them from the federal government; and for this and other reasons which will readily occur to you I made them my prisoners, and shall retain them on board here until I hear from you what disposition is to be made of them. I cannot close this report without bearing testimony to the admirable manner in which all the officers and men of this ship performed their duties, and the cordial manner in which they carried out my orders. To Lieutenant Fairfax I beg leave to call your particular attention for the praiseworthy manner in which he executed the delicate duties with which he was intrusted; it met and has received my warmest thanks."

Such is the outline in his own language of Captain Wilkes' memorable capture of the ambassadors on board the Trent. The importance of the affair, and the interest which was at once manifested in all its details, require a more particular narrative of the transaction, which we shall supply from the official reports of those engaged in the arrest. Lieutenant D. M. Fairfax, a native of Virginia, the executive officer ordered to board the Trent, repaired alongside the packet in an armed cutter, accompanied by Mr. Houston, second assistant engineer, and Mr. Grace the boatswain. Leaving the two officers in the boat "with orders to await until it became necessary to show some force," he went on board the Trent alone, was shown up by the first officer to the quarter-deck, where he met the Captain, and informing him who he was, asked to see the passenger list. This the Captain refused, when Lieutenant Fairfax informed him that he had information of Mr. Mason, Mr. Slidell, Mr. Eustis, and Mr. McFarland having taken their passage in the packet, and that he would satisfy himself whether they were on board before allowing the packet to proceed. Mr. Slidell hearing his name mentioned came up and asked the Lieutenant if he wished to see him. Mr. Mason and the secretaries also came forward, when Lieutenant Fairfax stated the object of his visit. The Captain of the Trent opposed anything like the search of his vessel, nor would he consent to show papers or passenger-list. "The commissioners and their secretaries also protested," continues Lieutenant Fairfax, "against my arresting and sending them to the United States steamer near by. There was considerable noise among the passengers just about this time and that led Mr. Houston and Mr. Grace to repair on board with some six or eight men all armed." Finding his efforts unsuccessful to persuade Mr. Slidell and Mr. Mason to go with him peaceably, Lieutenant Fairfax directed Mr. Houston to return to Captain Wilkes on the San Jacinto and inform him that the four gentlemen named in his order were on board, and that force must be applied to take them out of the packet. "About three minutes after," proceeds Lieutenant Fairfax, "there was still greater excitement on the quarter-deck, which brought Mr. Grace with his armed party. I, however, deemed the presence of any armed men unnecessary and only calculated to alarm the ladies present, and directed Mr. Grace to return to the lower deck where he had been since first coming on board." In less than half an hour after the first boarding of the Trent, Lieutenant Greer arrived in the third cutter, bringing with him Third Assistant Engineer Hale, Paymaster's Clerk Simpson, Master's Mate Dahlgren, a sergeant, a corporal and six privates of marines, four machinists and the crew of thirteen men, the whole party being well armed. On reaching the packet Lieutenant Greer, according to orders from Lieutenant Fairfax, brought the marines on board and stationed them alongside of the armed men already there, just outside of the main deck cabin, where the "four gentlemen" in request had gone to pack up their baggage. Lieutenant Fairfax meanwhile renewed his efforts in the cabin to induce the commissioners to accompany him to the San Jacinto, which they refused to do unless force was applied. He accordingly called in to his assistance four or five officers, and first taking hold of Mr. Mason's shoulder, with another officer on the opposite side, went as far as the gangway of the steamer and delivered him over to Lieutenant Greer to be placed in the boat. He then returned for Mr. Slidell, who insisted that he must apply considerable force to get him to go, when Lieutenant Fairfax, calling in at last three officers, he also was, "with a gentle application of force," taken in charge and handed over to Mr. Greer. The arrest of Mr. Slidell caused no little commotion in the cabin. "There was much loud talking," says Lieutenant Greer, "and above all was heard a woman's voice. The passengers and ship's officers were making all kinds of disagreeable and contemptuous noises and remarks. Just then Mr. Houston came to me and said he thought there would be trouble. I told him to ask Mr. Fairfax if I should bring in the marines. He returned with an answer to bring them in. At that time I heard some one call out 'shoot him.' I ordered the marines to come into the cabin, which they did at quick time. As they advanced the passengers fell back. Mr. Fairfax then ordered the marines to go out of the cabin, which they did, Mr. Slidell at the same time jumping out of a window of a state-room into the cabin, where he was arrested by Mr. Fairfax, and was then brought by Mr. Hall and Mr. Grace to the boat, into which he got." Mr. McFarland and Mr. Eustis, after protesting, went quietly into the boat.

Lieutenant Greer in a postscript to his report to Captain Wilkes, sets forth more particularly the "disagreeable and contemptuous remarks" which were made by the passengers and officers of the Trent. "When I first went on board," says he, "with the marines, and at intervals during my stay, the officers of the steamer made a great many irritating remarks to each other and to the passengers, which were evidently intended for our benefit. Among other things said were: 'Did you ever hear of such an outrage?' 'Marines on board! why, this looks devilish like mutiny.' 'These Yankees will have to pay well for this.' 'This is the best thing in the world for the South; England will open the blockade.' 'We will have a good chance at them now.' 'Did you ever hear of such a piratical act?' 'Why, this is a perfect Bull's Run!' 'They would not have dared to have done it if an English man-of-war had been in sight!' The mail agent, (a man in the uniform of a commander in the royal navy, I think,) was very indignant and talkative, and tried several times to get me into a discussion of the matter. I told him I was not there for that purpose. He was very bitter; he told me that the English squadron would raise the blockade in twenty days after his report of this outrage (I think he said outrage) got home; that the northerners might as well give up now, etc., etc. Most all the officers of the vessel showed an undisguised hatred for the northern people, and a sympathy for the Confederates. I will do the captain of the vessel the justice to say that he acted differently from the rest, being, when I saw him, very reserved and dignified. The officers and men of our party took no apparent notice of the remarks that were made, and acted with the greatest forbearance."

The "scene" in the cabin on the arrest of Mr. Slidell has a particular elucidation in a statement subsequently communicated to the London *Times* by the Purser of the Trent, and in an after-dinner speech of Captain Williams, R. N., Her Majesty's mail agent on board the packet. The Purser, after describing the first movements of the San Jacinto and Lieutenant Fairfax, records the protestations of Captain Williams, "he being the only person on board directly representing Her Majesty. During the whole of this time (he adds) the San Jacinto was about 200 yards distant from us on the port beam, her broadside guns, which were all manned, directly bearing upon us. Any open resistance to such a force was, of course, hopeless, although from the loud and repeated plaudits which followed Captain Williams' protestations and which were joined in by every one without exception, of the passengers congregated on the quarter-deck, men of all nations, and from the manifested desire of some to resist to the last, I have no doubt but that every person would have joined heart and soul in the struggle had our commander but given the order. Such an order he could not, under such adverse circumstances, conscientiously give, and it was therefore considered sufficient that a party of marines, with bayonets fixed, should forcibly lay hands on the gentlemen named. This was done, and the gentlemen retired to their cabins to arrange some changes of clothing. A most heart-rending scene now took place between Mr. Slidell, his eldest daughter, a noble girl devoted to her father, and the Lieutenant. It would require a far more able pen than mine to describe how, with flashing eye and quivering lip, she threw herself in the doorway of the cabin where her father was, resolved to defend him with her life, till, the order being given to the marines to advance, which they did with bayonets pointed at this poor defenceless girl, her father ending the painful scene by escaping from a window, when he was immediately seized by the marines and hurried into the boat, calling out to Captain Moir as he left that he held him and his government responsible for this outrage."

Captain Williams' account of the affair, at a dinner given to him shortly after his arrival in England, in honor of the event, by the Royal Western Yacht Club at Plymouth, is still more particular. As characteristic of the scene we preserve the interruptions of the audience as noted in the English report. "I am going," said he in the course of his speech, "to speak of Mrs. Slidell and her daughters. (Hear, hear, and 'Cheers for them.') I tell you, sir, that Miss Slidell branded one of the officers to his face with his infamy, having been her father's guest not ten days before. ('Disgraceful,' and 'Bravo for Miss Slidell.') No words of mine shall pass my lips on a political point. I have no political feelings. I do as I am ordered. Mr. Fairfax denied that the marines made a rush toward Miss Slidell at the charge, with fixed bayonets. I believe when I lay my hand on my heart (suiting the action to the word) and say, as I hope for mercy in the day of judgment, it is true that they did so. (Hear, hear.) Miss Slidell—and no girl in this world has been pained more at the mention of her name in the public papers than she has been by the manner in which some persons have alluded to it, not pained by their having stated the manner in which she acted—(cheers)—but some of the public papers described her as having slapped Mr. Fairfax's face. (Cries of 'Serve him right if she did,' and 'Bravo.') She did strike Mr. Fairfax. ('Loud cheers for her then.') She did strike Mr. Fairfax—(cheers)—but she did not do it with the vulgarity of gesture which has been attributed to her. Miss Slidell was with her father in the cabin, with her arm encircling his neck, and she wished to be taken to prison with her father. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Fairfax attempted to get into the cabin—I do not say forcibly, for I do not say a word against Mr. Fairfax, so far as his manner is concerned—he attempted to get her away by inducements. In her agony, then, she did strike him in the face three times. I wish that Miss Slidell's little knuckles had struck me in the face. I should like to have the mark forever. (Oh! and laughter.)"

The rebel Commissioners having thus been transferred to the deck of the San Jacinto, the Trent, without further detention, proceeded on her voyage to St. Thomas, and Captain Wilkes leaving the north side of Cuba ran through the Santaren passage and up the coast from St. Augustine to Charleston where he communicated with the blockading squadron, and, in his own words "regretted being too late to take a part in the Expedition to Port Royal." On the 15th the San Jacinto reached Hampton Roads, where the news of the capture of the Commissioners was immediately transmitted to Washington. The next day Captain Wilkes sailed for New York, where, on his arrival off the harbor, he was met by a United States Marshal with instructions to proceed directly to Boston and deliver his prisoners to the custody of the United States officer at Fort Warren.

On his way to New York Captain Wilkes prepared a second dispatch to the Government, in which he particularly stated the motives which had influenced him in the arrest of the ambassadors. When he heard of their departure, he says, "I determined to intercept them, and carefully examined all the authorities on international law to which I had access, viz.: Kent, Wheaton, and Vattel, besides various decisions of Sir William Scott, and other judges of the admiralty court of Great Britain, which bore upon the rights of neutrals and their responsibilities. The governments of Great Britain, France, and Spain, having issued proclamations that the Confederate States were viewed, considered, and treated as belligerents, and knowing that the ports of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland, in the West Indies, were open to their vessels, and that they were admitted to all the courtesies and protection vessels of the United States received, every aid and attention being given them, proved clearly that they acted upon this view and decision, and brought them within the international law of search and under the responsibilities. I therefore felt no hesitation in boarding and searching all vessels of whatever nation I fell in with, and have done so. The question arose in my mind whether I had the right to capture the *persons* of these commissioners, whether *they* were amenable to capture. There was no doubt I had the right to capture vessels with *written* despatches; they are expressly referred to in all authorities, subjecting the vessel to seizure and condemnation if the captain of the vessel had the knowledge of their being on board; but these gentlemen were not despatches in the literal sense, and did not seem to come under that designation, and nowhere could I find a case in point. That they were commissioners I had ample proof from their own avowal, and bent on mischievous and traitorous errands against our country, to overthrow its institutions, and enter into treaties and alliances with foreign States, expressly forbidden by the Constitution. They had been presented to the captain general of Cuba by her Britannic Majesty's consul general, but the captain general told me that he had not received them in that capacity, but as distinguished gentlemen and strangers. I then considered them as the *embodiment* of despatches; and as they had openly declared themselves as charged with all authority from the Confederate government to form treaties and alliances tending to the establishment of their independence, I became satisfied that their mission was adverse and criminal to the Union, and it therefore became my duty to arrest their progress and capture them if they had no passports or papers from the federal government, as provided for under the law of nations, viz: 'That foreign ministers of a belligerent on board of neutral ships are required to possess papers from the other belligerent to permit them to pass free.' Report and assumption gave them the title of ministers to France and England; but inasmuch as they had not been received by either of these powers, I did not conceive they had immunity attached to their persons, and were but escaped conspirators, plotting and contriving to overthrow the government of the United States, and they were therefore not to be considered as having any claim to the immunities attached to the character they thought fit to assume.

"As respects the steamer," continues Captain Wilkes, "in which they embarked, I ascertained in the Havana that she was a merchant vessel plying between Vera Cruz, the Havana, and St. Thomas, carrying the mail by contract. The agent of the vessel, the son of the British consul at Havana, was well aware of the character of these persons; that they engaged their passage and did embark in the vessel; his father had visited them and introduced them as ministers of the Confederate States on their way to England and France. They went in the steamer with the knowledge and by the consent of the captain, who endeavored afterwards to conceal them by refusing to exhibit the passenger list and the papers of the vessel. There can be no doubt he knew they were carrying highly important despatches, and were endowed with instructions inimical to the United States. This rendered his vessel (a neutral) a good prize, and I determined to take possession of her, and, as I mentioned in my report, send her to Key West for adjudication, where, I am well satisfied, she would have been condemned for carrying these persons, and for resisting to be searched. The cargo was also liable, as all the shippers were knowing to the embarkation of these *live* despatches, and their traitorous motives and actions to the Union of the United States. I forbore to seize her, however, in consequence of my being so reduced in officers and crew, and the derangement it would cause innocent persons, there being a large number of passengers who would have been put to great loss and inconvenience, as well as disappointment, from the interruption it would have caused them in not being able to join the steamer from St. Thomas to Europe. I therefore concluded to sacrifice the interests of my officers and crew in the prize, and suffered the steamer to proceed, after the necessary detention to effect the transfer of these commissioners, considering I had obtained the important end I had in view, and which affected the interests of our country and interrupted the action of that of the confederates. I would add that the conduct of her Britannic Majesty's subjects, both official and others, showed but little regard or obedience to her proclamation, by aiding and abetting the views and endeavoring to conceal the persons of these commissioners.

"I have pointed out sufficient reasons to show you that my action in this case was derived from a firm conviction that it became my duty to make these parties prisoners, and to bring them to the United States. Although in my giving up this valuable prize I have deprived the officers and crew of a well-earned reward, I am assured they are quite content to forego any advantages which might have accrued to them under the circumstances. I may add that, having assumed the responsibility, I am willing to abide the result."

Such was the case as presented by Captain Wilkes to his Government on his return. Accompanying the report of Captain Wilkes to the Secretary of the Navy was a letter to the Commander of the San Jacinto, written on shipboard, signed by the commissioners and their secretaries, setting forth the main facts of their capture, in general agreement with the statements which we have already presented. It was intended as a protest, doubtless, with a view to a claim for protection from the British Government. The further voyage of the San Jacinto from New York to Boston was stormy, and there was a short detention at Newport where the ship was obliged to put in for coal, and another of a day, in consequence of the severity of the weather, at Holmes' Hole, so that the San Jacinto did not reach Boston Harbor till Sunday the 24th, the sixth day after her departure from New York. The Commissioners and their Secretaries were then landed at Fort Warren and consigned to the care of Captain Dimick, the former defender of Fortress Monroe, who had recently been assigned to this new and important post of duty. With the baggage of the Commissioners, as the journals of the day were careful to note, were several cases of wines and liquors, a number of boxes of cigars, and two casks of bottled Scotch ale, which had been procured from the stores of the Trent for the comfort of the captured ambassadors. Before leaving the ship Messrs. Slidell and Mason and their Secretaries addressed a note to Captain Wilkes, stating that they had been uniformly treated, while on board the vessel, "with great courtesy and attention."

Captain Wilkes and his officers the following day were formally escorted from the Long Wharf of the city by a public committee to Faneuil Hall, where a civic reception awaited them. Mayor Wightman addressed Captain Wilkes in most complimentary terms. "In behalf of the City Council," said he, "I welcome you to the City of Boston and to this their cherished Temple of Liberty. Here, in the presence of these departed heroes, whose deeds you so nobly emulated, we tender to you the homage of our respect. We honor you as an eminent scientific navigator and explorer, as a gallant and meritorious officer of our Navy, and for the sagacity, judgment, decision and firmness which characterized your recent brilliant achievement, the effect of which upon the present rebellion, may prove not less important than the glorious naval victories on the Southern Coast." In reply Captain Wilkes, acknowledging the kindness shown him, said, "I depended upon my own judgment in doing what you all have flattered me, is correct, and I am exceedingly gratified with the manifestations of approval I have met, and which have been, I may say, a spontaneous outburst from all parts of our country. I have only to say, that we did our duty to the Union and are prepared to do it again."

On the evening of the following day, the 26th, a banquet was given to Captain Wilkes and the officers of the San Jacinto at the Revere House. Among the guests present were Governor Andrew, Chief Justice Bigelow, and other persons of distinction. Captain Wilkes narrated the events of the capture, following the recital of his despatches, which had not then been made public. "Not a word," said he, in reference to the courtesy which had marked the transaction, "was said or act done which would not redound to the honor of the American Navy." In allowing the Trent to proceed, he said, he had deprived his men of a prize worth $150,000, and "he took a pride and pleasure in saying, that there was not a man on board the San Jacinto who said that he did not do right."

Governor Andrew then addressed the company. "It happened to him," he said, "to be present on official business at the War Department when the telegram announcing the capture of the two rebel ministers was received. He thought it but courteous that the Secretary of War should lead in the cheers which followed, but he begged to assure the company he was not behind the second man in loud acclaim, and he had the satisfaction of knowing at a very early period that the Territory of Massachusetts would have the opportunity of furnishing a prison to these unnatural and rapacious traitors." Governor Andrew then proposed the health of Lieutenant Fairfax, which was received with enthusiasm. "I am in heart," said that officer in response, "a Virginian; but I am a native of the United States, and owe allegiance to the Government of the United States." As a Southern man he felt, when the question of allegiance was presented to him that he should give all his energies to sustain the stars and stripes. "When I saw those who were seeking the disruption of this Union, turning their eyes to the two great Powers of Europe—England and France—as their only hope, it seemed to me a pitiable thing that men who had contended that no foreign power should put its foot on this continent, should now be so ready to welcome their aid. It was by no means," he added, "an agreeable duty to go on board the Trent and arrest my old friend Mr. Mason, whose family is connected with mine by marriage. I knew pretty well what I had to do, and I knew, soon after I got aboard the vessel, that I should have something more to contend with than the four gentlemen I was to take with me to the San Jacinto. Mrs. Slidell and her daughters were there; they were womanly and ladylike; but they were under a great deal of excitement, and you may well imagine that they gave utterance to a good many not very pleasant expressions. Messrs. Mason and Slidell conducted themselves with a good deal of propriety under the circumstances. Mr. Mason was perfectly courteous throughout. Mr. Slidell, as we all know, has more crustiness in his disposition, but it must be remembered that he had much to embarrass him, having his wife and family with him; therefore, it was more difficult to impress him with the belief that I intended to carry out the purpose of my visit. He said he would not go unless I employed more force than I then seemed willing to show. But by the aid of the officers the gentlemen were removed on board the San Jacinto, where we made them very comfortable."

At New York Captain Wilkes enjoyed several days of comparative repose, the citizens being engrossed in an exciting election for Mayor. He was present at the monthly meeting of the Historical Society on the 3d of December, when the President, the Hon. Luther Bradish, proposed his election as an honorary member of the Society. "It is, sir," said he, "your prerogative to make history; ours to commemorate it. We may promise you one of the fairest pages in the bright annals of American history." The honorary membership, the usual rules being dispensed with, was conferred by acclamation. In reply, Captain Wilkes, thanking the members, modestly waived the compliment of the President. "He must confess," he said, "that he could see nothing in what he had done worthy of the bright page of history which it was insisted should be reserved for him. He had merely done his duty, which it had been his pleasure as well as his pride to perform."* On the 5th Captain Wilkes was publicly received by the Common Council of the city and called upon at the City Hall by the citizens generally. After this ceremonial the hero of the day was suffered for awhile to remain in quiet, undisturbed by public honors, save the solicitations of rival photographers emulous of placing the best representation of his countenance in their print windows on Broadway. These attentions followed him to the national capital, where, on his arrival on the 13th of December, he was serenaded at his residence by the marine band, when Mayor Wallach introduced him to the people as "the hero of the Trent," whose "last great act, the seizure of the rebel commissioners, added special lustre to his name." To this

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* New York *Times*, December 5, 1861.

Captain Wilkes briefly replied. He had performed, he said, an act of public duty. He would not refer to it further on that occasion, but would only say, "that should another similar emergency arise he would do exactly the same thing again." In fact, Captain Wilkes, up to this time, at least, seems to have had no doubt of the discretion and justice of his proceeding. Nor was he without higher authorities to confirm him in his opinion than the civic magistrates who saluted him in such complimentary terms. On the 30th of November the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Welles, addressed to him the following official note :—" I congratulate you on your safe arrival, and especially do I congratulate you on the great public service you have rendered in the capture of the rebel commissioners, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, who have been conspicuous in the conspiracy to dissolve the Union, and it is well known that, when seized by you, they were on a mission hostile to the Government and the country. Your conduct in seizing these public enemies was marked by intelligence, ability, decision, and firmness, and has the emphatic approval of this Department. It is not necessary that I should in this communication—which is intended to be one of congratulation to yourself, officers and crew—express an opinion on the course pursued in omitting to capture the vessel which had these public enemies on board, further than to say that the forbearance exercised in this instance must not be permitted to constitute a precedent hereafter for infractions of neutral obligations." In similar terms in his annual report on the opening of Congress, Secretary Welles declared "the emphatic approval of the department" of the seizure, and while he excused the "too generous forbearance" of Captain Wilkes in releasing the vessel, "in view of the special circumstances and of its patriotic motive," he renewed his warning against the admission of the act of release as a precedent. This weak point of the proceeding was thus at once noted by the Secretary. On the first day of the session of Congress a resolution offered by a Western member, Lovejoy of Illinois, in the House of Representatives was adopted, tendering "the thanks of Congress to Captain Wilkes for his arrest of the traitors Slidell and Mason." A substitute for the resolution, providing a gold medal with suitable emblems and devices to be presented to Captain Wilkes by the President, was lost. By a further resolution the President was requested, in retaliation for the treatment by the Confederates of Colonel Corcoran in confining him in the cell of a convicted felon, to "similarly confine James M. Mason, late of Virginia, now in custody at Fort Warren, until Colonel Corcoran shall be treated as the United States have treated all prisoners taken by them on the battle field."* On the 16th the subject was revived in the House by a mischievous resolution offered by Vallandigham of Ohio, enjoining the President to firmly maintain the stand taken in the former resolutions, "approving and adopting the act of Captain Wilkes, in spite of any menace or demand of the British Government, and that this House pledges its full support in upholding now the honor and vindicating the courage of the Government and people of the United States against a foreign power." The resolution was quietly disposed of by a vote of 109 to 16 sending it to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Notable legal opinions of distinguished living American jurists and statesmen were freely offered, in support of the position taken by Captain Wilkes. Chief Justice Bigelow of Massachusetts, at the dinner given to the officers on the arrival of the San Jacinto, in a fervid speech, vindicated the arrest of the ambassadors as "in exact and strict conformity with international law." A writer in the

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* Proceedings of Congress, December 2, 1861.

Boston Daily Advertiser, said to be Edward Everett, reviewing the circumstances of the affair, urged that the case presented a just cause of confiscation and forfeiture, that there was nothing in the position of the "pseudo-ambassadors" to furnish protection, and that the seizure could not be considered a violation of the rights of asylum, seeing that the persons arrested were not seeking refuge, but "were engaged in acts for which they would be subject by our laws to capital punishment, while the officers of the Trent and their vessel were openly and knowingly engaged in aiding them in these acts in violation of the neutrality proclaimed by the Queen's proclamation and of the law of nations." Mr. Everett, also, with his accustomed acumen, reviewed the decision of Sir William Scott, bearing on the subject, and the prominent points of the question in an Essay which he published in the *New York Ledger*, finding "no real difficulty in bringing the case within the admitted principles of the law of nations."

General Cass, in a letter published at Detroit, reviewing the diplomatic negotiations of the United States with Great Britain, on the right of search, in which he had borne a prominent part, clearly stated in the language of Judge Marshall, "the full and perfect right of belligerents to capture enemy's goods contraband of war, a right to the exercise of which the right of search is essential." Applying this principle to the case of the Trent, he found "the authorities derived from the most approved writers upon the laws of nations maintaining the legality of the capture of the rebel ambassadors and their despatches; and the example of England in various cases involving the same principles, proves her acquiescence in the doctrine and her practical adhesion to it."* Mr. William Beach Lawrence, of Rhode Island, a man of affairs and an accomplished writer on international law, in a published letter to a member of Congress, citing Lord Stowell, asserted the perfect right to obstruct the passage on the high seas of the Confederate ministers. Mr. George Sumner, versed in diplomatic history, pronounced the act of Commodore Wilkes "in strict accordance with the principles of international law recognized in England, and in strict conformity with English practice," and, instancing various precedents, concluded with an appeal to British consistency. "Englishmen will, I believe," he wrote, "remember that one of the earliest deeds of this rebellion was a brutal insult to their flag in the rebel port of Savannah. They will remember that an English shipmaster, Captain Vaughan, of London, was seized on board his ship by the 'Regulators,' 'Rattlesnakes,' or some other of the constituted authorities of that town, charged with having given a dinner to the colored stevedore then at work for him, torn from the side of his wife, cruelly maltreated, then tarred and feathered, while he proclaimed himself a British subject, and pointed in vain to the meteor flag of England waving over his head. Englishmen will remember that Jenkins, when under torture by the Spaniards, 'commended his soul to God and his cause to his country,' and that a bloody war with Spain followed. They may regret that, unlike Jenkins, Captain Vaughan has not yet found a country to avenge him. They may regret this delay. They may regret that their government has not asked permission to pass the blockade with a fleet of iron-clad gunboats, to try conclusions with Fort Pulaski and bombard Savannah. They can only hail with joy the arrest of the ambassadors of those who, at the very outset of this war, outraged at the same moment every sentiment of humanity and the honor of the British flag. The unexpiated crime at Savannah, and the forbearance of Commodore Wilkes in not enforcing English precedents against the Trent, may well be taken as representative examples of the character and conduct of the two 'belligerents.'"* Fortified by these learned judgments, the public generally entertained the conviction that Captain Wilkes had performed a meritorious act in the arrest of the ambassadors, and that though his proceeding might be unpalatable to Great Britain, yet dispassionately considered, under all the circumstances, a friendly nation could have no ground of complaint which might not be readily adjusted in the usual course of diplomatic correspondence. An informality it was perceived existed in Captain Wilkes' failure to bring the vessel into court for legal adjudication; but as this omission was so clearly in deference to the interests and convenience of the owners and passengers of the Trent, it was hardly thought that would be pressed in a manner to wound the pride of the country. The last idea to be seriously entertained by the public was, that Great Britain would peremptorily demand the surrender of the ministers or threaten war as the alternative. We have seen the cordiality with which the Secretary of the Navy received the act. The departments of the Government, however, immediately concerned with the foreign relations of the country, were by no means inclined to commit themselves unreservedly to a measure the favorable reception of which abroad was obviously dependent upon the good will, if not the generous interpretations of the British cabinet. President Lincoln in his Message to Congress, at the beginning of December it was observed, said nothing whatever of the subject, leaving the administration free to act on the merits as circumstances might require.

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* Letter to the Editor of the *Detroit Free Press*. *N. Y. Herald*, November 30, 1861.

The usual celebration of Lord Mayor's Day, the 9th of November, in London, afforded an opportunity which was not neglected, for the expression of opinion on the predominant American question. The Premier, Lord Palmerston, and the United States minister, Mr. Adams, spoke at Guildhall, while Mr. Yancey, the Commissioner of the Confederate States gained a hearing from a sympathizing audience at the banquet given by the Fishmongers' Company at their hall. Mr. Adams, in response to a toast of the Lord Mayor, magnified the peaceful office of the diplomatist, and defended it from the popular charge of insincerity, skillfully turning to the motives for friendly intercourse between England and America. "It is very possible," said he, "that there may be differences of opinion between the people of the two countries upon minor subjects. You may not like the system of Democracy which exists among us. We may not like your system of aristocracy and governing by ranks. You may think we are sometimes too free in our manners. We, on the contrary, may think the various forms of society in this country too formal and stringent. But, my lord, these differences of opinion can never, while the wide Atlantic flows between us, lead to mischief, and I trust sincerely that there may never be more serious differences than those I have indicated. For the past eighty years there has been for America a great and glorious history; but at the same time, let me add, we take almost as much pride as you in the traditions of England. Indeed, we claim to take the deepest interest in every thing that relates to the past and present of this great country. It was only the other day, when an effort was made to perpetuate some memorial of the garden of the immortal Shakespeare, that I saw there was a greater proportion of Americans who went as pilgrims to that spot than of his own countrymen. The names of your great men are as familiar to us as to you; and there is not an act of heroism performed here that does not awaken a responsive feeling in the hearts of my countrymen. We have the story of Grace Darling adorning the walls of public buildings in America, and I assure you that the name of Florence Nightingale is held in as high honor in the United States as it possibly can be here. To allude to a still higher name, I will, in conclusion, say that the name of her Majesty the Queen of England is honored in the remotest hamlets of America ; not because she is Queen of England—for there have been a great many Queens whose names we do not honor—but she is honored in America as a pattern daughter, as a pattern of a mother and wife, and, above all, as the Christian Sovereign of a noble people. I am sure I echo the common sentiment of all in my country and in England, when I say peace here, peace there, peace everywhere."

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* Letter of George Sumner, Boston, November 8, 1861. *N. Y. Herald*, November 22.

In a few words Lord Palmerston alluded to one of the prominent industrial topics, entering into the American question, the probable short supply of cotton, an evil which he hoped would be attended with permanent good by making the country no longer dependent upon one source of supply. "On the other side of the Atlantic," said he, "we witness with the deepest affliction—with an affliction which no words can express — differences of the most lamentable kinds among those whom we call our cousins and our relations. It is not for us to pass judgment on these disputes. It is enough for us to offer a fervent prayer that those differences may not be of long continuance, and that they may speedily be succeeded by a restoration of harmony and of peace."

Mr. Yancey, in his speech before the Fishmongers' Company, adroitly appealing to British interests, presented a plea for the recognition of the Confederacy. "I feel," said he, "how unbecoming it would be in me to intrude upon such an occasion as the present any merely partisan views of the causes which have broken up the late Federal Union. No matter what they may have been, one thing is clear, and that is that the contest now going on is upon the part of the people of the Confederate States for the right to govern themselves, and to resist subjugation by the North. Their pursuits, soil, climate, and production are totally different from those of the North. They think it their interest to buy where they can buy cheapest, and to sell where they can sell dearest. In all this the North differs, *toto cœlo*, from them, and now makes war upon us to enforce the supremacy of their mistaken ideas and selfish interest. In defence of their liberties and sovereign independence, the Confederate States and people are united and resolute. They are invaded by a power numbering twenty millions ; yet, for eight months has the Confederate Government successfully resisted, aye, repelled, that invasion, along a military frontier of one thousand miles. Though cut off by blockade from all foreign trade, their internal sources have been adequate to the equipment and maintenance in the field of an army of over two hundred and fifty thousand troops. Can all this be, and yet these ten millions of whites be divided ? The idea is preposterous. So much has been said about our efforts to obtain foreign intervention that I may be allowed to declare emphatically that the Confederate States have neither sought nor desired it. They can maintain their independence intact by their own strength. As to their recognition by the Powers of the world, that of course they desire. They are a people, a nation, exhibiting elements of power which few states of the world possess. But they have no reason to complain, nor do they feel aggrieved, because these great Powers see fit for a season to defer their formal recognition and reception into the family of nations. However they may differ with them as to the period when their recognition should take place, they fully understand that such action is purely a question to be determined by those countries each for itself, and with reference to its own interests and views of public policy. Other nations having trading relations with us have quite as much interest to send Ministers and Consuls to us as we have to send such representatives to them. Why, then, shall there not be peace? Simply because the North in its pride will not admit that to be a fact—*a fait accompli*—which Old England, followed by the first Powers of Europe, has recognized, and which the Confederate Government and armies have repeatedly demonstrated to be a stern and bloody fact—the fact that we are a belligerent Power. There can be no basis for negotiations, or for peace proposals, or consultations, so long as the Confederates are deemed to be or are treated as rebels. But when our adversary shall become sufficiently calm to treat us as a belligerent Power, the morning of peace will dawn in the horizon. When that hour shall arrive, I think I may say the Confederate Government will be inflexible upon one point only—its honor and its independence. For the great interests of peace and humanity it will yield much that is merely material or of secondary importance."

The Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, early declared the position of the United States Government in a dispatch to the American minister at London, and through him to Earl Russell. In a note to Mr. Adams, dated at the Department of State, Washington, November 30, after recognizing the courtesies which had passed between the minister and Lord Palmerston, he proceeded to speak of the Trent matter. Of the former he said, "You spoke the simple truth when you told Lord Palmerston that the life of this insurrection is sustained by its hopes of recognition in Great Britain and in France. It would perish in ninety days if those hopes should cease. I have never for a moment believed that such a recognition could take place without producing immediately a war between the United States and all the recognizing Powers. I have not supposed it possible that the British Government could fail to see this, and at the same time I have sincerely believed the British Government must, in its inmost heart, be as averse from such a war as I know this Government is." The transition from the words spoken for peace at the Lord Mayor's banquet to the subject of the Trent was skillfully handled. "I infer," continued Mr. Seward, "from Lord Palmerston's remark, that the British Government is now awake to the importance of averting possible conflict, and disposed to confer and act with earnestness to that end. If so, we are disposed to meet them in the same spirit, as a nation chiefly of British lineage, sentiments, and sympathies, a civilized and humane nation, a Christian people. Since that conversation was held, Captain Wilkes, in the steamer San Jacinto, has boarded a British colonial steamer, and taken from her deck two insurgents who were proceeding to Europe on an errand of treason against their own country. This is a new incident, unknown to, and unforeseen, at least in its circumstances, by Lord Palmerston. It is to be met and disposed of by the two Governments, if possible, in the spirit to which I have adverted. Lord Lyons has prudently refrained from opening the subject to me, as I presume waiting instructions from home. We have done nothing on the subject to anticipate the discussion; and we have not furnished you with any explanations. We adhere to that course now, because we think it more prudent that the ground taken by the British Government should be first made known to us here, and that the discussion, if there must be one, shall be had here. It is proper, however, that you should know one fact in the case, without indicating that we attach importance to it, namely, that in the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board a British vessel, Captain Wilkes having acted without any instructions from the Government, the subject is therefore free from the embarrassment which might have resulted if the act had been specially directed by us. I trust that the British Government will consider the subject in a friendly temper, and it may expect the best disposition on the part of this Government."

Such was the sentiment of the American people, and such the prudent and dignified attitude of the American Government in the interval between the arrival of Captain Wilkes with the ambassadors and of the arrival of the news of the reception of the capture in England. When the first report from that country came on the 12th of December, it seemed to confirm the popular impression in America of the legal argument which had been made out in favor of Captain Wilkes. There had been, indeed, on the arrival of the West India steamer, La Plata, on the 27th of November, at Southampton, bringing the passengers of the Trent from St. Thomas, considerable indignation expressed in consequence of the representations made by the officers of the Trent of the capture of the ambassadors. The shot and shell fired across the bow of the British vessel from the San Jacinto, the claim made by the ambassadors to the protection of the British flag, the protest of Commander Williams, R. N., the removal of the Confederate agents by force, the excitement of the passengers by the act, were in the simplest statement calculated to fire the public mind, and the case was undoubtedly aggravated by the unfair representations—that of the Purser of the Trent for instance, already cited—which converted an act of duty as courteously performed as possible into a scene of disreputable violence. The occasion was seized by the friends of the rebel States at Liverpool, who held a meeting presided over by Mr. James Spence, the author of a book asserting the pretensions of the South, and a pertinacious foe to the American national Union. The act of Captain Wilkes was denounced as a violation of the honor of the British flag, for which the amplest reparation should be demanded. Even there, however, the opinion was expressed that the act might prove to be justifiable, in agreement with international law, and the resolution read by the chairman was shorn of its demand for "reparation." The London *Times* of November 28th, coolly discussed the question; admitted that the stoppage of the Trent was in accordance with British precedents, spoke doubtfully of the belligerent or contraband character of the ambassadors, and made a stand only on the point of the informality of Captain Wilkes in not taking the Trent into port for regular adjudication. "The legal course," the writer maintained, "would have been to take the ship itself into port, and to ask for her condemnation or for the condemnation of the passengers, in a Court of Admiralty. The result might, no doubt, have been the same, but if the proceeding was irregular, we have surely a right to demand that these prisoners shall be restored." This simple suggestion, as it proved, was the key to the whole difficulty. So the affair rested till a few days later, word was brought by the Europa at Halifax on the 16th of December, that the law officers of the Crown having given their opinion that the act of Captain Wilkes was unjustifiable, the cabinet had decided upon peremptorily demanding the restoration of the ambassadors to the protection of the British flag. A special Queen's messenger, Captain Seymour, came passenger by the Europa, bringing to Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, the demand of the Government. It was noticed when this dispatch of Earl Russell was presented to Mr. Seward that it was dated the 30th of November, the same day with the communication of the latter just cited to Mr. Adams. The instructions as had been represented by the English journals were sufficiently explicit. The dispatch to Lord Lyons was as follows:—"My Lord: Intelligence of a very grave nature has reached her Majesty's Government. This intelligence was conveyed officially to the knowledge of the Admiralty by Commander Williams, agent for mails on board the contract-steamer Trent. It appears from the letter of Commander Williams, dated 'Royal Mail Contract Packet Trent, at sea, November 9,' that the Trent left Havana on the 7th instant, with her Majesty's mails for England, having on board numerous passengers. Commander Williams states that, shortly after noon on the 8th, a steamer, having the appearance of a man-of-war, but not showing colors, was observed ahead. On nearing her at 1.15 P. M., she fired a round shot from her pivot-gun across the bows of the Trent, and showed American colors. While the Trent was approaching her slowly, the American vessel discharged a shell across the bows of the Trent, exploding half a cable's length ahead of her. The Trent then stopped, and an officer with a large armed guard of marines boarded her. The officer demanded a list of the passengers, and compliance with this demand being refused, the officer said he had orders to arrest Messrs. Mason, Slidell, McFarlane and Eustis, and that he had sure information of their being passengers in the Trent. While some parley was going on upon this matter, Mr. Slidell stepped forward and told the American officer that the four persons he had named were standing before him. The commander of the Trent and Commander Williams protested against the act of taking, by force, out of the Trent, these four passengers, then under the protection of the British flag. But the San Jacinto was at that time only two hundred yards from the Trent, her ship's company at quarters, her ports open and tompions out. Resistance was, therefore, out of the question, and the four gentlemen before named were forcibly taken out of the ship. A further demand was made that the commander of the Trent should proceed on board the San Jacinto, but he said he would not go unless forcibly compelled likewise, and this demand was not insisted upon. It thus appears that certain individuals have been forcibly taken from on board a British vessel, the ship of a neutral power, while such vessel was pursuing a lawful and innocent voyage, an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag and a violation of international law. Her Majesty's Government, bearing in mind the friendly relations which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, are willing to believe that the United States naval officer who committed the aggression was not acting in compliance with any authority from his Government, or that, if he conceived himself to be so authorized, he greatly misunderstood the instructions which he had received. For the Government of the United States must be fully aware that the British Government could not allow such an affront to the national honor to pass without full reparation, and her Majesty's Government are unwilling to believe that it could be the deliberate intention of the Government of the United States unnecessarily to force into discussion between the two Governments a question of so grave a character, and with regard to which the whole British nation would be sure to entertain such unanimity of feeling. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, trust that, when this matter shall have been brought under the consideration of the Government of the United States, that Government will, of its own accord, offer to the British Government such redress as alone could satisfy the nation, namely: the liberation of the four gentlemen, and their delivery to your lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed. Should these terms not be offered by Mr. Seward, you will propose them to him. You are at liberty to read this dispatch to the Secretary of State, and, if he shall desire it, you will give him a copy of it. I am, etc., RUSSELL."

A private note to Lord Lyons from Earl Russell accompanied this dispatch with the following further instructions: "Should Mr. Seward ask for delay in order that this grave and painful matter should be deliberately considered, you will consent to a delay not exceeding seven days. If, at the end of that time, no answer is given, or if any other answer is given except that of a compliance with the demands of her Majesty's Government, your lordship is instructed to leave Washington with all the members of your legation, bringing with you the archives of the legation and to repair immediately to London; if, however, you should be of opinion that the requirements of her Majesty's Government are substantially complied with, you may report the facts to her Majesty's Government for their consideration, and remain at your post till you receive further orders."

A copy of the first of these dispatches was sent to Mr. Seward and was answered by him in a communication of considerable length, addressed to Lord Lyons on the 26th of December. He began by reciting the statement of the capture as set forth by Earl Russell, and corrected and explained several of its details which had been misunderstood or exaggerated by the mail agent. It was true, he said, "that a round shot had been fired by the San Jacinto from her pivot gun when the Trent was rapidly approaching. But as the facts have been reported to this Government, the shot was nevertheless intentionally fired in a direction so obviously divergent from the course of the Trent as to be as harmless as a blank shot, while it should be regarded as a signal. So, also, we learn that the Trent was not approaching the San Jacinto slowly when the shell was fired across her bows, but, on the contrary, the Trent was, or seemed to be, moving under a full head of steam, as if with a purpose to pass the San Jacinto. We are informed, also, that the boarding-officer, (Lieutenant Fairfax,) did not board the Trent with a large armed guard, but he left his marines in his boat when he entered the Trent. He stated his instructions from Captain Wilkes to search for the four persons named, in a respectful and courteous, though decided manner, and he asked the captain of the Trent to show his passenger-list, which was refused. The Lieutenant, as we are informed, did not employ absolute force in transferring the passengers, but he used just so much as was necessary to satisfy the parties concerned that refusal or resistance would be unavailing. So, also, we are informed that the captain of the Trent was not, at any time, or in any way, required to go on board the San Jacinto."

Accompanying these explanations was the explicit statement "that Captain Wilkes, in conceiving and executing the proceeding in question, acted upon his own suggestions of duty, without any direction or instruction, or even foreknowledge of it on the part of this Government;" and that "no directions had been given him or any other naval officer, to arrest the four persons named, or any of them, on the Trent or on any other British vessel, or any other neutral vessel, at the place where it occurred or elsewhere," and that, consequently, "the British Government will justly infer from these facts, that the United States not only have had no purpose, but even no thought of forcing into discussion the question which has arisen, or any other which could affect in any way the sensibilities of the British nation." Mr. Seward further presented, as essential circumstances in the case, the recognition by Great Britain of the maritime rule that "whatever is contraband is liable to capture and confiscation in all cases," and set forth the pretensions of the so-called ambassadors whom he described as citizens of the United States proceeding to Europe "in the affected character of Ministers Plenipotentiary, under a pretended commission from Jefferson Davis, who had assumed to be President of the insurrectionary party in the United States." The fact that these persons had assumed such characters, he reminded the minister, had been avowed "by the same Jefferson Davis in a pretended message to an unlawful and insurrectionary Congress. It was, as we think, (he added) rightly presumed that these ministers bore pretended credentials and instructions, and such papers are, in the law, known as dispatches. We are informed, by our consul at Paris, that these dispatches, having escaped the search of the Trent, were actually conveyed and delivered to emissaries of the insurrection in England. Although it is not essential, yet it is proper to state, as I do also upon information and belief, that the owner and agent, and all the officers of the Trent, including Commander Williams, had knowledge of the assumed characters and purposes of the persons before named, when they embarked on that vessel." From these circumstances it was urged: "Your Lordship will now perceive that the case before us, instead of presenting a merely flagrant act of violence on the part of Captain Wilkes, as might well be inferred from the incomplete statement of it that went up to the British Government, was undertaken as a simple, legal, customary and belligerent proceeding by Captain Wilkes, to arrest and capture a neutral vessel engaged in carrying contraband of war for the use and benefit of the insurgents."

With these preliminary statements, Mr. Seward cleared away the ground for a full logical discussion of the whole subject. The question, said he, whether this proceeding of Captain Wilkes was authorized by and conducted according to the law of nations, involved the following inquiries: "*First:* Were the persons named, and their supposed dispatches contraband of war? *Second:* Might Captain Wilkes lawfully stop and search the Trent for these contraband persons and dispatches? *Third:* Did he exercise that right in a lawful and proper manner? *Fourth:* Having found the contraband persons on board, and in presumed possession of the contraband dispatches, had he a right to capture the persons? *Fifth:* Did he exercise that right of capture in the manner allowed and recognized by the law of nations?" "If," said he, "all these inquiries shall be resolved in the affirmative, the British Government will have no claim for reparation."

The several questions thus presented were in an elaborate argument affirmatively maintained, except the last. Here, the Secretary frankly admitted, the difficulties of the case began. The subject, as it involved the rights of the captured persons, was ingeniously handled, and the conclusion reached that unless there were some overruling necessity in the case, rendering it impracticable, the vessel should be brought into port for trial, that the character of the alleged contraband persons might be determined under the protection and with the sanction of a court of law. The grave objections to the captor himself determining the matter on the deck of his vessel, were forcibly stated. "The captor is armed, the neutral is unarmed. The captor is interested, prejudiced, and perhaps violent; the neutral, if truly neutral, is disinterested, subdued and helpless. The tribunal is irresponsible, while its judgment is carried into instant execution." It would be a proceeding fraught with danger to the peace of nations. "Practically, it is a question between law with its imperfections and delays, and war with its evils and desolation."

In reference to the special act of Captain Wilkes, it was admitted, in this argument, that he had in a measure voluntarily released the Trent, and had consequently lost the legal advantage of his position. Having arrived at this conclusion, the Secretary further supported it by the example and authority of the declarations of his own Government, particularly instancing a letter of instructions from James Madison, when Secretary of State in the administration of Thomas Jefferson, to James Munroe, then our minister to England. On that occasion the necessity was directly maintained of determining all rights of seizure of persons and property in neutral ships by bringing them before a legal tribunal. The conclusion was irresistible:

"If I decide this case in favor of my own Government, I must disallow its most cherished principles, and reverse and forever abandon its essential policy. The country cannot afford the sacrifice. If I maintain those principles and adhere to that policy, I must surrender the case itself. It will be seen, therefore, that this Government could not deny the justice of the claims presented to us in this respect upon its merits. We are asked to do to the British nation just what we have always insisted all nations ought to do to us. The claim of the British Government," it was added, "is not made in a discourteous manner. This Government, since its first organization, has never used more guarded language in a similar case." Nor did the Secretary neglect the assertion or proviso that "if the safety of this Union required the detention of the captured persons, it would be the right and duty of this Government to detain them. But the effectual check and waning proportions of the existing insurrection, as well as the comparative unimportance of the captured persons themselves, when dispassionately weighed, happily forbid me from resorting to that defence. Nor am I unaware that American citizens are not in any case to be unnecessarily surrendered for any purpose into the keeping of a foreign State. Only the captured persons, however, or others who are interested in them, could justly raise a question on that ground." In fact, the case was turned to a corroboration of the long agitated policy of the United States in respect to the rights of neutrals. Gracefully waiving any old assumptions or precedents from the acts of Great Britain, the Secretary preferred to express his satisfaction "that by the adjustment of the present case, upon principles confessed by Americans, and yet, as I trust, mutually satisfactory to both of the nations concerned, a question is finally and rightly adjusted between them, which heretofore, exhausting not only all forms of peaceful discussion, but also the arbitrament of war itself, for more than half a century alienated the two countries from each other, and perplexed with fears and apprehensions all other nations." It remained only to pronounce the liberation of the prisoners who were now declared to be at the disposal of the British minister. On the first of January they were accordingly taken in a small steamer running in Boston Harbor from their quarters at Fort Warren, and placed on board of the British steam gunboat Rinaldo, at anchor near Provincetown. They were carried in this vessel to St. Thomas, and thence by the regular packet to Southampton.

The equitable and honorable decision of the Secretary of State in the surrender of the commissioners, was further fortified by a friendly dispatch from M. Thouvenel, the head of the administration of foreign affairs at Paris, strongly urging the delivery of the prisoners by an appeal to the liberal principles and practice of the United States in the protection of neutrals. This was handsomely acknowledged by Mr. Seward, who further took advantage of the opportunity to express the wish on the part of the Government of the United States "that the occasion which had elicited this correspondence might be improved, so as to secure a more definite agreement upon the whole subject by all maritime powers." This was a delicate appeal in behalf of the assertion of the points of the treaty of Paris, and the broader principle of Mr. Marcy's position, which had been urged in the outset of President Lincoln's administration, but which, as we have seen, had been thwarted by the recognition of the belligerent rights of the Southern insurgents.

The Prussian and Austrian Governments, through their respective ministers, also expressed to the Cabinet at Washington their sense of the proceeding of Captain Wilkes as an infringement of the rights of neutrals to which America herself was so firmly pledged, with the suggestion that the demand of England for redress could not be considered unreasonable. "As far as we are informed of them," wrote Count Bernstoff from Berlin, "we entertain the conviction that no terms have been proposed by England by which the dignity of President Lincoln could reasonably be offended." The language of Count de Rechberg in his note to Chevalier de Hulsemann was similar: "According to the notions of international law adopted by all the Powers, and which the American Government has itself often taken as a basis for its conduct, England could not dispense in the present case, to protest against the insult to her flag and demand a just reparation. Moreover, it appears to us that the demands made in this respect by the Cabinet of St. James have nothing hurtful to the Cabinet at Washington, and that the latter may perform an act of equity and moderation without the slightest sacrifice of its dignity." To this Mr. Seward responded, calling the attention of the Imperial Government "to two important facts;—first, that the United States are not only incapable for a moment of seeking to disturb the peace of the world, but are deliberately just and friendly in their intercourse with all foreign nations; and, secondly, that they will not be unfaithful to their traditions and policy as an advocate of the broadest liberality in the appreciation of the principles of international law to the conduct of maritime warfare." As in his reply to M. Thouvenel, Mr. Seward hoped that the occasion would be improved to the revision and further settlement on these questions of the Law of Nations. As the conclusion of this diplomatic history, we may cite the note by Earl Russell, on the 23d of January, in reply to Mr. Seward's dispatch to Lord Lyons, combatting several of the American Secretary's positions, especially in reference to the assertion that "the circumstance that the Trent was proceeding from a neutral port to another neutral port does not modify the right of the belligerent capture." That, said Earl Russell, would authorize the capture of a packet carrying a Confederate agent from Dover to Calais, or a Confederate vessel of war might capture a Cunard steamer on its way from Halifax to Liverpool on the ground of its carrying dispatches from Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams. "Her Majesty's Government, therefore," he added, "think it necessary to declare that they would not acquiesce in the capture of any British merchant ship in circumstances similar to those of the Trent, and that the fact of its being brought before a Prize Court, though it would alter the character, would not diminish the gravity of the offence against the law of nations, which would thereby be committed." In reference to the assertion of Mr. Seward that "if the safety of the Union required the detention of the captured persons it would be the right and duty of his Government to detain them," he regarded him as "entirely losing sight of the vast difference which exists between the exercise of an extreme right and the commission of an unquestionable wrong. His frankness compels me to be equally open and to inform him that Great Britain could not have submitted to the perpetration of that wrong, however flourishing might have been the insurrection in the South, and however important the persons captured might have been."

Mr. Sumner, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, made the delivery of Messrs. Mason and Slidell the occasion of an elaborate speech in the Senate, in which he asserted that the transaction, as it had been managed by Great Britain and the United States, had furnished a legal precedent, affecting the rights and privileges of neutrals of the utmost value. Approving of the action of the Government in the surrender of the ambassadors, he maintained that their seizure without taking the ship into port was wrong, inasmuch as a Navy officer is not entitled to substitute himself for a judicial tribunal; that had the ship been carried into port, it would not have been liable on account of the rebel emissaries, neutral ships being free to carry all persons not apparently in the military or naval service of the enemy; that dispatches were not contraband of war so as to render a neutral ship liable to seizure. In considering these propositions he aptly exhibited the position of the two parties to the discussion by an illustration from Shakspeare. "In the struggle between Laertes and Hamlet, the two combatants exchanged rapiers; so that Hamlet was armed with the rapier of Laertes and Laertes was armed with the rapier of Hamlet. And now on this sensitive question a similar exchange has occurred. Great Britain is armed with American principles, while to us is left only those British principles which, throughout our history, have been constantly, deliberately, and solemnly rejected." The result in his view was a great triumph. "Mr. President," he added, "let the rebels go. Two wicked men, ungrateful to their country, are let loose with the brand of Cain upon their foreheads. Prison doors are opened; but principles are established which will help to free other men and to open the gates of the sea. Never before in her active history has Great Britain ranged herself on this side. Such an event is an epoch. *Novus sæclorum nascitur ordo.* To the liberties of the sea this Power is now committed. To a certain extent this course is now under her tutelary care. If the immunities of passengers, not in the military or naval service, as well as of sailors, are not directly recognized, they are at least implied; while the whole pretension of impressment, so long the pest of neutral commerce, and operating only through the lawless adjudication of a quarter-deck, is made absolutely impossible. Thus is the freedom of the seas enlarged, not only by limiting the number of persons who are exposed to the penalties of war, but by driving from it the most offensive pretension that ever stalked upon its waves. To such conclusion Great Britain is irrevocably pledged. Nor treaty nor bond was needed. It is sufficient that her late appeal can be vindicated only by a renunciation of early, long-continued tyranny. Let her bear the rebels back. The consideration is ample; for the sea became free as this altered Power went forth upon it, steering westward with the sun, on an errand of liberation." *

In this simple manner, disembarrassed of the grave perplexities which seemed to beset the subject, diplomacy peacefully handled a matter which at the time seemed to be portentous with all the horrors of a great maritime war. The case will always be of interest as an important precedent in international law. It bears a lesson not less significant to the moralist and statesman of the danger to which two highly civilized nations may be exposed by an imperfect understanding of one another's motives, the excitement of popular clamor, and the unbridled license of a free press. The outburst of indignation, the loss of temper, the misstatement of facts, confusion of ideas, the illiberal and unworthy suggestions of the English press on the receipt of the news of the capture of the Confederate ambassadors, were all based upon the idea, utterly without foundation, of a violent aggression upon British rights in a hostile spirit by an unfriendly nation. For weeks a fanaticism of hostility to the United States seemed to possess the British public. We may smile now as we read the plethoric denunciations charged with fury and malice, but they were irritating and sad enough at the time when they were coupled with the active preparations for war by the British Government. Not even in the first fury of the invasion of Russia, it was said, were such violent imprecations uttered, or such belligerent designs manifested.

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* Speech of Mr. Sumner in the Senate, January 9, 1862.

"The blood and spirit of John Bull," said the London *Chronicle* of November 30th, "appear to be thoroughly aroused upon the subject of the American insult to the British flag;" and any one who would learn what such an exhibition was like, may acquire the information from a perusal of any file of the newspapers of the ensuing month.

Captain Wilkes, a courteous gentleman, with whom the British public might have been supposed to have been better acquainted, from his scientific pursuits, was absurdly converted into a desperate ogre, full of senseless fury—something between a rogue and a pirate in his assaults upon British virtue. His portrait was thus drawn in a journal of large popular circulation:* "Captain Wilkes is unfortunately but too faithful a type of the people in whose foul mission he is engaged. He is an ideal Yankee, swagger and ferocity, built up on a foundation of vulgarity and cowardice—these are his characteristics; and these are the most prominent marks by which his countrymen, generally speaking, are known all over the world. To bully the weak, to triumph over the helpless, to trample on every law of courtesy and custom, willfully to violate all the more sacred instincts of human nature; to defy as long as danger does not appear, and as soon as real peril shows itself, to sneak aside and run away—these are the virtues of the race which presumes to announce itself as the leader of civilization and the prophet of human progress in these latter days. By Captain Wilkes let the Yankee breed be judged!"

Similar malicious nonsense was uttered in far higher quarters. If the journal just quoted was not to be judged by the loftiest standard, what could be said for the cultivated *Saturday Review*, the organ of the University men, with its pride and punctilio and lofty superciliousness? It had been the pleasure of this journal throughout the American difficulty, to suggest doubts and disparagements, and throw contempt on the Northern cause. Its language now was that of studied insolence. "The American Government," it proclaimed, "is in the position of the rude boor, conscious of infinite powers of annoyance, destitute alike of scruples and of shame, recognizing only the ultimate arbitration of the strong arm which repudiates the appeal to codes, and presuming, not without reason, that more scrupulous States will avoid or defer such an arbitration as long as ever they can." *Punch*, which, with all its comic exaggerations, is fairly supposed to represent the prevalent sense and feeling of the British people on all popular questions, was ludicrously offensive. Two of its caricatures, when the fever in London was at its height, at the beginning of December, were aimed at poor Wilkes and his unfortunate act of patriotism. In one of these a huge truculent sailor of Her Majesty's service, confronted a peaked, diminutive Bobadil, of the make usually accorded to slave drivers, whose petty stature was eked out by an American flag. "You do what's right, my son," says the swag-bellied Britain, "or I'll blow you out of the water." "Now mind you, sir," says the same pretty personage to a splay-footed, knock-kneed representation of an American Commodore, "no shuffling—an ample apology—or I will put the matter into the hands of my lawyers, Messrs. Whitworth and Armstrong."

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* The London (Sunday) *Times*.

Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, was, somehow, throughout the affair, an object of especial hostility. He was absurdly charged with the project of uniting South and North in an attack on Canada, with a bitter hostility to England, and the *Times*, forgetting all sense of decency, in an editorial article reported a silly story that "during the visit of the Prince of Wales to America, Mr. Seward took advantage of an entertainment to the Prince, to tell the Duke of Newcastle he was likely to occupy a high office—that when he did so, it would become his duty to insult England, and he should insult her accordingly." Any nonsense seemed worthy of publication in the excited state of the public mind.

Nor were these exhibitions of feeling confined to idle talk. The Government itself gave currency to the alarm by the energy and rapidity of its warlike demonstrations. Throughout Sunday, the first of December, there was the greatest activity at the Tower of London in the packing and dispatch of twenty-five thousand stand of arms for Canada. A Royal Proclamation appeared on the fourth, prohibiting the exportation of "arms, ammunition, military stores, including percussion caps and fuses, and also lead." Shipments of saltpetre were stopped at the Custom-House. No insurance could be got on American vessels. The shipping interest was thrown prostrate. The already considerable naval squadron on the North American and West India stations were largely reinforced. Powerful ships were mustered on all sides, both for the regular service and for transports. Whitworth and Armstrong guns were in requisition. The heavily armed Warrior, the boast of the British navy, an iron clad steamship of gigantic size which had been recently completed to the admiration of all England, was fitted out in haste for immediate service. The Persia, the most expeditious of the transatlantic steamships, was taken from the mail service to New York, to transport troops to Canada. Various batteries and battalions of famous regiments were forwarded to the probable seat of war, as it was considered in the excitement of the hour. The naval preparations made for the reinforcement of Admiral Milne on the North American and West India stations would, it was expected, place at his disposal at the beginning of February, for the blockade, if necessary, of the Atlantic ports, a fleet of sixty-five sail, including seven line-of-battle ships, thirty-three frigates and twenty-five corvettes and sloops. "Of the squadron of frigates," said the London *Times*, "each vessel has been carefully chosen for its great sailing speed, high steam power and heavy armament; and never yet has such a fleet of picked cruisers been sent against any enemy." The list included, beside the Warrior, the newly-built iron plated vessels the Black Prince, Resistance and Defence, which it was confidently asserted, could pass unharmed by the harbor defences of New York, and dictate their own terms of peace by laying the fleet broadside unto the streets of that city.*

In the midst of this reckless depreciation and threatening tumult, one manly voice was heard to assure America of the sympathy of the great middle class of England. The eloquent John Bright, the representative of the Manchester school in Parliament, the tribune of the people, and the sturdy defender of liberal principles and progress, in a speech at Rochdale on the evening of the day of the royal prohibitory proclamation, took up the cause of the injured United States. He called to mind the origin of the civil war, not as with the colonies, in the war of Independence, in taxation, for the representation of the South, by virtue of its slave privileges, was in excess; not, as had been alleged, on account of tariffs, for they had been passed while the South was dominant in the national councils, but in a question of a graver character. "For thirty years," said this calm observer, "slavery has been constantly coming to the surface as the difficulty of American politicians. The object of the South in seceding is to escape from the votes of those who wish to limit the area of slave territory." He pointed out the geographical, the moral necessity of the struggle, and vindicated the course of the North. He thought the seizure on board the Trent might be unauthorized, and presciently pronounced that reparation would be made. Deprecating war, he dwelt upon the number of Englishmen who had emigrated to America, upon the unprecedented development of the North, and prayed it might not be said among her growing millions "that in their darkest hour of need the English people, from whom they sprung, had looked with icy coldness on the trials and sufferings of their terrible struggle." The friend and associate of the great commoner in political life, Richard Cobden, also spoke for peace. He thought the question suggested a complete revision of the International Maritime Code.. On a previous occasion, at the same place, he said, "My friend, Mr. Bright, and myself have been called the two members for the United States," and, looking to the enlargement of the cotton producing area, had expressed his regret "that the most extensive, the most ingenious, and the most useful industry that ever existed on this earth, should have been dependent almost exclusively for the supply of the raw material upon an institution, the institution of Slavery, which we must all regard as a very unsafe foundation, and, in fact, to the permanency of which we can none of us, as honest men, wish God speed." He also, in reference to sending troops to Canada, deprecated the policy of arming to the teeth in time of peace.* It was significant of the excitement caused by the Trent affair that Lord Shaftesbury, who was supposed to share these views in November, now declined an invitation to a united prayer-meeting at his favorite Exeter Hall, on the ground that his presence might interfere with the idea that the country was united on the redress question.

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* *Times*, January 7, 1862.

When the appropriation for the army expenses, incurred by the British Government in its conduct of the Trent affair, were under discussion in Parliament in its next session, Mr. Bright, from his seat in the House of Commons, prefaced a pungent review of the course pursued with the remark, "It is not customary in ordinary life for a person to send a polite messenger with a polite message to some friend or neighbor, or acquaintance, and at the same time to send some man of portentous strength handling a gigantic club, making every kind of ferocious gesticulation, and at the same time, to profess that all this is done in the most friendly and courteous manner." In conclusion, he added that he was rejoiced to see a remarkable change operating from day to day, in Parliament and out of it, since the course of the American Government had been known. "There is a more friendly feeling," he said, "towards the Washington Government. A large portion of the people of this country see in it a government, a real government, not a government ruled by a mob and not a government disregarding law. They believe it is a government struggling for the integrity of a great country. They believe it is a country which is the home of every man who wants a home, and, moreover, they believe this—that the greatest of all crimes which any people in the history of the world has ever been connected with—the keeping in slavery four millions of human beings—is in the providence of a power very much higher than that of the Prime Minister of England, or of the President of the United States, marching on, as I believe, to its entire abolition."*

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* Speech at Rochdale, June 26, 1861.

General Scott, a few days after his arrival in Paris, published a letter dated the 2d of December, in which the case of the Trent was stated with great sagacity and moderation, and the action subsequently taken by his government at home presciently indicated. "The two nations," said he, "are united by interests and sympathies—commercial, social, political, and religious, almost as the two arms to one body, and no one is so ignorant as not to know that what harms one must harm the other in a corresponding degree." The words of the venerable Nestor were poured like oil upon the troubled waters. Doubtful, however, of the issue, he hastily returned to America by the steamer which had carried him to Europe.

In America the denunciations of the British Press and the warlike preparations of the Government, were received as thunder out of a clear sky. Contrary to the predictions and suppositions abroad of a popular desire in the United States for a war with Great Britain, and an overwhelming manifestation of this feeling, never was the voice of the people more calmly uttered or their deference to the Administration more assuredly exhibited than in their acquiescence in the whole treatment of this matter by the Secretary of State. The popular fury was all on the other side of the Atlantic. Undoubtedly much soreness was created by the affair ; but it arose, not from an unwillingness on the part of the American people to do justice in the premises, or, if that were asked, conciliate the offended pride of England, but from the conviction forced upon the nation of the utter lack of sympathy with its cause, or of consideration for the unhappy position—the severe trials which the country was suffering—of the influential classes of Great Britain. An opportunity was given to England to exhibit generosity and magnanimity without cost to herself, or sacrifice of her cherished rights, to secure the good will of America for generations. It was perverted to the exercise of spleen and malignity. The most uncharitable constructions prevailed and the most violent threats were uttered. Something of this, indeed, was modified when word of the better temper of the American people was carried across the Atlantic by the weekly steamers ; nor could so sad an event as the sudden death of the Prince Consort, which occurred at Windsor on the 14th of December, be without its influence in calming the utterly unprovoked and unnecessary popular rage.

Simultaneously with the agitation of the Trent affair in England, no little excitement was produced by the circumstances growing out of the arrival at Southampton of the Confederate war steamer Nashville, in which it was at first supposed Messrs. Mason and Slidell had sailed from South Carolina. This vessel which became noted for her depredations on the high seas and for her success in breaking the blockade of the Southern coast, was a side-wheel steamer of about 1,200 tons, built in New York, and previously to the rebellion had been regularly running between that city and Charleston. After the secession she was retained at the Southern harbor, and fitted out as a Confederate war steamer. She was armed with two 12-pounder rifled cannon, and carried a crew of eighty men. Her commander, Captain Robert B. Pegram, a Virginian by birth, had passed nearly thirty-two years in the United States Navy, in which, at the outbreak of the rebellion, he held the rank of a lieutenant. He had been in service in the Paraguay and Japan expeditions, and of late had been engaged in the Coast

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* Speech of Mr. Bright in the House of Commons, February 17, 1862.

Survey. Attaching himself to the fortunes of the South, he was commissioned by President Davis a lieutenant in the navy of the Confederate States. Three of the officers of the Nashville, Lieutenants Fauntleroy and Bennett and a midshipman named Cary, had been in the action at Manassas or Bull Run.

Leaving Charleston on the night of the 26th of October, the Nashville escaped the vessels of the blockading squadron off the harbor, made her way in safety to Bermuda, where she obtained supplies of coal and stores from the inhabitants, while her officers were received with cordiality by the best society at St. George's; and leaving the island on the 5th of November, crossed the the Atlantic to the British coast, where, off the entrance to the Irish Channel, on the 19th of the month, fell in with the ship Harvey Birch of New York, three days out from Havre. With his guns unlimbered and decks ready for action, Captain Pegram, flying the Confederate flag, bore down upon the packet and ordered her captain to haul down his United States flag and come on board the Nashville. This demand was complied with, when Captain Nelson was informed that he was a prisoner of war by authority of the Confederate States, and was ordered to send his crew on board the steamer as quickly as possible. On reaching the deck they were put in irons. The Harvey Birch, meanwhile stripped of her fresh stores and provisions, was set on fire, and in sight of her captain and crew burnt to the water's edge. The Nashville kept on her course to England, steamed up the English Channel, and entering the port of Southampton, the prisoners were liberated and their necessities supplied by the United States Consul.

The arrival of the Nashville under such circumstances afforded a striking test of the British Neutrality Proclamation. "Pirate or privateer, Confederate or corsair," said the London *Star* of November 22d, in an article on the affair, "the steamer Nashville now lying in Southampton waters is a hideous blemish upon our nineteenth century civilization. A wild beast, or a bird of prey is an object of dread, but not of abhorrence. The Nashville is both—a floating den of brutalized human beings, making destruction the immediate business of their lives—the destruction of unarmed and unoffending ships, carrying on a peaceful traffic upon the common highway of nations. If Captain Pegram holds a commission or a letter of marque, the law of nations—to our shame be it said—will have nothing to say to him; but the moral sense of mankind will still pronounce his achievement an outrage on humanity." Great Britain, in fact, by the Neutrality Proclamation, had committed herself to the toleration, and, in a certain degree, to the support of such outrages against a nation with which she was at peace. The Nashville was allowed the same protection in her harbor, and looked upon in the same light as the United States steamer James Adger which preceded her, and the Tuscarora which speedily followed her.

The last named vessel, one of the new screw corvettes of the American navy, mounting nine guns, commanded by Captain T. A. Craven arrived at Southampton on the 8th of January, and anchored in the harbor a mile from the dock where the Nashville remained ready for sailing, having received supplies of coal, water and provisions. The Tuscarora kept her fires up, her officers watching the slightest movements of the Confederate vessel, ready to pursue her to sea, and, if possible, to effect her capture or destruction. The official authorities took every precaution to prevent any infringement of the neutrality of the port. Captains Craven and Pegram were reminded of the international law requiring an interval between belligerent ships leaving the harbor; and the frigates Dauntless and Shannon, at the Isle of Wight, were kept on the alert to hinder any attack in British waters. Various manœuvres were practiced by the Tuscarora to secure a meeting with her antagonist at sea.

To set a limit to the embarrassments arising from the protection given to the combatants, an order was issued by Earl Russell from the Foreign Office on the 31st of January, prohibiting "during the continuance of the present hostilities between the Government of the United States of North America and the States calling themselves the Confederate States of America, all ships of war and privateers of either belligerent, from making use of any port or roadstead in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or in the channels, islands, or in any of her Majesty's colonies, or foreign possessions or independencies, or of any waters subject to the territorial jurisdiction of the British crown, as a station or place of resort for any warlike purposes, or for the purpose of obtaining any facilities of warlike equipment." In agreement with the course taken by France and Spain, any armed vessel of either party entering a British harbor was to be allowed to remain there not longer than twenty-four hours, except under stress of weather or absolute need of repairs, when supplies were to be permitted to be taken in only for immediate use. In case vessels of both the belligerents were in the harbor at the same time, an interval of twenty-four hours was required between their departures.

At length, after nearly three months passed in the Southampton docks, the Nashville took her departure on the 3d of February. The Tuscarora which had been sailing in the channel, returned that morning to the Isle of Wight, when her officers were notified by the British authorities that the Nashville having given notice of her immediate departure, Captain Craven would be required to remain behind the prescribed twenty-four hours. The Nashville accordingly was enabled to get to sea under favorable circumstances, which precluded any attempt at her capture. The Tuscarora remained two days at Southampton, when she sailed to Gibraltar to maintain the blockade of the Sumter.

CHAPTER XLVII.

OPINIONS OF LEADING ENGLISHMEN ON THE REBELLION.

In connection with the exhibition of British feeling in the affair of the Trent, noticed in the last chapter, it may not be amiss to present some of the more marked declarations of English statesmen which up to this time had, with more or less of authority, influenced public opinion on the motives and probable termination of the struggle in America. The public opinion, indeed, of England in regard to the rebellion, as an index of the political fortunes of two great nations, will present hereafter one of the most instructive subjects for study of the times. We have in a previous chapter* glanced at some of its main conditions and alluded to the apparent incongruity where a people, pledged in so many ways to the support of constituted authority and to sympathy with the cause of human freedom, was ranged on the side of a wanton rebellion devoted to the maintenance and extension of slavery. The secret of this inconsistency was, from one motive or other, a paramount distrust of the growing power of the United States, and a belief that somehow the interest of Great Britain, or at least of the classes holding the unfavorable opinions, would be promoted by the separation of the North and South. Divide and govern, is an old maxim of political craft, which it was evident was not overlooked on this occasion. The wish in this matter was, doubtless, father to the thought. At any rate, it is curious to note at how early a period and how firmly the conclusion was established in the minds of numerous leading Englishmen, that the continuance of the States of America under one government was neither practicable nor desirable. Looking over the record of these opinions, we find them from different points of view, with some memorable exceptions, terminating in the same result. Their unhesitating declarations of the apparently inextricable embarrassment of the situation, afford a very appreciable measure of the resolution and strength of the American Government in asserting its rights and dignity.

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* Chap. xxviii., vol. 1.

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, whose claims to attention rested on his position as a large landholder and representative of the English aristocratic social system, as well as on that success in literature by which he had held the ear of the reading public throughout the world for a whole generation, on the 25th of September, 1861, in an annual address before the Herts' Agricultural Society at Hitchin, took occasion to present his views of the conflict in America, which he affected to regard as a philosophical student of history. "That separation," said he, "between North and South America, which is now being brought about by civil war, I have long foreseen and foretold to be inevitable; and I venture to predict that the younger men here present will live to see not two, but at least four, and probably more than four, separate and sovereign commonwealths arising out of those populations which a year ago united their Legislature under one President, and carried their merchandise under a single flag. And so far from thinking that these separations will be injurious to the future destinies of America, or inflict a blow on that grand principle of self-government in which the substance of liberty consists, I believe that such separations will be attended with happy results to the safety of Europe and the development of American civilization. If it could have been possible that, as population and wealth increased, all the vast continent of America, with her mighty seaboard and the fleets which her increasing ambition as well as her extending commerce would have formed and armed, could have remained under one form of government, in which the Executive has little or no control over a populace exceedingly adventurous and excitable, why then America would have hung over Europe like a gathering and destructive thunder cloud. No single kingdom in Europe could have been strong enough to maintain itself against a nation that had once consolidated the gigantic resources of a quarter of the globe. And this unwieldy extent of empire would have been as fatal to the permanent safety and development of America herself as the experience of all history tells us an empire too vast to maintain the healthy circulation of its own life-blood ever has been, since the world began, to the races over which it spread. By their own weight the old colossal empires of the East fell to ruin. It was by her own vast extent of dominion that Rome first lost her liberties, under the very armies which that extent of dominion compelled her to maintain, and finally rendered up her dominion itself to the revenge of the barbarians she had invaded. The immense monarchy founded by the genius of Charlemagne fell to pieces soon after his death, and those pieces are now the kingdoms of Europe. But neither the Empires of the East, nor the Commonwealth of

Rome, nor the Monarchy of Charlemagne could compare in extent and resources with the continent of America; and you will remember that the United States claimed a right to the whole of that continent, and the ultimate fate of America under one feeble Executive—the feeblest Executive perhaps ever known in a civilized community—would have been no exception to the truths of history and the laws of nature. But in proportion as America shall become subdivided into different States, each of which is large enough for greatness—larger than a European Kingdom—her ambition will be less formidable to the rest of the world, and I do not doubt that the action of emulation and rivalry between one free State and another, speaking the same language and enjoying that educated culture which inspires an affection for all that enlightens and exalts humanity, will produce the same effects upon art and commerce, and the improvements in practical government which the same kind of competition produced in the old commonwealths of Greece."

Earl Russell, the head of the Foreign office, in a speech at a dinner given to him at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in October, said of the elements of the American question, that while he believed slavery to be the original cause of the conflict, yet that the two parties were not now contending upon that question; nor yet with respect to Free Trade and Protection, of which much had been said in England, "but contending as so many States of the old world have contended, the one side for empire, the other for power." His views of the probable nature or result of the conflict were expressed in these reflections:—"Far be it from us to set ourselves up as judges in this matter, but I cannot help asking myself, as affairs progress in the contest, to what good end can it lead? Supposing this contest ended, by the reunion of its different parts, and that the South should agree to enter again with all the rights of the Constitution, should we not again have that fatal subject of Slavery brought in along with them? That subject of Slavery which caused, no doubt, the disruption, we all agree, must, sooner or later, cease from the face of the earth. Well, then, gentlemen, as you will see, if this quarrel could be made up, should we not have those who differed from Mr. Lincoln at the last election carried back into the Union, and, thus, sooner or later, the quarrel would recommence, and, perhaps, a long civil war follow? On the other hand, supposing the United States completely to conquer and subdue the Southern States, supposing that should be the result of a long military conflict, supposing that should be the result of some years of civil war, should we not have the material prosperity of that country in a great degree destroyed, should we see that respect for liberty which has so long distinguished our North American brethren, and should we not see those Southern men yielding to force, and would not the North be necessitated to keep in subjection those who had been conquered, and would not that very materially interfere with the freedom of nations? And, if that should be the unhappy result to which we at present look forward, if by means such as these the reunion of the States should be brought about, is it not the duty of those men who have embraced the precepts of Christianity to see whether this conflict cannot be avoided?"

The Earl of Shrewsbury, in a speech before the City of Worcester Conservative Association, October 30th, regarding the question from the point of view of his order, saw "in America democracy on its trial and how it failed. He was afraid that the result would show that the separation of the two great sections of that country was inevitable, and those who lived long enough would, in his opinion, see an aristocracy established in America." On the same occasion, Sir John Pakington, a member of Parliament and ex-minister, declared his belief "that from President Lincoln downwards there was not a man in America who would venture to tell them that he really thought it possible that by the force of circumstances the North could hope to compel the South to again join them in constituting the United States."

Sir John Bowring, the eminent scholar and ambassador, a writer on public affairs of reputation, in a letter written to a friend, which was printed in the papers of the day, evidently regarded the separation of the two portions of the Union as a probable if not desirable result. "Your American fratricidal war," he said, "is the most dreadful event of modern history. No doubt it will be controlled and directed for good, but that it should end in any thing but a separation of the North from the South seems to me quite improbable if not impossible. I do not think the Federal Government has shown any disposition to put down slavery, or is entitled to sympathy on that account. It does not appear to me that you are justified in calling the Southerners 'rebels.' Our statesmen of the time of George III. called Washington and Franklin by that name. I do not believe the cotton lords have had any thing to do with the opinion which you believe to be unfriendly to the United States, but which assuredly it is not. I never knew a question in which there was so much unanimity of views among our wise and good men as this. We want you as freemen, as philosophers, as statesmen, as Christians, to settle in peace what war will never settle. As you are now unfortunately engaged in a policy which compels—or, at all events employs—acts of despotism which would seem incredible, and are taking measures against British subjects, which we should tolerate from no other government, I think your North would be stronger without a discontented South. If it choose to tax itself by monstrous and unfriendly tariffs, and to repudiate the doctrines of free trade, so gloriously triumphant elsewhere, so be it, but let it not blame the South for throwing off the fetters. We want you to be strong, your policy makes you feeble; rich, you are doing your best to impoverish yourselves; brotherly, and you are engaged in Cain-like slaughtering; happy, and what woes are in all your households; peaceful, and you are busied in wide, wasting war. I write very friendly to you. My heart is full. I love America too well, too many dear and valued friends, not to desire her progress and prosperity. I have no interest to bias my judgment, and all my prejudices have been on your side of the Atlantic." *

Lord Stanley, in an address at Lynn in November, handled the American question, if not with sympathy for the North, at least with discrimination and respect for its motives in accepting the conflict. He had travelled in the United States in the summer of 1848, he said, at the time of the disturbances in Ireland, and had been amused to find well informed persons attach serious importance to those movements, and even recommend the immediate recognition of the independence claimed by the rebel agitators. There were intelligent people in America, he thought, who might be equally amused with English criticism on their affairs. He himself "did not think it reasonable to blame the Federal Government for declining to give up half their territory without striking a blow in its defence. They have met with an armed insurrection, and they have opposed it by an armed resistance." How long it was wise to continue that resistance appeared to him as a matter of policy, the great difficulty of the question; for he held the opinion which, as he asserted, generally prevailed in England,

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* Sir John Bowring to Dr. Macgowan, Larksbear, Exeter, November 7, 1861.

as true, that sooner or later a Southern Confederacy would be established. "I do not come to that conclusion," he said, "so much because I doubt the power of the North to subjugate the South, though the Southern States are unfavorable for an aggressive, and favorable for a defensive war; but the real difficulty seems to be this, supposing the Federal Government to succeed in its object and to reconquer the Southern States, what will they do with them when they have got them? If their rights are not to be restored after the conquest, a powerful military government must be established, and those principles of independence and self-government which are the very basis of American institutions, must for a time at least be in abeyance. At present the position of the rival States is very like the case of a husband instituting legal proceedings in order to bring back his wife to live with him. He may attain his object, but the question is, whether, when he has attained it, he has done much to contribute to his own domestic happiness." Accepting the success of the Southern States as a probable conclusion of the struggle. it was idle, he said, "to talk as some people do, of its leading to an utter breakdown of the American power. The North would still retain eighteen millions of the most intelligent and intellectual population in the world, a territory as large as all Europe, excluding Russia, and unlimited political resources. They would also possess a political Union which they have not had for thirty years, and unless this war was protracted for a series of years, whatever burdens it might impose, they would still continue more lightly taxed than any powerful nation upon earth." In conclusion, he recommended great caution in judging of the affairs of America, and candidly pointed out the causes which tended to bias the judgment of his countrymen, giving in a single sentence the key to the prevailing British opinions. "There are many classes in this country," he said, "who by their habits, education, social and political position, are naturally disposed to judge unfavorably any thing relating to Republican power: and there are also many persons who have watched with a feeling of uneasiness and anxiety the growth of a power whose increasing wealth and population have been more rapid than that of any European state, who were in point of population, almost the equal of the United Kingdom, and who have shown some disposition to use their power in an arrogant and hostile spirit."

Mr. Layard, the eminent Eastern traveller, now a member of the House of Commons, representing the liberal party, in an address to his constituents at Southwark, on the 21st of November, while he defended the neutrality policy of the country, claimed that the conduct of Parliament showed no lack of sympathy with the national cause in America. The subject had been resolutely kept out of the House of Commons. Nobody at the last session had ventured to bring it forward. "Everybody felt as if it was a domestic calamity, and spoke of it with bated breath." England, he said, sympathized with the American people because Slavery was at the bottom of the struggle, and had led to it. "Let the Americans," he said, "settle their own quarrels. All we can hope is, that when this terrible contest has an end, whatever that end may be, the liberty, happiness and freedom of these magnificent States may not be impaired."

"The people of the North," admitted Mr. Kinglake, the eminent member of Parliament, in a speech to his constituents at Bridgewater, in one of the last days of December, pending the Trent negotiation, "had some ground for supposing that the strong feeling which this country entertained on the subject of slavery might affect the course which we should take when the Southern States became separated from the North. They seemed to think that on that ground we should at once have declared for them in order to abolish the evil which we had always denounced. We did nothing of the sort; and from what has happened, I draw a lesson in support of a principle I have always enforced—that in the policy of states, a sentiment never can govern. Depend upon it that the relations between various states will always, or almost always, be governed by their great interests."*

Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in an address before the University of Edinburgh, of which he was Rector, on the 10th of January, 1862, reviewed the American question in its relation to British opinion. Claiming that a general feeling of good will toward America existed in England at the outbreak of the rebellion, he asserted as a fact of which there could be no doubt that when that event occurred, "all the thinking men in the country came to the conclusion, that in the war which had commenced, the party which was apparently the strongest, had committed themselves to an enterprise which would probably prove to be completely beyond their powers. We saw there a military undertaking of tremendous difficulty, and a military undertaking which, if it was to be successful, would only be the preface and introduction to political difficulties far greater than even the military difficulties of the war itself." The opinion he maintained was conscientiously formed, yet it naturally produced irritability and shocked the sensibility of the Northern States. Turning to the demand for redress in the Trent affair, he saw much for congratulation in the spirit in which the difficulty had been adjusted. "Let us look," he said, "at the bright side of that which the Americans have done. Let us look back to the moment when the Prince of Wales appeared in the United States of America, and when men by the thousand, by tens of thousands, and by hundreds of thousands, trooped together from all parts to give him a welcome as enthusiastic and as obviously proceeding from the depths of the heart, as if those vast countries had still been a portion of the dominions of our Queen. Let us look to the fact that they are of necessity a people subject to quick and violent action of opinion, and liable to great public excitement—intensely agreed on the subject of the war in which they were engaged, until aroused to a high pitch of expectation by hearing that one of their vessels of war had laid hold on the Commissioners of the Southern States, whom they regarded simply as rebels. Let us look to the fact, that in the midst of that exultation, and in a country where the principles of popular government and democracy are carried to extremes—that even, however, in this struggle of life and death, as they think it to be—that even, while ebullitions were taking place all over the country of joy and exultation at this capture—that even there this popular and democratic Government has, under a demand of a foreign Power, written these words, for they are the closing words in the dispatch of Mr. Seward, 'The four Commissioners will be cheerfully liberated.'" In conclusion, he deprecated any spirit of hostility which would lead to what "though not a civil war, would be next to a civil war—any conflict between America and England."*

The eminent political economist, Mr. John Stuart Mill, whose opinion we have already cited on the elements of the American Union,† took the first occasion upon the settlement of the right of search question on board of the Trent, to review the origin, history, and some of the probable consequences of the existing rebellion. Choosing for his medium of communication with the public the pages of *Fraser's Magazine*, a periodical widely read by the most cultivated and intellectual classes, he there presented, with his accustomed strength of analysis, clearness of perception, and felicity of statement, a view of the struggle, strongly in favor of the position taken by the North. Looking at the rise of the insurrection, he found its open avowed cause in the determination to resist the limitation of Slavery, in other words, resolutely to support it, for, in consequence of the exhausting cultivation of the land, it was a well established conclusion, he maintained, that if the institution were kept within its existing limits it would die. "Confine it," said he, "to the present States and the owners of slave property will either be speedily ruined or will have to find means of reforming and renovating their agricultural system, which cannot be done without treating the slaves like human beings, nor without so large an employment of skilled—that is, of free—labor, as will widely displace the unskilled, and so depreciate the pecuniary value of the slave, that the immediate mitigation and ultimate extinction of Slavery would be a nearly inevitable and probably rapid consequence." He looked upon the Republicans, therefore, with their doctrines of restriction, not as an ultra abolition party, (who would interfere with the institution in the States,) but as essentially enlisted in the destruction of a hated evil, and, as such, worthy of respect by the lovers of human freedom in England. But if there were any doubt, he continued, about the position of the North, there could be none whatever about that of the South. "They," said he, "make no concealment of *their* principles. The moment a President was elected of whom it was inferred from his opinions, not that he would take any measures against Slavery where it exists, but that he would oppose its establishment where it exists not—that moment they broke loose from what was, at least, a very solemn contract, and formed themselves into a Confederation, professing as its fundamental principle, not merely the perpetuation, but the indefinite extension of Slavery. And the doctrine is loudly preached through the new Republic, that Slavery, whether black or white, is a good in itself, and the proper condition of the working classes everywhere." He then drew this withering picture of "the peculiar institution." "Let me in a few words," he said, "remind the reader what sort of a thing this is which the white oligarchy of the South have banded themselves together to propagate, and establish if they could, universally. When it is wished to describe any portion of the human race as in the lowest state of debasement and under the most cruel oppression, in which it is possible for human beings to live, they are compared to slaves. When words are sought by which to stigmatize the most odious despotism, exercised in the most odious manner and all other comparisons are found inadequate, the despots are said to be like slave masters or slave drivers. What, by a rhetorical license, the worst oppressors of the human race, by way of stamping on them the most hateful character possible, are said to be, these men, in very truth, are. I do not mean that all of them are hateful personally, any more than all the inquisitors, or all the buccaneers. But the position which they occupy, and the abstract excellence which they are in arms to vindicate, is that which the united voice of mankind habitually selects as the type of all hateful qualities. I will not bandy chicanery about the more or less of stripes or other torments which are daily requisite to keep the machine in working order, nor discuss whether the Legrees or the St. Clairs are more numerous among the slave owners of the Southern States. The broad facts of the case suffice. One fact is enough. There are, heaven knows, vicious and tyrannical institutions in ample abundance on the earth. But this institution is the only one of them all which requires, to keep it going, that human beings should be burned alive. The calm and dispassionate Mr. Olmsted affirms that there has not been a single year, for many years past, in which this horror is not known to have been perpetrated in some part or other of the South. And not upon negroes only; the *Edinburgh Review*, in a recent number, gave the hideous details of the burning alive of an unfortunate Northern huckster by lynch law, on the mere suspicion of having aided in the escape of a slave. What must American Slavery be, if deeds like these are necessary under it? and if they are not necessary and are yet done, is not the evidence against Slavery still more damning? The South are in rebellion not for simple slavery; they are in rebellion for the right of burning human beings alive."

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* London *Times*, January 1, 1862.

* London *Times*, January 13, 1862.

† Ante vol. i. p. 13.

Mr. Mill turned next to a common defence of the Rebellion on the lips of many Englishmen, that the South, having a right to separate, the disunion should have been consented to at the first demand by the North, who in resisting it had committed a similar wrong with the England of George III. in the contest with the American colonies. The answer to this was given with a touch of irony. "This," said he, "is carrying the doctrine of the sacred right of insurrection rather far. It is wonderful how easy and liberal and complying people can be in other people's concerns. Because they are willing to surrender their own pact, and have no objection to join in reprobation of their great grandfathers, they never put themselves the question what they themselves would do in circumstances far less trying, under far less pressure of real national calamity. Would those who profess these ardent revolutionary principles consent to this being applied to Ireland, or India, or the Ionian Islands? How have they treated those who did attempt so to apply them?" In this easy and masterly way the acute dialectician turned the tables upon the accusers of the United States, of the high tory party, who thus saw themselves repudiating the wisdom of their ancestors by which they were accustomed to swear, and contradicting the genius of their order by advocating the lowest pretences of revolutionary license. It was this that made America so impatient of the criticism of England, and judge it to be hypocritical, prejudiced and unfriendly. Looking to Great Britain as the land of all others where the principles of law and order were understood and respected, she had reason to expect that the first grand vindication of her violated Constitution, which had been forced upon her, would receive, if not admiration, at least sympathy and respect. When, on the contrary, the costly effort was received with reproach and pretended contempt, there was little wonder that the nation felt aggrieved. The perplexities and contradictions of the English mind over this very simple affair, in which there should have been in their own avowed rules of judgment room for not a moment's hesitation, present one of not the least noticeable phenomena of this extraordinary period.

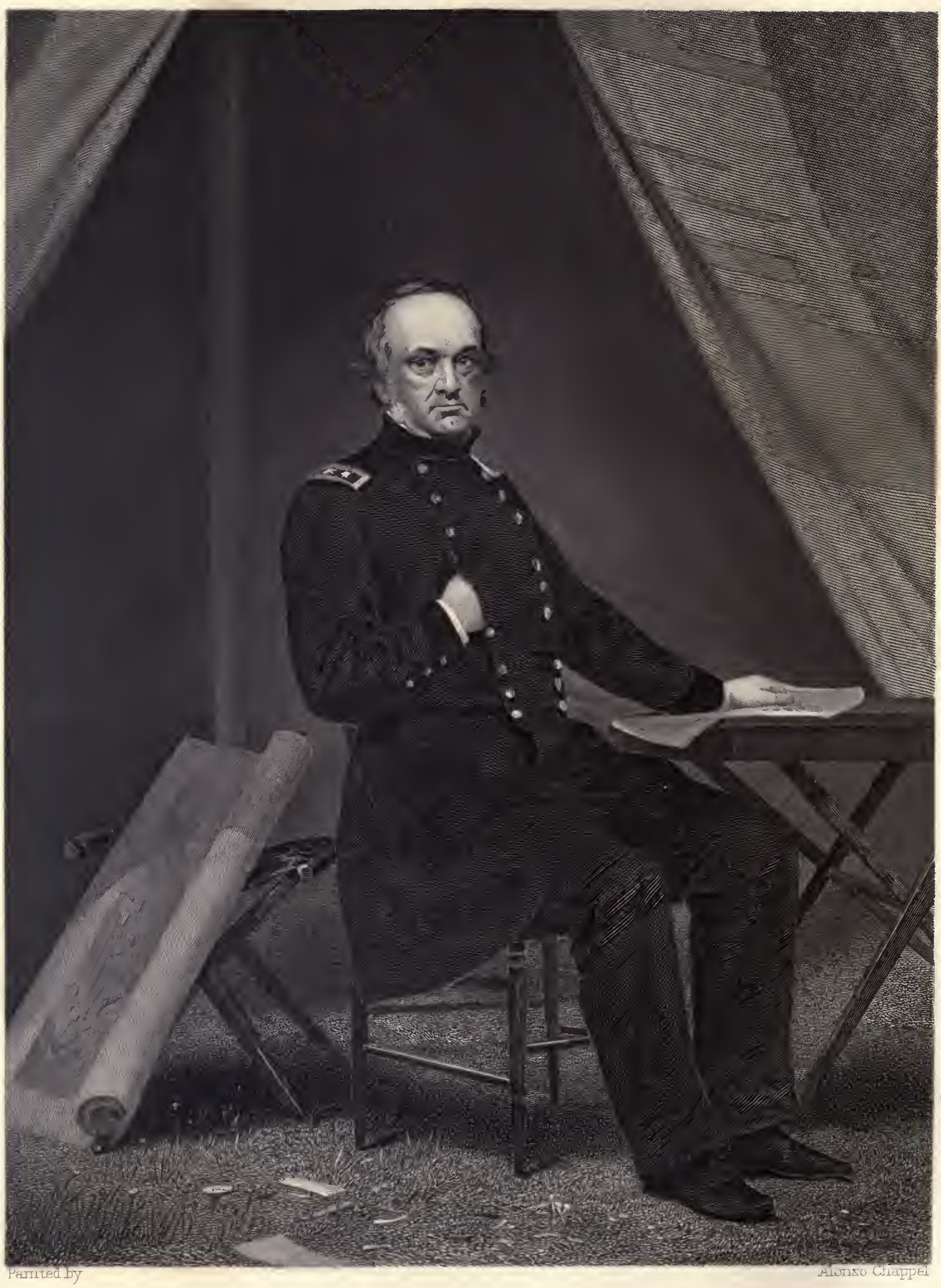
We need not here present Mr. Mill's speculations farther. They will be remembered and sought for with the ablest documents of the time, and read not only for their acuteness at a time when the judgments of very many intelligent Englishmen were very much astray, but as an historical memorial of the perverted reason of the hour which they combated. As an aid to the formation of a sound public opinion in Great Britain respecting the national cause in America, the essay was of the highest importance.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

GENERAL HALLECK'S DEPARTMENT OF MISSOURI, NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1861.

On the removal of General Fremont we have seen General Hunter placed in command of the army in Missouri. The arrangement was a temporary one pending the reorganization of the Department meditated at Washington. By a General Order from the War Office, dated the 9th of November, a week after Fremont's dismissal General Halleck was appointed to the command of the new Department of the Missouri, including the States of Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas, and that portion of Kentucky west of the Cumberland river; the remainder of the last mentioned State being included in the new Department of the Ohio, assigned to General Buel. To General Hunter was given the Department of Kansas, embracing the State of Kansas, the Indian Territory West of Arkansas, and the Territories of Nebraska, Colorado, and Dakota. The Department of Mexico, consisting of the Territory of New Mexico, was assigned to Colonel E. R. S. Canby. The last mentioned officer, on whose patriotism and energy the Government relied not in vain for the preservation, under many difficulties of this imperilled region was a native of Kentucky, a graduate of West Point of 1839, in the same class with General Halleck. Entering the 2d Infantry, he was in 1846 promoted to a 1st Lieutenancy. He served with distinction in the war with Mexico, being brevetted Major, and subsequently Lieutenant-Colonel, for his gallantry in the battles before and at the capture of the capitol. In May, 1861, on the increase of the regular army, he was promoted to the Colonelcy of the new 19th regiment of Infantry. The management of his department of New Mexico required the utmost circumspection and vigilance. The line of the Rio Grande on which above and below the important position of Santa Fe the Government posts were located, as a protection of the country against Indian ravages, was beset by armed bands of insurgents from Texas, where by treason and violence, as we have seen, the enemy had early gained possession of the southerly chain of forts or military stations. Lieutenant-Colonel Baylor, a rebel officer, in August, claimed possession of Arizona, issuing a Proclamation declaring the country under military government as a part of the Confederate States. By the surrender of Fort Fillmore and the other stations below, the National defence became limited to the Forts more immediately around Santa Fe, of which Fort Craig on the south-west, and Fort Union nearer at hand on the north-east, were the most important.

Henry Wager Halleck, the new Commander of the Department including Missouri, like his distinguished associate, General McClellan, was one of the officers of the regular army, whose education and experience led the country to anticipate the greatest benefits from their services at the present time. Both highly accomplished, distinguished for the solidity of their attainments in the profession to which they had been brought up, they had enjoyed in a remarkable degree the confidence and favor of the head of the army, General Scott, at whose recommendation they were at once raised to their eminent positions. It happened also, that each had left the army for the pursuits of civil life. Neither, however, had lost sight of his military calling, and



Painted by Alonzo Chappel

H. W. Halleck

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.

Entered according to act of Congress A D 1862 by Johnson, Fry & Co in the clerks office of the district court for the southern district of NY

each was ready at the first intimation to obey the call of his country. Henry Wager Halleck, was born in the year 1816, in Weston, Oneida county, in the State of New York. After passing some time at Union College, he entered the Military Academy at West Point, as a cadet in 1835, graduated with distinction in 1839, and was brevetted 2d Lieutenant of Engineers. He remained for a year at the Academy as Assistant Professor of Engineering. In 1841, he was Assistant to the Chief Engineer, General Totten, in Washington. His "Papers on Practical Engineering," were published at this time by the Engineer Department. For the next three years he was employed on the fortifications of New York harbor. He then went to Europe in company with Marshal Bertrand, by whom he was introduced to Marshal Soult, then Prime Minister of Louis Philippe, and received every facility in examining the military works of France. After prosecuting similar investigations in Germany, Italy, and England, he returned to the United States at the end of the Mexican war. In 1844, Congress published his "Report on Military Defences." In 1845, he was appointed 1st Lieutenant in the Engineer corps, and was chosen that year by the Committee of the Lowell Institute, at Boston, to deliver one of the regular courses of lectures before the institution. He took for his subject "Military Art and Science." He incorporated the lectures the following year in a volume published at New York, with an introduction on the "Justifiableness of War." The Mexican war then occurring immediately after the battle of Palo Alto, he was sent to California and the Pacific Coast, where he served during the war in both a civil and military capacity. He was present in various engagements with the enemy, particularly at San Antonio, where he marched with about 30 mounted volunteers 120 miles in 28 hours, surprised the enemy's garrison of several hundred men, rescued two naval officers and several marines who were prisoners of war, captured the enemy's flag, two Mexican officers and the Governor's archives, the Governor barely escaping in his night clothes. At Todos Santa, he led into action the main body of Colonel Burton's forces. In the naval descent upon Mazatlan, he acted as aid to Commodore Shubrick, and afterwards as Chief of Staff and Lieutenant-Governor of the city. As Chief Engineer he planned and directed the construction of the fortifications at that place. In 1848, he was brevetted Captain, "for gallant conduct in affairs with the enemy on the 19th and 20th days of November, 1847, and for meritorious service in California." He was Secretary of State of the Province of California, under the military governments of Generals Kearney, Mason, and Riley, from 1847 to the end of 1849; and was a leading member of the Convention in 1849 to form, and of the Committee to draft, the Constitution of the State of California. From 1847 to 1850, he directed and superintended the entire collection of the public revenues in California, amounting to several millions of dollars. His decisions in these collections, assailed at the time, were sustained by the Supreme Court. In July, 1853, he was appointed Captain of Engineers. Seeking more active employment than the army afforded, he resigned August 1st, 1854, and devoted himself to the legal profession. At the outbreak of the rebellion, he was the principal partner in the law firm of Halleck, Peachey and Billings, of San Francisco. He still continued his attention to literary pursuits, and had just published an important book on International Law. In December, 1860, he was appointed Major-General of militia in California, and acted in that capacity till the receipt of his commission as Major-General of the regular army. The latter was dated August 19th, 1861, ranking him third on the list of general officers of that rank; General McClellan and General Fremont, both appointed the 14th of the previous May preceding him. The familiarity of General Halleck with civil affairs, and his legal acumen, no doubt, favored his appointment to a position where judgment in council was as likely to be called for as ability in the field. In his political opinions, General Halleck was understood to belong to the Democratic party.

Summoned from San Francisco by the Government, General Halleck arrived at Washington on the 5th of November, and was immediately after, as we have stated, placed in the charge of the Department of Missouri. Thither he proceeded, taking command at St. Louis on the 19th, when he at once became actively engaged in placing the army at his disposal on an efficient footing to check the aggressive movements of the rebels and the spirit of revolt in the State, which had been encouraged by the renewed efforts of General Price in the southwest. The staff of General Halleck included a number of West Point officers of distinction, several of whom had been his classmates in that institution. At the head of these was Brigadier-General George W. Cullum, an eminent engineer officer who had been engaged in the construction of the most important forts of the country, and had served on the staff of General Scott. The assistant chief of staff, Brigadier-General Schuyler Hamilton, a graduate of West Point, was one of the aids of General Scott through the Mexican war. Not at the time attached to the regular army, on the breaking out of the rebellion, he went to Washington as a private in the New York 7th Militia, when he was again taken on the staff of General Scott with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Captain J. C. Kelton, Assistant Adjutant General at Headquarters; Captain W. McMichael and S. M. Preston, Assistant Adjutant General; Major Robert Allen, Chief Quartermaster; Captain Thomas J. Haines, Chief of Subsistence; Surgeon J. J. B. Wright, Chief Medical Director; T. P. Andrews, Chief Paymaster; Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. McPherson, Assistant Engineer; Colonel George Thom and Colonel R. D. Cutts of the Topographical Department; Captain F. D. Callender, Chief of Ordnance, and Lieutenant-Colonel James Totten, Chief of Artillery, whose services in the campaigns of General Lyons in the State will be remembered; were the other members.

One of the earliest of General Halleck's orders for the regulation of the army excited no little interest at the time, as it was taken as a manifestation of his opinions on the disputed question, now rapidly growing in importance, of the treatment of the slave population or their reception and encouragement by the military authorities within the lines. This much talked of General Order No. 3, dated at St. Louis the 20th of November, ran as follows: "I. It has been represented that important information respecting the numbers and condition of our forces is conveyed to the enemy by means of fugitive slaves, who are admitted within our lines. In order to remedy this evil, it is directed that no such persons be hereafter permitted to enter the lines of any camp, or of any forces on the march, and that any now within such lines be immediately excluded therefrom. II. The General Commanding wishes to impress upon all officers in command of posts and troops in the field the importance of preventing unauthorized persons of every description from entering and leaving our lines, and of observing the greatest precaution in the employment of agents and clerks in confidential positions." The meaning of this order was intelligible enough, but it was thought by many to be ill judged as it obviously abandoned an important means of weakening the resources of the enemy, who, if their slaves remained quietly at home in their usual agricultural pursuits, might with less inconvenience to themselves take the field against the national forces. Those who looked to the abolition of slavery as a necessity for the adequate suppression of the Rebellion, of course, naturally regarded the order with suspicion and dislike. That the order was not intended as a political measure, appears from a letter addressed by General Halleck on the 26th of the following month to General Asboth, then in camp at Rolla, Missouri, in reference to the course of the latter officer in delivering to his master a fugitive who had sought refuge in the camp. "This," wrote General Halleck, "is contrary to the intent of General Order No. 3. The object of those orders is to prevent any person in the army from acting in the capacity of negro catcher or negro stealer. The relation between the slave and his master is not a matter to be determined by military officers, except in the single case provided for by Congress. This matter in all other cases must be decided by the civil authorities. One object of keeping fugitive slaves out of our camps is to keep clear of all such questions. Masters or pretended masters must establish the rights of property to the negro as best they may, without our assistance or interference, except where the law authorizes such interference. Order No. 3 does not apply to the authorized private service of officers, nor to negroes employed by proper authority in camps; it applies only to 'fugitive slaves'. The prohibition to admit them within our lines does not prevent the exercise of all proper offices of humanity, in giving them food and clothing outside, where such offices are necessary to prevent suffering."

Another series of orders by General Halleck was directed to the relief of the Union men of the State, who had been driven from their homes by the lawless insurgents, and to the repression of the wanton injuries and annoyance in the destruction of railway and other property inflicted within the lines of the army. The appearance presented in the streets of St. Louis by the Union refugees, exiled and despoiled of their means of subsistence by the tyranny of the Confederates in the southwestern counties, is described as pitiable in the extreme. The sympathy and sense of justice of General Halleck were aroused by the spectacle, and he determined to administer a remedy which would in some degree relieve the present distress and tend to check the continuance of the evil. His order of December 4th provided a practical remedy. "The law of military retaliation," it ran, "has fixed and well established rules. While it allows no cruel or barbarous acts on our part in retaliation for like acts of the enemy, it permits any retaliatory measures within the prescribed limits of military usage. If the enemy murders and robs Union men we are not justified in murdering and robbing other persons who are, in a legal sense, enemies to our government, but we may enforce on them the severest penalties justified by the laws of war for the crimes of their fellow rebels. The rebel forces in the southwestern counties of this State have robbed and plundered the peaceful noncombatant inhabitants, taking from them their clothing and means of subsistence. Men, women and children have alike been stripped and plundered. Thousands of such persons are finding their way to this city barefooted, half clad and in a destitute and starving condition. Humanity and justice require that these sufferings should be relieved, and that the outrages committed upon them should be retaliated upon the enemy. The individuals who have directly caused these sufferings are at present beyond our reach; but there are in this city, and in other places within our lines, numerous wealthy secessionists who render aid, assistance and encouragement to those who commit these outrages. They do not themselves rob and plunder, but they abet and countenance these acts in others. Although less bold they are equally guilty. It is, therefore, ordered and directed that the Provost Marshal immediately inquire into the condition of the persons so driven from their homes, and that measures be taken to quarter them in the houses and to feed and clothe them at the expense of avowed secessionists, and of those who are found guilty of giving aid, assistance and encouragement to the enemy." A further order of General Halleck issued December 12th, stated that the suffering families driven by the rebels from southwest Missouri, which had already arrived, had been supplied by voluntary contributions made by Union men; that others were on their way, to arrive in a few days, who "must be supplied by charity from men known to be hostile to the Union." A list would be prepared of the terms. Upon those who did not voluntarily furnish their quota a contribution was directed to be levied of ten thousand dollars, in clothing, provisions and quarters, or money in lieu thereof. The levy was to be made upon three classes of persons "in proportion to the guilt and property of each individual: first, those in arms with the enemy who have property in St. Louis; second, those who have furnished pecuniary or other aid to the enemy, or to persons in the enemy's service; third, those who have verbally, in writing or by publication, given encouragement to the insurgents and rebels." Brigadier-General Curtis, B. G. Farrar, Provost Marshal, and Charles Berg, Assessor of the county, were appointed a Board of Assessors to levy the contributions. In case they were not promptly delivered, an execution was to issue, and sufficient property taken to satisfy the assessment. Where buildings, or parts of buildings, were used, or the sufferers quartered on families, care, it was enjoined, should be taken "to produce as little inconvenience to the owners or families as possible, this not being considered a military contribution levied upon the enemy, but merely a collection to be made from friends of the enemy for charitable purposes." Any person so assessed might file with the Provost Marshal an affidavit of his loyalty, and be allowed one week to vindicate his character. If at the end of that time he should not be able to satisfy the Board of his loyalty, the assessment was to be increased ten per cent., and made immediately. Any one attempting to resist the execution of these orders was to be immediately imprisoned, and tried by a military commission. The order was not suffered to remain a dead letter. The tax was imposed upon a number of the wealthiest sympathizers with the rebellion.

To meet the mischievous insurrectionary spirit of a portion of the people of the State, General Halleck by his General Order of December 4th, provided for the treatment of rebels and spies within the camps and lines of the army, who were engaged in giving aid to the enemy by sending him information, laying waste the country and harassing loyal citizens. "All such persons," was the language of the Order, "are by the laws of war in every civilized country, liable to capital punishment. The mild and indulgent course heretofore pursued toward this class of men, has utterly failed to restrain them from such unlawful conduct. The safety of the country and the protection of the lives and property of loyal citizens, justify and require the enforcement of a more severe policy. Peace and war cannot exist together. We cannot at the same time extend to rebels the rights of peace, and enforce against them the penalties of war. They have forfeited their civil rights as citizens, by making war against the Government, and upon their own heads must fall the consequences." Commanding officers were directed to arrest all such persons, and their arms and their personal property required by the army were to be taken possession of, and after condemnation by a military commission, to be applied to the public use. "All persons found in disguise as pretended loyal citizens or under other false pretences, within our lines, giving information to or communicating with the enemy, will be arrested. tried, comdemned, and shot as spies. It should be remembered that in this respect, the laws of war make no distinction of sex. All are liable to the same penalty." Such were the vigorous regulations prescribed by General Halleck for the protection and preservation of the State of Missouri. To enforce them, or rather to prevent the occasion for their enforcement, it was necessary that he should at once send a sufficient army into the insurgent districts, and to this he earnestly directed his efforts. The most important of the military movements which, before the end of the month, effectually arrested the depredations of the enemy, was entrusted to an officer destined to become a prominent actor in the War for the Union.

General John Pope, who was employed to defeat the plans of General Price and his associates, was born in Kentucky, about the year 1822. He entered the Military Academy at West Point from Illinois, in 1838, and graduated in due course in 1842, with the appointment of Brevet 2d Lieutenant of Engineers. He was with the army of General Taylor in the Mexican war, was brevetted 1st Lieutenant, for gallant and meritorious conduct at Monterey, and also received the brevet rank of Captain for like services at Buena Vista. In 1856, he was appointed to the full rank of Captain in the corps of Engineers. When the army was called into the field for the suppression of the Rebellion, Captain Pope's name was on the first list of appointments of May 17th, 1861, as Brigadier-General of Volunteers. He was immediately engaged in active service in Missouri.

In July, shortly after the appointment of General Fremont to the Western Department, General Pope was assigned to the command of the forces in Northern Missouri. His Proclamation at St. Charles, on the 19th of July, on entering upon this duty announced his determination to maintain the authority of the Government in that region, which was much disturbed by insurgent marauders, by the most effective measures. "I warn all persons," said he, "taken in arms against the Federal authority, who attempt to commit depredation upon public or private property, or who molest unoffending and peaceful citizens, that they will be dealt with in the most summary manner, without awaiting civil process." For the safety of the important line of communication of the Hannibal and St. Joseph's railroad, he assigned Brigadier-General Hurlburt to the command of a sufficient force, stationed at different points, for the protection of the road.

General Pope's plan in case of a continuance of the outrages committed, was to hold the people of the country where they occurred responsible. Committees of Safety were appointed in the districts, and influential Secessionists placed upon them charged to preserve the peace. Accordingly, when on the 18th of August, General Pope received word that a train conveying troops on the railroad, had been fired into by a band of secessionists near Palmyra, and one soldier killed and several wounded ; he immediately ordered General Hurlburt to take a sufficient force to Marion county and quarter them on the people, levying a contribution of horses, mules, and provisions, and other things of use to the soldiers, to the amount of ten thousand dollars, and five thousand dollars on the citizens of Palmyra as a penalty for the outrage. The result of this was, that the citizens set themselves earnestly at work to hunt out the miscreants and repress the disorder. An infamous outrage on the 3d of September, in the partial destruction by fire, by the insurgents of the railway bridge, at Little Platte river, near St. Josephs, so that a passenger train at night was precipitated into the abyss, killing 17, and wounding many others, exhibited the necessity for the strong measures of suppression set on foot by General Pope.

On the 7th of December, General Pope was assigned by General Halleck to the command of all the national forces between the Missouri and Osage, embracing a considerable part of the army led by General Fremont to Springfield. General Price was then on his advance from the South, threatening to occupy this central region with his marauders; and it was with the view of interposing between his army on the Osage and the recruits, represented as between four and six thousand strong, with a large train of supplies, on their way to him from the Missouri river, that General Pope projected an expedition which was attended with the most brilliant success. It was an important moment in the affairs of Missouri. The rebel General Price, with indomitable energy, was straining every effort to rouse the disaffected to arms. His proclamation of November was one of the most stirring appeals of the war: if words could have mustered a great army, the Confederate cause would have been assured in Missouri. He began by reminding his "fellow-citizens" of his call in June to "command a handful of Missourians, who nobly gave up home and comfort to espouse, in that gloomy hour, the cause of their bleeding country, struggling with the most causeless and cruel despotism known among civilized men." Their chief magistrate, he said, alluding to Governor Jackson, has called for fifty thousand men, "and to that call less than five thousand responded out of a male population exceeding two hundred thousand. One in forty only stepped forward to defend with their persons and their lives the cause of constitutional liberty and human rights." There were difficulties, he admitted, at the outset. Allowances were to be made for a defective military organization, the supposed want of arms, the enforced retreat southward, the blockade of the river, and the presence of an armed foe. But six months had passed, the harvests had been reaped, the Confederate army had sustained itself in the field, the country was groaning from the inflictions of the enemy, and where were the fifty thousand men? In every form of adjuration, by appeals to patriotism, to pride, to interest, the fifty thousand were summoned. "Where," he asked, "are those fifty thousand men? Are Missourians no longer true to themselves? Are they a timid, time-serving race, fit only for subjugation to a despot? Awake, my countrymen, to a sense of what constitutes the dignity of true greatness of a people! A few men have fought your battles. A few have dared the dangers of the battle-field. A few have borne the hardships of the camp,—the scorching of the sun of summer, the frosts of winter, the privations incident to our circumstances, fatigue, hunger and thirst, often without blankets, without shoes, with the cold, wet earth for a bed, the sky for a covering, and a stone for a pillow; glad only to meet the enemy in the field, where some paid the noblest devotion known among men on earth to the cause of your country and your rights with their lives. But where one has been lost by battle, many have been lost by disease induced by privation. During all these trials we murmured not. We offered all we had on earth at the altar of our common country, our own beloved Missouri; and we only now ask our fellow citizens, our brethren, to come to us, and help maintain what we have gained, to win our glorious inheritance from the cruel hand of the spoiler and oppressor. Come to us, brave sons of the Missouri valley! Rally to our standard! I must have fifty thousand men. I call upon you, in the name of your country, for fifty thousand men.

Do you stay at home to take care of us and your property? Millions of dollars have been lost because you stayed at home. Do you stay at home for protection? More men have been murdered at home than I have lost in five successive battles. Do you stay at home to secure terms with the enemy? Then I warn you, the day may soon come, when you will be surrendered to the mercies of that enemy, and your substance given to the Hessians and the Jayhawkers. . . Boys and small property-holders have in the main fought the battles for the protection of your property, and when they ask, where are the men for whom we are fighting, how can I explain, my fellow-citizens? I call upon you, by every consideration of interest, by every desire of safety, by every tie that binds you to home and country, delay no longer. Let the dead bury the dead. Leave your property to take care of itself. Come to the army of Missouri—not for a week, or a month, but to free your country.

> "Strike, till each armed foe expires!
> Strike, for your country's altar fires!
> Strike, for the green graves of your sires,
> God and your native land!"

"The burning fires of patriotism lead us on just at the moment when all might forever be saved. Numbers give strength. Numbers intimidate the foe. Numbers save the necessity of often fighting battles. Numbers make our arms irresistible. Numbers command universal respect and insure confidence. . . Come with your guns of any description, that can be made to bring down a foe. If you have no arms, come without them. Bring cooking utensils and rations for a few weeks. Bring no horses to remain with the army, except those necessary for transportation. We must have fifty thousand men. . . . Be yours the office to choose between the glory of a free country and a just government, or the bondage of your children. I, at least, will never see the chains fastened upon my country. I will ask for six and a half feet of Missouri soil on which to repose, for I will not live to see my people enslaved. Are you coming? Fifty thousand men of Missouri shall move to victory with the tread of a giant. Come on, my brave fifty thousand heroes—gallant, unconquerable Southern men! We await your coming."

What might have been the success of this appeal under more favorable circumstances we know not; that a considerable number of the population of western and central Missouri were disposed to meet the requisition, there is evidence enough. It was to break up the combination and prevent the new force taking the field, that General Pope set his command in motion. The history of the movement is thus given in his official report. "I encamped," he writes, "on the 15th of December, eleven miles southwest of Sedalia. That the enemy might be thoroughly misled as to the destination of the expedition, it was given out that the movement was upon Warsaw, and the troops pursued the road to that place several miles beyond Sedalia. I threw forward on Clinton four companies of the 1st Missouri Cavalry, under Major Hubbard, with orders to watch any movement from Osceola, to prevent any reconnoissance of our main column, and to intercept any messengers to the enemy at Osceola. On the 16th I pushed forward by forced march twenty-seven miles, and with my whole force, occupied at sunset a position between the direct road from Warrensburg to Clinton, and the road by Chilhowee, which latter is the road heretofore pursued by returning soldiers and by recruits. Shortly after sunset, the advance consisting of four companies of Iowa Cavalry, under Major Torrence, captured the enemy's pickets at Chilhowee, and learned that he was encamped in force (about twenty-two hundred) six miles north of that town. . . . After resting the horses and men for a couple of hours, I threw forward ten companies of cavalry, and a section of artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, Seventh Missouri regiment, in pursuit, and followed with my whole force, posting the main body between Warrensburg and Rose Hill, to support the pursuing column. I, at the same time, reinforced Major Hubbard with two companies of Merrill's Horse, and directed him, in order to secure our flank in the pursuit, to push forward as far as possible toward Osceola. This officer executed his duty with distinguished ability and vigor, driving back and capturing the pickets, and one entire company of the enemy's cavalry, with tents, baggage, and wagons. One of the pickets and two wagons were captured within the lines of Rains' division, encamped north of the Osage River. . . . The column under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown continued the pursuit vigorously all night of the 16th, all day of the 17th, and part of the night of the same day, his advance consisting of Foster's company of Ohio Cavalry, and a detachment of thirty men of the 4th regular cavalry, occupying Johnstown in the course of the night. The enemy began to scatter as soon as the pursuit grew close, disappearing in every direction in the bushes, and by every by-path, driving their wagons into farm-yards remote from the road, and throwing out their loads. As these wagons were all two-horse wagons of the country, and had been in fact taken by force from the farm-houses, it was impossible to identify them. When our pursuit reached Johnstown, about midnight on the 17th, the enemy, reduced to about five hundred, scattered completely, one portion fleeing precipitately toward Butler, and the other toward Papinsville. . . . The main body of my command moved slowly toward Warrensburg, awaiting the return of the force under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, which proceeded from Johnstown to scour the country south of Grand River to the neighborhood of Clinton. In these operations sixteen wagons, loaded with tents and supplies, and one hundred and fifty prisoners, were captured. The enemy's force was thoroughly dispersed.

"On the morning of the 18th Lieutenant-Colonel Brown's force rejoined the command. Knowing that there must still be a large force of the enemy north of us, I moved forward slowly, on the 18th, toward Warrensburg, and, when near that town, the spies and scouts I had sent out before marching from Sedalia, in the direction of Lexington, Waverly, and Arrow Rock, reported to me that a large force was moving from the two latter places, and would encamp that night at the mouth of Clear Creek, just south of Milford. . . . I posted the main body of my command between Warrensburg and Knob Noster, to close all outlet to the south between those two points, and despatched seven companies of cavalry, (five of the Ohio 1st and two of the 4th regular cavalry,) afterward reinforced by another company of regular cavalry, and a section of artillery, all under command of Colonel J. C. Davis, Indiana Volunteers, to march on the town of Milford, so as to turn the enemy's left and rear, and intercept his retreat to the northeast, at the same time directing Major Marshall, with Merrill's regiment of horse, to march from Warrensburg on the same point, turning the enemy's right and rear, and forming junction with Colonel Davis. . . . The main body of my command occupied a point four miles south, and ready to advance at a moment's notice, or to intercept the enemy's retreat south. Colonel Davis marched promptly and vigorously with the forces under his command, and at a late hour in the afternoon came upon the enemy encamped in the wooded bottom-land on the west side of Blackwater, opposite the mouth of Clear Creek. His pickets were immediately driven in across the stream, which was deep, miry, and impassable, except by a long, narrow bridge, which the enemy occupied in force, as is believed, under Colonel Magoffin.

"Colonel Davis brought forward his force, and directed that the bridge be carried by assault. The two companies of the 4th regular cavalry being in advance, under the command respectively of Lieutenant Gordon and Lieutenant Amory, were designated for that service, and were supported by the five companies of the 1st Iowa Cavalry. Lieutenant Gordon of the 4th cavalry, led the charge in person, with the utmost gallantry and vigor, carried the bridge in fine style, and immediately formed his company on the opposite side. He was promptly followed by the other companies. The force of the enemy posted at the bridge retreated precipitately over a narrow open space, into the woods, where his whole force was posted. The two companies of the 4th cavalry formed in line at once, advanced upon the enemy, and were received with a volley of small-arms, muskets, rifles, and shot-guns. One man was killed and eight wounded by this discharge. With one exception all belonged to Company D, 4th cavalry, Lieutenant Gordon. Lieutenant Gordon himself received several balls through the cap. Our forces still continuing to press forward, and the enemy finding his retreat south and west cut off, and that he was in presence of a large force, and at best could only prolong the contest a short time, surrendered at discretion. His force, reported by colonel commanding. consisted of parts of two regiments of infantry and three companies of cavalry, numbering in all thirteen hundred men, among whom there were three colonels, (Robinson, Alexander, and Magoffin,) one lieutenant-colonel, (Robinson,) one major, (Harris,) and fifty-one commissioned company officers. About five hundred horses and mules, seventy-three wagons heavily loaded with powder, lead, tents, subsistence stores, and supplies of various kinds, fell into our hands, as also a thousand stand of arms. The whole force captured, with their train, were marched into the camp of the main body, reaching there about midnight. Many arms were thrown away by the enemy, in the bushes and creek, when he surrendered, and have not yet been found. The weather was bitterly cold. and the troops marched as early as possible the next morning for Sedalia and Otterville. The forces under Colonel Davis behaved with great gallantry, and the conduct of Colonel Davis himself was distinguished. I desire to present to your special notice Colonel J. C. Davis, Indiana Volunteers; Major Hubbard, 1st Missouri Cavalry; and Lieutenant Gordon, 4th regular cavalry. Both officers and men behaved well throughout. Within five days the infantry composing this expedition have marched one hundred miles, the cavalry more than double that distance—have swept the whole country of the enemy west of Sedalia, as far as Rose Hill, to a line within fifteen miles of the Osage—have captured nearly fifteen hundred prisoners, twelve hundred stand of arms, nearly one hundred wagons, and a large quantity of supplies. The march alone would do credit to old soldiers, as it gives me pleasure to state that it has been performed with cheerfulness and alacrity. The troops reoccupied their camps at Sedalia and Otterville just one week after they marched out of them."*

General Halleck in a dispatch to General Pope, congratulated his command on the "brilliant success" of the expedition, and trusted that it would be the precursor of further victories. Among the prisoners taken were Colonel Magoffin, brother of the Governor of Kentucky, two rebel colonels, and various wealthy and influential property-holders of the State engaged in the rebellion. The movement was followed up in excursions of the Union troops to Lexington, where a large foundry and various rebel craft on the river were destroyed, and their visits to other quarters, breaking up the insurgent organizations, and compelling the army of General Price to seek subsistence and safety in its old haunts on the borders of Arkansas.

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* John Pope, Brigadier-General Commanding, to Captain J. C. Kelton, A. A. G., Department of the Missouri.

Simultaneously with the news of the success of General Pope, word was brought to St. Louis of a desperate act of aggression by the insurgents in the burning of various bridges on the west Missouri railroad at Sturgeon, Centralia, Mexico, Jefferson, and Warrentown, with the destruction of numerous culverts, water stations, telegraph wires, and other materials, an extensive spoliation all the more formidable from its plan of concerted action and the comparative vicinity of the region where the crime was committed to the headquarters of the army at St. Louis. The outrage was thought by General Halleck to demand the most energetic action. He accordingly, on the 22d of December, issued a stringent order well calculated, supported as it was by a sufficient military authority, to suppress further injuries of the kind. Insurgent rebels, it stated, scattered throughout the Northern counties of the State occupied by the Union troops, under the guise of peaceful citizens, had resumed their occupation of burning bridges and destroying railroads and telegraph wires. These men, it declared "are guilty of the highest crime known to the code of war, and the punishment is death. Any one caught in the act will be immediately shot; and any one accused of this crime will be arrested and placed in close confinement until his case can be examined by a military commission, and if found guilty, he also will suffer death. Where injuries are done to railroads or telegraph lines, the commanding officer of the nearest post will impress into service for repairing damages, the slaves of all secessionists in the vicinity, and, if necessary, the secessionists themselves and their property. Any pretended Union men having information of intended attempts to destroy such roads and lines, or of the guilty parties, who does not communicate such intention to the proper authorities, and give aid and assistance in arresting and punishing them, will be regarded as *particeps criminis*, and treated accordingly. Hereafter the towns and counties in which such destruction of public property takes place, will be made to pay the expenses of all repairs, unless it be shown that the people of such towns or counties could not have prevented it, on account of the superior force of the enemy." Within five days after the issue of this order, it was reported that ten bridge burners had been shot, and fifty were in close confinement.[*] By an order of December 26th, General Halleck announced the enforcement of martial law in the city of St. Louis, and further declared that it would be enforced in and about all the railroads of the State, without interfering he added, with the jurisdiction of the court loyal to the Government of the United States, and which will aid the military authorities in enforcing order and punishing crimes.

General Hunter, in his Department of Kansas, was disposed to exhibit at least equal vigor. A letter, which he addressed on the 2d of December, from his headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, to the Trustees of Platte City, in the adjoining county of Missouri, in reference to the incursions across the border of a rebel leader of that district, will show the spirit of his administration. It read —"Gentlemen: Having received reliable information of depredations and outrages of every kind, committed by a man named Si Gordon, a leader of rebel marauding bands, I give you notice that unless you seize and deliver the said Gordon to me at these headquarters, within ten days from this date, or drive him out of the county, I shall send a force to your city with orders to reduce it to ashes, and to burn the house of every secessionist in your county and to carry away every negro. Colonel Jennison's regiment will be entrusted with the execution of this order." The attention of seventeen prominent rebels mentioned by name, were called to the requirements of the note. The early presence of General Prentiss, commanding in North Missouri, with his troops in the rebellious town, and the vigorous policy which he adopted towards those who favored the rebellion, relieved General Hunter's small command of the unpleasant necessity indicated in his letter.

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[*] *New York Tribune*, December 28th, 1861.

The "rough and ready" spirit of Colonel Jennison commanding the 1st Kansas cavalry, an officer who brought to the war a hatred of rebellion fortified by his participation in the anti-slavery struggle in the settlement of Kansas, is sufficiently indicated in his previous November proclamation to the people of Jackson, Lafayette, Cass, Johnson, and Pettis counties, Missouri. "I have come among you with my command," was his language on that occasion, "under the authority of the General Government, for the purpose of protecting the supply trains, and all other property of the United States Government, and for the purpose of throwing a shield of protection and defence around all men who are loyal to that Government. No excesses will be committed by any soldier in my command. We march to enforce the laws and sustain the Government. Every loyal citizen is expected to give evidence of his loyalty by active efforts for the protection of the flag. For four months our armies have marched through your country; your professed friendship has been a fraud; your oaths of allegiance have been shams and perjuries. You feed the rebel army, you act as spies, while claiming to be true to the Union. We do not care about your past political opinions; no man will be persecuted because he differs from us. But neutrality is ended. If you are patriots you must fight; if you are traitors you will be punished. The time for fighting has come. Every man who feeds, harbors, protects, or in any way gives aid and comfort to the enemies of the Union, will be held responsible for his treason with his life and property. While all the property of Union men and all their rights will be religiously respected, traitors will everywhere be treated as outlaws—enemies of God and man, too base to hold any description of property, and having no rights which loyal men are bound to respect. The last dollar and the last slave of rebels will be taken and turned over to the General Government. Playing war is played out, and whenever Union troops are fired upon the answer will boom from cannon, and desolation will follow treason. Loyal citizens will be fully remunerated for all property taken from them for the use of the army. All the land between Fort Leavenworth and the headquarters of the army of the West is under the jurisdiction of the United States, and we propose to have a regular road over it and sure communication through it, no matter at what cost of rebel treasure and blood. It is hoped that you will see the necessity of abiding by the laws and actively sustaining them. But if you rise and arm against the Government we have sworn to protect, the course I have briefly marked out I will follow to the letter." When the local annals of the border counties of Missouri and Kansas shall be fully written, they will supply many curious pages of startling interest in the history of this sad war of the Rebellion, which was destined to call into action in its progress the best and worst passions of the American people. In different portions of the country the war naturally assumed various characters. On the Atlantic Coast it was conducted by great fleets and armies on the scale, and with some of the emotions of a contest urged with a foreign enemy; in the West and South-west on the debatable border ground where the same State furnished combatants to both armies, the struggle almost of necessity acquired a personal bitterness and hostility under the stimulus of partisan warfare. There it was emphatically a war of individuals, and every resource of men always accustomed to rely upon their own exertions was brought into requisition. In future days battles like those fought in Virginia may be repeated on other soil, but the border struggles of the West of the present day will remain unique in history.

In a remoter region than Kansas, Colonel Canby's Department of New Mexico meanwhile was seriously threatened by the advancing enemy from the South, a horde of Texan invaders, led by Brigadier-General Sibley, recently Major 1st Dragoons in the United States service. At the end of December, this rebel officer issued a proclamation to the people of New Mexico denouncing the National Government, and demanding aid and allegiance to his army of invasion. In the month of February, the two forces met in serious conflict in the vicinity of Fort Craig, when after some manœuvering on the right bank of the Rio Grande the enemy under command of General Sibley—with a view of obtaining the advantage on the opposite heights, or cutting off the communication with the fort from above,—crossed to the Eastern side whither they were pursued by Colonel Canby and brought to an engagement. The battle which has its name from Fort Craig, or as it is sometimes called from a neighboring village Valverde, took place on the 21st of February, 1862. It was fought from 9 o'clock in the morning until the close of the day. Colonel Canby's force in the engagement was about 1500 regulars and volunteers of the department, a portion of the latter commanded by the famous Kit Carson, the type of the hardy, adventurous, military pioneer. The force of the enemy is stated at from 1500 to 2,000. The battle in fact, commenced on the 20th, when an unsuccessful attempt was made to bring the volunteers into action against the enemy's batteries. The Texans, however, though they held their position, were annoyed by the capture during the night of over two hundred of their mules.

"The fight," says a New Mexico correspondent of the *Missouri Republican*, "commenced in the morning, between a portion of our troops, under the command of Colonel Roberts, and the enemy across the Rio Grande, with varied success, until toward one or two o'clock of that day. Colonel Canby then crossed the river in force, with a battery of six pieces, under Captain McRea of the cavalry, but detailed in command of the battery; also, a small battery of two howitzers. The enemy were supposed to have seven or eight pieces. The battle commenced by the artillery and skirmishers, and soon became general. Towards evening the most of the enemy's guns were silenced. They, however, made a desperate charge on the howitzer battery, but were repulsed with great loss. Captain McRea's battery was defended by Captain Plympton's company of United States infantry and a portion of Colonel Pino's regiment of New Mexican volunteers. The Texans now charged desperately and furiously with picked men about six hundred strong. They were armed with carbines, revolvers, and long seven-pound bowie-knives. After discharging their carbines at close distance, they drew their revolvers and rushed on the battery in a storm of grape and canister. The Mexicans of Pino's regiment were panic-stricken, and most ingloriously fled. Captain Plympton and his infantry stood their ground and fought nobly, till more than one-half were numbered with the dead. With his artillerymen cut down, his support either killed, wounded, or flying from the field, Captain McRea sat down calmly and quietly on one of his guns, and with revolver in hand, refusing to fly or desert his post, he fought to the last, and gloriously died the death of a hero, the last man by his guns. The Texans suffered terribly in this charge. Many officers distinguished themselves on this day. Major Donaldson, who was the chief Aid of Colonel Canby, acted bravely, and was conspicuous on every part of the field. His horse was wounded in several places, but the Major was, fortunately for the service, not injured. The celebrated Kit Carson, in command of a regiment of volunteers, who were deployed as skirmishers, did good service during the action, and behaved well. We have, however, to name the loss of Lieutenants Michler and Stone, who, like Captain McRea, nobly and bravely maintained the honor of our flag to the last, and gloriously died the death of patriots. Many other officers were wounded." The Union loss in this engagement is stated at sixty-two killed, and one hundred and forty wounded; that of the enemy supposed to be larger, is not known. Captain McRea fell in the prime of early manhood. He was a native of North Carolina. A graduate of West Point of 1851, he entered active service as a Lieutenant of mounted rifles, and had recently been appointed Captain in the 3d regular cavalry. Captain Nathaniel Michler, of the engineers, was a native of Pennsylvania, and a graduate of West Point of 1848.

After the battle, the enemy leaving Fort Craig behind them, advanced northwardly and took possession of Albuquerque and Santa Fe. They were unable, however, to attack the National troops in their stronghold of Fort Union, which was shortly after reinforced by a body of volunteers from the adjacent territory of Colorado. The march of this regiment, 960 strong, from Denver city to the relief of Fort Union, over a region presenting all the difficulties of a mountain wilderness, is one of the truly heroic incidents of the war. It is stated that they accomplished forty miles a day, during the last four days, when they heard the fort was in danger of falling. This force joined to the troops at the fort, presently advanced and met the enemy at Apache Pass, about twenty miles from Santa Fe. The conflict was severe, resulting in a Union loss of one hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and missing; while that of the foe is stated at twice the number; ninety-three rebels were taken prisoners, of whom thirteen were officers. This defeat of the rebels repaired the previous disaster, and leaving the Union forces in secure possession of the two military strongholds of the country, Fort Craig and Fort Union, baffled the attempt of the insurgents to add New Mexico to the Confederacy.

With the vigorous and auspicious movements in General Halleck's Department which we have described, ended the year in Missouri—a year of much anxiety and novel experience for the State. But a comparatively small portion of its surface had escaped the visitations of war. In a table before us, fifty-three places—cities, towns, villages, and river banks, are enumerated as the scenes of various battles and skirmishes. From the northern line of the Hannibal and St. Joseph's railroad, to the border of Arkansas, by the Missouri, the Osage and the shore of the Mississippi, there was scarcely a county of importance which had not witnessed the contest with armed rebellion. In these various engagements, commencing with Booneville, on the 17th of June, and ending with General Pope's successes in December, the aggregate loss, taking the killed, wounded, and prisoners on both sides, has been calculated at about 10,000. The number of killed and wounded in this estimate was far greater on the Confederate side; Carthage, Wilson's Creek, Fredericktown, and Belmont, furnishing the largest numbers. The surrender of Lexington gave the enemy a large excess of prisoners.*

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* Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia, 1861, article *Missouri*, p. 496

CHAPTER XLIX.

AFFAIRS IN VIRGINIA—MESSAGE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS, ETC.

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1861.

On the 13th of November General Dix, from his headquarters at Baltimore, addressed a proclamation to the people of Accomac and Northampton counties, Virginia, constituting what is called "the eastern shore," announcing that the military forces of the United States were about to enter that region "as a part of the Union." The paper was particularly guarded in its reference to the preservation of the rights of person and property, and especially announced that "the condition of any person held to domestic servitude," was not to be interfered with. To make this delicate point thus politely conveyed in the euphemism for the institution somewhat more assured, it was then added that the command of the expedition was intrusted to Brigadier-General Henry H. Lockwood, of Delaware, "a State identical in some of the distinctive features of its social organization with your own." It was stated that the design of the mission was to reopen commercial and other intercourse with the loyal States, to reëstablish the lights interrupted on the coast; and, in fine, to "put an end to the embarrassments and restrictions brought upon the region by a causeless and unjustifiable rebellion." To those who wantonly resisted the force about to be sent, the severest punishment warranted by the laws was threatened. Four thousand troops were sent across the frontier from Maryland to second the injunctions of this message. They found the people generally disposed to yield to an argument so convincingly supported. General Lockwood advanced to the headquarters of the rebels at Drummondtown, the county seat of Accomac, without other interruption than the obstructed state of the roads. Before his arrival the insurgents in arms had disbanded, and there consequently being no enemy to meet in the field, the troops quietly restored the authority of the United States. An important portion of Virginia was thus diverted from active coöperation with other portions of the State in the furtherance of the rebellion.

In the following March an election was held in the 1st Congressional District of Virginia, of which these counties formed a part when Mr. Joseph Segar was chosen their representative in the National Congress.

A second general fast-day was observed in the Confederate States on the 15th of November, in accordance with the following proclamation by President Davis: "Whereas, it hath pleased Almighty God, the Sovereign Disposer of events, to protect and defend the Confederate States hitherto, in their conflict with their enemies, and to be unto them a shield; and, whereas, with grateful thanks we recognize His hand and acknowledge that not unto us, but unto Him belongeth the victory; and in humble dependence upon His Almighty strength, and trusting in the justness of our cause, we appeal to Him, that He may set at naught the efforts of our enemies, and put them to confusion and shame; now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, in view of the impending conflict, do hereby set apart Friday, the 15th day of November, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer; and I do hereby invite the reverend clergy and people of these Confederate States to repair on that day to their usual places of public worship, and to implore the blessings of Almighty God upon our arms, that he may give us victory over our enemies, preserve our homes and altars from pollution, and secure to us the restoration of peace and prosperity."

On the 18th of November the Confederate Congress met in a second session at Richmond. A quorum composed of the members of six States was present. The next day the customary message was received from President Davis. Like other documents of its kind, from this source it may, of course, be accepted as an authoritative exposition of the hopes and prospects of the rebellion as its instigators were desirous they should appear in the eyes of the world. Much doubtless lay concealed beneath the surface, but we can offer the reader no better evidence at least of the determined will which directed the movement, than the successive, confident, unyielding messages of Jefferson Davis. If there were assumptions in these documents, they none the less supplied motives to the people of the Confederate States for vigorous action. The message commenced with the expression of thankfulness, usual in such papers, for the returns of agriculture, with which it coupled a new development in the manufacturing arts "The few weeks," was its language, "which have elapsed since your adjournment, have brought us so near the close of the year that we are now able to sum up its general results. The retrospect is such as should fill the hearts of our people with gratitude to Providence for His kind interposition in their behalf. Abundant yields have rewarded the labor of the agriculturist, whilst the manufacturing industry of the Confederate States was never so prosperous as now. The necessities of the times have called into existence new branches of manufacture, and given a fresh impulse to the activity of those heretofore in operation. The means of the Confederate States for manufacturing the necessaries and comforts of life within themselves, increase as the conflict continues, and we are gradually becoming independent of the rest of the world for the supply of such military stores and munitions as are indispensable for war."

This was succeeded by a rapid, general review of the military movements following upon Sumter. "The operations of the army, soon to be partially interrupted by the approaching winter, have afforded a protection to the country, and shed a lustre upon its arms, through the trying vicissitudes of more than one arduous campaign, which entitle our brave volunteers to our praise and our gratitude. From its commencement up to the present period, the war has been enlarging its proportions and expanding its boundaries so as to include new fields. The conflict now extends from the shores of the Chesapeake to the confines of Missouri and Arizona; yet sudden calls from the remotest points for military aid have been met with promptness enough, not only to avert disaster in the face of superior numbers, but also to roll back the tide of invasion from the border. When the war commenced the enemy were possessed of certain strategic points and strong places within the Confederate States. They greatly exceeded us in numbers, in available resources, and in the supplies necessary for war. Military establishments had been long organized, and were complete; the navy and, for the most part, the army, once common to both, were in their possession. To meet all this we had to create not only an army in the face of war itself, but also military establishments necessary to equip and place it in the field. It ought, indeed, to be a subject of gratulation that the spirit of the volunteers and the patriotism of the people have enabled us, under Providence, to grapple successfully with these difficulties. A succession of glorious victories at

Bethel, Bull Run, Manassas, Springfield, Lexington, Leesburg, and Belmont, has checked the wicked invasion which greed of gain and the unhallowed lust of power brought upon our soil, and has proved that numbers cease to avail when directed against a people fighting for the sacred right of self-government and the privileges of freemen. After seven months of war, the enemy have not only failed to extend their occupancy of our soil, but new States and Territories have been added to our Confederacy, while, instead of their threatened march of unchecked conquest, they have been driven, at more than one point, to assume the defensive; and, upon a fair comparison between the two belligerents as to men, military means, and financial condition, the Confederate States are relatively much stronger now than when the struggle commenced."

Of the relations of the Confederate government to the States of Missouri and Kentucky it was said: "Since your adjournment, the people of Missouri have conducted the war, in the face of almost unparalleled difficulties, with a spirit and success alike worthy of themselves and of the great cause in which they are struggling. Since that time Kentucky, too, has become the theatre of active hostilities. The Federal forces have not only refused to acknowledge her right to be neutral, and have insisted upon making her a party to the war, but have invaded her for the purpose of attacking the Confederate States. Outrages of the most despotic character have been perpetrated upon her people; some of her most eminent citizens have been seized and borne away to languish in foreign prisons, without knowing who were their accusers or the specific charges made against them, while others have been forced to abandon their homes, their families, and property, and seek a refuge in distant lands. Finding that the Confederate States were about to be invaded through Kentucky, and that her people, after being deceived into a mistaken security, were unarmed, and in danger of being subjected by the Federal forces, our armies were marched into that State to repel the enemy, and prevent their occupation of certain strategic points which would have given them great advantages in the contest—a step which was justified, not only by the necessities of self-defence on the part of the Confederate States, but also by a desire to aid the people of Kentucky. It was never intended by the Confederate Government to conquer or coerce the people of that State; but, on the contrary, it was declared by our generals that they would withdraw their troops if the Federal Government would do likewise. Proclamation was also made of the desire to respect the neutrality of Kentucky, and the intention to abide by the wishes of her people as soon as they were free to express their opinions. These declarations were approved by me, and I should regard it as one of the best effects of the march of our troops into Kentucky, if it should end in giving to her people liberty of choice and a free opportunity to decide their own destiny according to their own will."

A compliment was then paid to the Navy, which had shown itself "effective in full proportion to its means." Many difficulties, it was acknowledged, had arisen in the transportation of the mails in which the breaking up of the old system, so liberally conducted by the United States, must have been deeply felt. "The absorption," it was said, "of the ordinary means of transportation for the movement of troops and military supplies, the insufficiency of the rolling stock of railroads for the accumulation of business, resulting both from military operations and the obstruction of water communication by the presence of the enemy's fleet; the failure and even refusal of contractors to comply with the terms of their agreements; the difficulties inherent in inaugurating so vast and complicated a system as that which requires postal facilities for every town and village in a territory so extended as ours, have all combined to impede the best-directed efforts of the Postmaster-General, whose zeal, industry, and ability have been taxed to the utmost extent." The financial system was reported as working well and promising good results for the future. "To the extent that Treasury notes may be issued," was the explanation on this subject, "the Government is enabled to borrow money without interest, and thus facilitate the conduct of war. This extent is measured by the portion of the field of circulation which these notes can be made to occupy. The proportion of the field thus occupied depends again upon the amount of the debts for which they are receivable; and dues, not only to the Confederate and State Governments, but also to corporations and individuals, are payable in this medium; a large amount of it may be circulated at par. There is every reason to believe that the Confederate Treasury note is fast becoming such a medium. The provision that these notes shall be convertible into Confederate stock, bearing eight per cent. interest, at the pleasure of the holder, insures them against a depreciation below the value of that stock, and no considerable fall in that value need be feared so long as the interest shall be punctually paid. The punctual payment of this interest has been secured by the act passed by you at the last session, imposing such a rate of taxation as must provide sufficient means for that purpose."

An improvement of the means of transportation from one portion of the country to the other, was recommended as indispensable for the successful prosecution of the war, and for this purpose a long contemplated railroad connection was earnestly proposed. "We have already" it was stated, "two main systems of through transportation from the North to the South—one from Richmond, along the seaboard; the other through Western Virginia to New Orleans. A third might be secured by completing a link of about forty miles between Danville, in Virginia, and Greensborough, in North Carolina. The construction of this comparatively short line would give us a through route from North to South, in the interior of the Confederate States, and give us access to a population and to military resources from which we are now, in a great measure, debarred. We should increase greatly the safety and capacity of our means for transporting men and military supplies.

"If the construction of the road should, in the judgment of Congress, as it is in mine, be indispensable for the most successful prosecution of the war, the action of the Government will not be restrained by the constitutional objection which would attach to a work for commercial purposes, and attention is invited to the practicability of securing its early completion by giving the needful aid to the company organized for its construction and administration."

From these special topics, the Message passed to a declaration of the intention of the Government to prolong the war at all hazards, and accept nothing but the independence for which they had taken up arms. "If we husband our means and make a judicious use of our resources, it would be difficult to fix a limit to the period during which we could conduct a war against the adversary whom we now encounter. The very efforts which he makes to isolate and invade us must exhaust his means, whilst they serve to complete the circle and diversify the productions of our industrial system. The reconstruction which he seeks to effect by arms becomes daily more and more palpably impossible. Not only do the causes which induced us to separate still exist in full force, but they have been strengthened, and whatever doubt may have lingered in the minds of any must have been completely dispelled by subsequent events. If, instead of being a dissolution of a league, it were indeed a rebellion in which we are engaged, we might find ample vindication for the course we have adopted in the scenes which are now being enacted in the United States. Our people now look with contemptuous astonishment on those with whom they have been so recently associated. They shrink with aversion from the bare idea of renewing such a connection. When they see a President making war without the assent of Congress; when they behold judges threatened because they maintain the writ of habeas corpus so sacred to freemen; when they see justice and law trampled under the armed heel of military authority, and upright men and innocent women dragged to distant dungeons upon the mere edict of a despot; when they find all this tolerated and applauded by a people who had been in the full enjoyment of freedom but a few months ago, they believe that there must be some radical incompatibility between such a people and themselves. With such a people we may be content to live at peace, but the separation is final, and for the independence we have asserted we will accept no alternative." To this succeeded a passage stimulated by the recent occupation of Port Royal and the adjacent islands, which, regardless of the quieting proclamations of Union officers, and the avowed policy of the Government on this subject, still appeared fraught with danger to the Slave interest of the South. The misrepresentation of the spirit in which the war had been conducted by the United States needs no refutation to any one familiar with its history. Instances of needless violence are common to all wars, and are not easily to be avoided, but certainly the Government could not be charged with unnecessary cruelty in the prosecution of the repressive measures absolutely forced upon it. This, however, was the charge of President Davis :—" The nature of the hostilities which they have waged against us must be characterized as barbarous wherever it is understood. They have bombarded undefended villages without giving notice to women and children to enable them to escape, and in one instance selected the night as the period when they might surprise them most effectually whilst asleep and unsuspicious of danger. Arson and rapine, the destruction of private houses and property, and injuries of the most wanton character, even upon non-combatants, have marked their forays, along their borders and upon our territory. Although we ought to have been admonished by these things that they were disposed to make war upon us in the most cruel and relentless spirit, yet we were not prepared to see them fit out a large naval expedition with the confessed purpose not only to pillage, but to incite a servile war in our midst. If they convert their soldiers into incendiaries and robbers, and involve us in a species of war which claims non-combatants, women and children as its victims, they must expect to be treated as outlaws and enemies of mankind. There are certain rights of humanity which are entitled to respect even in war, and he who refuses to regard them forfeits his claims, if captured, to be considered as a prisoner of war, but must expect to be dealt with as an offender against all law, human and divine."

The seizure of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, on the deck of a British steamer, was of course, a point too obvious not to be turned to good account, in a document intended quite as much for transatlantic as for American readers. It was adroitly connected with the alleged "home" injuries. "But not content," the Message proceeded, "with violating our rights under the law of nations at home, they have extended these injuries to us within other jurisdictions. The distinguished gentlemen whom, with your approval, at the last session, I commissioned to represent the Confederacy at certain foreign Courts, have been recently seized by the captain of a United States ship-of-war, on board a British steamer, on their voyage from the neutral Spanish port of Havana to England. The United States have thus claimed a general jurisdiction over the high seas, and, entering a British ship, sailing under its country's flag, violated the rights of embassy, for the most part held sacred even amongst barbarians, by seizing our Ministers whilst under the protection and within the dominions of a neutral nation. These gentlemen were as much under the jurisdiction of the British Government upon that ship, and beneath its flag, as if they had been upon its soil; and a claim on the part of the United States to seize them in the streets of London would have been as well founded as that to apprehend them where they were taken. Had they been malefactors, and citizens even of the United States, they could not have been arrested on a British ship or on British soil unless under the express provisions of a treaty, and according to the forms therein provided for the extradition of criminals. But rights the most sacred seem to have lost all respect in their eyes. When Mr. Faulkner, a former Minister of the United States to France, commissioned before the secession of Virginia, his native State, returned in good faith to Washington to settle his accounts and fulfil all the obligations into which he had entered, he was perfidiously arrested and imprisoned in New York, where he now is. The unsuspecting confidence with which he reported to his Government was abused, and his desire to fulfil his trust to them was used to his injury." To this appeal to British pride was added a remonstrance on the subject of the blockade, which it was a special effort of the Confederates to exhibit to the naval powers of Europe as ineffectual, and calling for their interference. On this subject, it was said, with an artful appeal to British trading interests, with which the Message concluded:—"In conducting this war, we have sought no aid and proposed no alliances, offensive and defensive abroad. We have asked for a recognized place in the great family of nations, but in doing so we have demanded nothing for which we did not offer a fair equivalent. The advantages of intercourse are mutual amongst nations, and in seeking to establish diplomatic relations, we were only endeavoring to place that intercourse under the regulation of public law. Perhaps we had the right, if we had chosen to exercise it, to ask to know whether the principle that 'blockades, to be binding, must be effectual,' so solemnly announced by the great Powers of Europe at Paris, is to be generally enforced or applied only to particular parties. When the Confederate States, at your last session, became a party to the declaration reaffirming this principle of international law, which has been recognized so long by publicists and Governments, we certainly supposed that it was to be universally enforced. The customary laws of nations are made up of their practice rather than their declarations; and if such declarations are only to be enforced in particular instances, at the pleasure of those who make them, then the commerce of the world, so far from being placed under the regulation of a general law, will become subject to the caprice of those who execute or suspend it at will. If such is to be the course of nations in regard to this law, it is plain that it will thus become a rule for the weak and not for the strong. Feeling that such views must be taken by the neutral nations of the earth, I have caused the evidence to be collected which proves completely the utter inefficiency of the proclaimed blockade of our coast, and shall direct it to be laid before such Governments as shall afford us the means of being heard.

"But, although we should be benefited

by the enforcement of this law so solemnly declared by the great powers of Europe, we are not dependent on that enforcement for the successful prosecution of the war. As long as hostilities continue, the Confederate States will exhibit a steadily increasing capacity to furnish their troops with food, clothing, and arms. If they should be forced to forego many of the luxuries and some of the comforts of life, they will at least have the consolation of knowing that they are thus daily becoming more and more independent of the rest of the world. If, in this process, labor in the Confederate States should be gradually diverted from those great Southern staples which have given life to so much of the commerce of mankind, into other channels, so as to make them rival producers instead of profitable customers, they will not be the only or even chief losers by this change in the direction of their industry. Although it is true, that the cotton supply from the Southern States could only be totally cut off by the subversion of our social system, yet it is plain that a long continuance of this blockade might, by a diversion of labor and investment of capital in other employments, so diminish the supply as to bring ruin upon all those interests of foreign countries which are dependent on that staple. For every laborer who is diverted from the culture of cotton in the South, perhaps four times as many elsewhere, who have found subsistence in the various employments growing out of its use, will be forced also to change their occupation. While the war which is waged to take from us the right of self-government can never attain that end, it remains to be seen how far it may work a revolution in the industrial system of the world, which may carry suffering to other lands as well as to our own. In the mean time we shall continue this struggle in humble dependence upon Providence, from whose searching scrutiny we cannot conceal the secrets of our hearts, and to whose rule we confidently submit our destinies. For the rest we shall depend upon ourselves. Liberty is always won where there exists the unconquerable will to be free, and we have reason to know the strength that is given by a conscious sense not only of the magnitude but of the righteousness of our cause."

Various complaints having been made of the successful efforts of rebels in the recovery of their fugitives slaves at Washington, by the aid or connivance of the officers of the army, the following order, addressed to General McClellan was on the 4th of December issued by Mr. Seward from the Department of State: "General,—I am directed by the President to call your attention to the following subject: persons claimed to be held to service or labor under the laws of the State of Virginia, and actually employed in hostile service against the Government of the United States, frequently escape from the lines of the enemy's forces, and are received within the lines of the army of the Potomac. This Department understands that such persons, afterward coming into the city of Washington, are liable to be arrested by the city police, upon the presumption arising from color, that they are fugitives from service or labor, by the fourth section of the act of Congress, approved August 6, 1861, entitled an act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, such hostile employment is made a full and sufficient answer to any further claim to service or labor. Persons thus employed and escaping are received into the military protection of the United States, and their arrest as fugitives from labor or service, should be immediately followed by the military arrest of the parties making the seizure. Copies of this communication will be sent to the Mayor of the city of Washington, and to the Marshal of the District of Columbia, that any collision between the military and civil authorities may be avoided."

The usual national Thanksgiving held in November was this year generally celebrated on the 28th of the month, by the loyal States. The proclamations of the governors appointing the day, tempered with a feeling sense of the calamities of the war, breathed the most earnest patriotism. Among these public papers was one from Governor Pierpont, of Virginia, from Wheeling, joining heartily with the rest in commending the day to the people as one "Of humble and fervent prayer, that He will, in more abundant mercy, bring to a speedy end the heart-burnings and civil strife which are now desolating our country, and restore to our Union its ancient foundations of brotherly love and a just appreciation."

Governor Hicks, of Maryland, reminded the people that "while they were learning the art of war, they should not forget the arts of peace; but devoutly pray that this great nation may again become a united, loyal, constitution-loving and law-abiding people." Kentucky joined in the observance of the day, and Governor Magoffin, confining the language of his proclamation to the religious motives of the occasion, invoked the prayer of the people, "that ascending to Heaven as the dews of earth, will return in showers of mercy, and span our beloved land with the rainbow of God-given peace."

The West everywhere echoed this language of religion and loyalty. Said Governor Austin Blair, of Michigan: "Our liberties, civil and religious, still remain to us. The rude shock of war has not so much as touched our borders. The free republic, founded by our fathers, after heroic sacrifices and struggles, still bears aloft the national flag, and grows daily stronger in the hearts of the great body of the people." Governor Alexander W. Randall, of Wisconsin, with emphasis, declared that "with a firm reliance upon God's long-suffering and forbearance, and upon his just judgments, the majestic power of the nation is now manifested, and it will crush out that treason, that it shall be known henceforth only in ignoble history. The enemies of a true liberty will not be suffered to prevail." A similar fervor was manifested in the other western proclamations, among which no word carried a deeper sense of gratitude than that spoken by Governor Charles Robinson, of Kansas. Recognizing the dangers to which that frontier State was exposed from an invasion of the enemy or incursion of the savages, he expressed his thankfulness that the latter much-dreaded evil had as yet "taken no more substantial form than their fears." While mindful of the famine of the previous season, he desired "to acknowledge to the bounteous Giver of the sunlight and the rain, that abundant increase which had followed the labor of the husbandman; the last year's drought and the winter's snows having prepared the earth for a bounteous harvest, verifying the proverb, that 'much bread is grown in the winter's night.'" Governor Morgan, of New York, in a few significant sentences briefly reviewed the prominent circumstances of the oppressive conflict, and found abundant matter for thankfulness in the spirit and unanimity with which the national cause had been sustained. "Though a suicidal war, stimulated by leaders of faction, and waged with all the power of a great and misguided people, weighs like the hand of death upon the National energies, and throws its dark shadow over the land; though this nation, so recently prospering under Heaven's brightest smile, and advancing with gigantic steps toward greatness and power, has been arrested in its progress, and is suffering the deep humiliation and blighting influence of a murderous civil war, yet we have infinite cause for thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God. Disease has been stayed from the fireside and from the camp; internal order has prevailed; plenty has abounded; liberty of conscience remains unabridged; ordinary pursuits have been uninterrupted ; our National rights are respected ; partisan animosities are fast burning out, and the spirit of fraternal affection has been beautifully manifest throughout a wide extent of our common country. Though composed of the representatives of many nations, a general calamity has revealed our strange homogeneity, has served to obliterate prejudices, has moved all alike by the same patriotic emotion. All alike have responded to the call to save our imperiled institutions. The marvelous energy which the crisis calls forth proves our national spirit to be unabated, our vigor unwasted, and gives promise, under the blessings of God, of a higher position in all that constitutes true national greatness. Though evils follow the train of armies, yet for these we have a great compensation in the fact that the exposures and expenditures incident to war will necessarily counteract the tendency of the age to effeminacy and luxury."

In strong scriptural phraseology blending the motives of religion with the duties to the State, Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, besought the blessing of Heaven "on behalf of these United States, that our beloved country may have deliverance from these great and apparent dangers wherewith she is compassed, and that the loyal men now battling in the field for life may have their arms made strong and their blows heavy, and may be shielded by His divine power, and that He will mercifully still the outrage of perverse, violent, unruly, and rebellious people, and make them clean hearts and renew a right spirit within them, and give them grace that they may see the error of their ways and bring forth works meet for repentance, and hereafter, in all godliness and honesty, obediently walk in His holy commandments, and in submission to the just and manifest authority of the republic, so that we, leading a quiet and peaceful life, may continually offer unto Him our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving"

In the same spirit, Governor Holbrook, of Vermont, recapitulating the blessings enjoyed by the land, recommended the expression of thanksgiving, "that at the first note of alarm, the loyal American people of all professions, pursuits, parties, and opinions, so spontaneously rallied in defence of our beautiful and beloved country as to give assurance that, with the blessing of Providence, they will emerge from the struggle bringing their institutions with them, firmly established, and standing before the world a full demonstration of the power and stability of a free government."

Governor Buckingham, of Connecticut, looked beyond the present hardships of the struggle to the new national life in the future. "To maintain our rights," said he, "against the combined powers of rebels, to reëstablish this government upon the foundations of righteousness, and to open the way for this whole people to engage again in the avocations of peace, will cost us time and treasure and life. It will carry sorrow into many a heart and grief into many a family circle. But we may rejoice in confidence that God, who holds the destinies of nations in His hands, has no attribute which can take side with the oppressor ; that He is with us in this struggle for right and justice ; that the privations and losses which we now suffer will be abundantly rewarded by the richer, purer, and higher blessings of liberty which shall be permanently enjoyed by future generations."

The most characteristic document, however, which made its appearance on this occasion, was one from the pen of Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts. Filled with instructive pious emotion, and overflowing with that outspoken eloquence with which the old Puritans supported national duties and trials with religious consolations and sanctions, it sets before us in a vivid manner the sacred enthusiasm, the earnest patriotism, which sent forth so many of the noblest spirits of the land to bleed and die in the cause of the country. This noticeable State paper ran thus:

"The example of the Fathers, and the dictates of piety and gratitude, summon the people of Massachusetts, at this, the harvest season, crowning the year with the rich proofs of the Wisdom and Love of God, to join in a solemn and joyful act of united Praise and Thanksgiving to the Bountiful Giver of every good and perfect gift.

"I do, therefore, with the advice and consent of the Council, appoint THURSDAY, the 21st day of November next, the same being the anniversary of that day, in the year of our Lord sixteen hundred and twenty, on which the Pilgrims of Massachusetts, on board the Mayflower, united themselves in a solemn and written compact of government, to be observed by the people of Massachusetts as a day of Public Thanksgiving and Praise. And I invoke its observance by all people with devout and religious joy.

'Sing aloud unto God, our strength: make a
'joyful noise unto the God of Jacob.
'Take a psalm, and bring hither the
'timbrel, the pleasant harp with the psaltery.
'Blow up the trumpet in the new moon,
'in the time appointed, on our solemn feast day.
'For this was a statute for Israel,
'and a law of the God of Jacob.'—Psalm 81, vs. 1 to 4.

'O bless our *God*, ye people, and make the voice
'of his praise be heard:
'Which holdeth our soul in life, and suffereth not
'our feet to be moved.
'For thou, O God, hast proved us: thou hast tried
'us, as silver is tried.'—Psalm 66, vs. 8, 9.

"Let us rejoice in God and be thankful; for the fulness with which He has blessed us in our basket and in our store, giving large reward to the toil of the husbandman, so that 'our paths drop fatness:'—

"For the many and gentle alleviations of the hardships which, in the present time of public disorder, have afflicted the various pursuits of industry:—

"For the early evidences of the reviving energies of the business of the people:—

"For the measure of success which has attended the enterprise of those who go down to the sea in ships, of those who search the depth of the ocean to add to the food of man, and of those whose busy skill and handicraft combine to prepare for various use the crops of the earth and the sea:—

"For the advantages of sound learning, placed within the reach of all children of the people, and the freedom and alacrity with which these advantages are embraced and improved:—

"For the opportunities of religious instruction and worship, universally enjoyed by consciences untrammelled by any human authority:—

"For 'the redemption of the world by Jesus Christ, for the means of grace, and the hope of glory.'

"And with one accord, let us bless and praise God for the oneness of heart, mind, and purpose in which He has united the people of this ancient Commonwealth for the defence of the rights, liberties, and honor of our beloved country:—

"May we stand forever in the same mind, remembering the devoted lives of our fathers, the precious inheritance of Freedom received at their hands, the weight of glory which awaits the faithful, and the infinity of blessing which it is our privilege, if we will, to transmit to the countless generations of the Future.

"And, while our tears flow in a stream of cordial sympathy with the daughters of our people, just now bereft, by the violence of the wicked and rebellious, of the fathers and husbands and brothers and sons, whose heroic blood has made verily sacred the soil of Virginia, and, mingling with the waters of the Potomac, has made the river now and for ever ours,—let our souls arise to God on the wings of Praise, in thanksgiving that He has again granted to us the privilege of living unselfishly and of dying nobly, in a grand and righteous cause:—

"For the precious and rare possession of so much devoted valor and manly heroism:—

"For the sentiment of pious duty which distinguished our fallen in the camp and in the field:—

"And for the sweet and blessed consolations which accompany the memories of these dear sons of Massachusetts on to immortality.

"And in our praise let us also be penitent. Let us 'seek the truth and ensue it,' and prepare our minds for whatever duty shall be manifested hereafter.

"May the controversy in which we stand be found worthy, in its consummation, of the heroic sacrifices of the people and the precious blood of their sons, of the doctrine and faith of the fathers, and consistent with the honor of God and with justice to all men. And,

'Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered:
'let them also that hate him flee before him.'—
'As smoke is driven away, so drive them away.'—
Psalm 68, vs. 1, 2.
'Scatter them by thy power, and bring them down,
'O Lord, our shield.'—Psalm 59, v. 11.

"Given at the Council Chamber, this thirty-first day of October, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and the eighty-sixth of the Independence of the United States of America. JOHN A. ANDREW.

"By His Excellency the Governor with the advice and consent of the Council. OLIVER WARNER, Secretary.

"GOD SAVE THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS."

The discourses delivered in the various pulpits breathed the most devoted patriotism, while the people were solemnly reminded of the work before them, and urged to new efforts. From numerous passages of kindling eloquence, which will be sought hereafter as memorials of these troubled days, we select one reflecting the spirit of many,—that in which the eminent orator, the Rev. Dr. Chapin, from his pulpit, in New York, presented the "terrible harvest" which was being gathered on many a battle-field for the historic life of the nation. "America," said he, "was peculiarly a providential country. This was the continent upon which results were to be brought forth. Those were short-sighted men who supposed that the defeat of one party or other would injure the final result of Freedom. No man, no party, was responsible for this great commotion. One said it was the Abolition party; but who made the Abolition party? Another said it was the Secession party; but what had made the Secession party? Underworking all was the providence of God. The harvest to which we were called was a terrible harvest, the harvest of death. From many a Thanksgiving table there were noble sons absent to-day, some of them sleeping in unshrouded graves, where the breezes of the Potomac sighed their requiem. God grant that before another year the great national table may be spread, and there would be thirty-four plates and thirty-four States, and a Star-Spangled Banner waving over all. Out of this trial the nation already had great gain. It had fused the discordant elements of the nation; we should be a nobler nation hereafter than ever before. We had gathered in a harvest of noble names, and the whole land was the richer for it. Ellsworth, Greble, Winthrop, Lyon, and Baker, were noble seed from whom rich harvests should yet be gathered. People had said that the American Revolution had secured our liberty for ever. But we could not live for ever on that; Liberty must be earned by a people at least as often as every century. It was the sad, sweet memories of heroic men which made nations truly rich. Over a harvest of weakness and national degeneracy, had it come, we might well have wept. But thank God we had a harvest of armed men. Let us put in the sickle, even though it be the sword, and thank God for the harvest before us, terrible with death but rich in the noblest and dearest beneficences demanded by freemen."

In Western Virginia a sharp engagement was fought, on the 13th of December, at Camp Alleghany, on the summit of the Alleghany mountain, on the border of Pocahontas and Highland counties, the road to Staunton. The enemy having left their intrenched camp at Greenbrier river, where they had been assailed by General Reynolds, in October,* had fallen back to this place. An expedition to attack them in their new position, started from the Union camp at Cheat Mountain summit, seventeen miles distant, on the 12th, under the command of Brigadier-General Reuben H. Milroy, composed of about two thousand Indiana, Ohio, and Virginia troops, with a company of cavalry. On approaching the position the force was divided for a simultaneous attack on opposite sides. The division accompanied by General Milroy was first on the spot, at daylight of the 13th, and driving in the pickets, reached the top of the mountain on the enemy's right. They then advanced toward the camp, where the enemy—two Georgia regiments, a Virginia regiment, and two battalions with two field batteries, under Colonel Edward Johnson, received them with vigor. The fight was kept up for several hours with heavy losses, when a retreat was ordered. Owing to the bad state of the road and its obstruction by the enemy, the other division intended to coöperate was delayed. It came into action, however, and kept up for several hours an "Indian fight," at close quarters with the foe. The losses of the Union side were reported at twenty killed, one hundred and seven wounded, and ten missing.† An account published in the *Richmond Enquirer*, states that twenty of the enemy fell upon the field, while the wounded and missing were estimated at a hundred. The repulsed assailants returned to their camp at Cheat Mountain, and the enemy presently retired to Staunton.

A movement in the division of General McCall, from Camp Pierpont, on the Potomac, in December, exhibited the increasing discipline and soldierly spirit of the Union forces. Learning on the 19th, that the enemy's pickets had advanced to within four or five miles of the lines, and were carrying off and threatening good Union men, that officer determined to arrest their movements, and, if possible, capture the force which was assembled in the neighborhood of Dranesville. Brigadier-General E. O. Ord was accordingly sent forward with his command, early on the morning of the 20th, with instructions to surround and capture the party, and at the same time to collect a supply of forage from the farms of some of the rank secessionists in that vicinity. His brigade consisted of four regiments of Pennsylvania infantry, the Bucktail rifles, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Kane, a detachment of five companies of Pennsylvania reserve cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Higgins, and Captain Easton's battery of four guns, two 12 and two 24-pounders, altogether numbering a force of between 4,000 and 5,000. The force of the enemy which they were to meet, is represented in a letter, published in the *Richmond Dispatch*, as about 2,500. It was under the command of General Stuart, and was composed of the 11th Virginia regiment, Colonel Garland; the 6th South Carolina, Lieutenant-Colonel Secrest; the 10th Alabama, Colonel John H. Forney; the 1st Kentucky, Colonel Tom Taylor; Captain Cutts' Sumter flying artillery, and detachments from Ransom's and Radford's cavalry. The parties met near Dranesville. The batteries of the two forces were placed opposite each other, at a distance of about five hundred yards, on the Centreville road. On either side were dense thickets. There was an attempt to turn the Union left, but it was at once checked by the battery. In front on the right, there was resolute fighting at close quarters. The excellent position of Easton's battery, however, soon drove the enemy's battery from its position, an advance was made, and the rebels fled toward their camp at Centreville, leaving their killed and wounded on the field. The road was strewed with men and horses, two caissons, one of them blown up, a limber, a gun carriage wheel, a quantity of artillery ammunition, small arms, and an immense quantity of heavy clothing, blankets, etc. The loss on the Union side was seven killed, sixty-one wounded, including one Lieutenant-Colonel and four Captains, and three missing. That of the rebels was some fifty killed, a hundred and thirty or more wounded, many severely, and seven prisoners. The Alabama and South Carolina troops suffered severely. The contest lasted an hour, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon. General McCall, who arrived on the field after the action commenced, ordered the return march to his camp, bringing with him sixteen wagon loads of excellent hay, and twenty-two of corn.*

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* Ante, vol. i., p. 567

† Correspondence of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, Cheat Mountain Summit, December 20, 1861. Moore's *Rebellion Record*, vol. iii., pp. 466—471.

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* General McCall's Official Report, December 22, 1861. Special correspondence of the *Richmond Dispatch*, Centreville, December 24, 1861. Correspondence *New York Tribune*, Camp Pierpont, December 22, 1861.

CHAPTER L.

THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS, DECEMBER 1861.

THE Second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress was promptly organized on the regular day of assembling, the 2d of December. President Lincoln's Message, delivered the following day, was a calm, temperate review of the position of the Government, and the progress of the war. In a single brief opening sentence, the usual acknowledgment was made of the mercies of Heaven to the nation :—"In the midst of unprecedented political troubles, we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health and most abundant harvests." The foreign relations of the country were then taken up, and significantly touched in a few pithy paragraphs ; a striking commentary upon or deduction from the mass of correspondence which the Secretary of State laid before the public, and which has been freely cited in these pages.* With no undue expectations from the justice of the National cause, with no appeal to foreign sympathy, and no vaunting display of home resources, the conviction so familiar to statesmen, that diplomacy in the long run must be based upon material interests, was forcibly impressed upon the suggestions which he offered. Master of the situation, the President evidently felt that he could rely on the obvious necessities of the case in working out a satisfactory solution of the problem. "You will not be surprised to learn," said he, "that in the peculiar exigencies of the times, our intercourse with foreign nations has been attended with profound solicitude, chiefly turning upon our own domestic affairs. A disloyal portion of the American people have, during the whole year, been engaged in an attempt to divide and destroy the Union. A nation which endures factious domestic divisions is exposed to disrespect abroad, and one party, if not both, is sure, sooner or later, to invoke foreign intervention. Nations thus tempted to interfere are not always able to resist the counsels of seeming expediency and ungenerous ambition, although measures adopted under such influences seldom fail to be unfortunate and injurious to those adopting them. The disloyal citizens of the United States, who have offered the ruin of our country in return for the aid and comfort which they have invoked abroad, have received less patronage and encouragement than they probably expected. If it were just to suppose, as the insurgents have seemed to assume, that foreign nations in this case, discarding all moral, social, and treaty obligations, would act solely and selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce, including especially the acquisition of cotton, those nations appear as yet not to have seen their way to their object more directly or clearly through the destruction than through the preservation of the Union. If we could dare to believe that foreign nations are actuated by no higher principle than this, I am quite sure a second argument could be made to show them that they can reach their aim more readily and easily by aiding to crush this rebellion than by giving encouragement to it. The principal lever relied on by the insurgents for exciting foreign nations to hostility against us, as already intimated, is the embarrassment of commerce. Those nations, however, not improbably saw from the first that it was the Union which made as well our foreign as our domestic commerce. They can scarcely have failed to perceive that the effort for disunion produces the existing difficulty, and that one strong nation promises more durable peace, and a more extensive, valuable, and reliable commerce, than can the same nation broken into hostile fragments." With these pregnant hints were coupled the reflection, the hope "that it would appear that we have practiced prudence and liberality toward foreign powers, averting causes of irritation, and with firmness maintaining our own rights and honor;" while the prudential recommendation was not forgotten, that "in view of the foreign dangers necessarily attending domestic difficulties, adequate and ample measures be adopted for maintaining the public defences on every side."

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* Ante, vol. i., chapter xxviii., on Foreign Relations.

Reviewing the domestic affairs of the country, the President glanced at its present financial condition, leaving the calculations for the future to the head of the Treasury department. A single statement marks the position of affairs:—The revenue from all sources, including loans for the financial year ending on the 30th June, 1861, was $86,835,900, and the expenditures for the same period, including payments on account of the public debts, were $84,578,034. For the first quarter of the financial year ending on the 30th September, 1861, the receipts from all sources, including the balance of July 1st, were $102.532,509, and the expenses $98,239,723. The expenditures of one quarter during a period of war were thus considerably in excess of the entire previous year. The progress of the war was briefly described—the achievements of the navy, the preservation of Western Virginia, the decision in favor of the Union of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. "The cause of the Union," he said, "is advancing steadily and certainly southward." Various matters connected with the administration of justice, the efficiency of the Department, and other topics of domestic policy were referred to Congress; among them the project of a military railway connecting the loyal regions of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina with Kentucky and other parts of the Union, an important measure looking to the pacification and further industrial interests of a vast district marked out by nature for the development of free labor. With similar benefits in view the nation was congratulated at the organization, "under auspices truly gratifying, when it is considered that the leaven of treason was found existing in some of these new countries when the federal officers arrived there, of the Territories created by the last Congress, of Colorado, Dacotah, and Nevada." The retirement of General Scott was appropriately alluded to with a suggestion of some further mark of recognition of his services. "During his long life the nation has not been unmindful of his merit; yet on calling to mind how faithfully, ably, and brilliantly he has served the country, from a time far back in our history, when few of the now living had been born, and thenceforward continually, I cannot but think that we are still his debtor." Of the appointment of Gen. McClellan as the successor of Gen. Scott, it was said,—"It is a fortunate circumstance that neither in council nor country was there, so far as I know, any difference of opinion as to the proper person to be selected. The retiring chief repeatedly expressed his judgment in favor of General McClellan for the position, and in this the nation seemed to give a unanimous concurrence. The designation of General McClellan is, therefore, in a considerable degree the selection of the country as well as of the executive, and hence there is better reason to hope there will be given him the confidence and cordial support thus by fair implication promised, and without which he cannot with so full efficiency serve the country. It has been said that one bad General is better than two good ones; and the saying is true, if taken to mean no more than that an army is better directed by a single mind, though inferior, than by two superior ones at variance and cross purposes with each other. And the same is true in all joint operations wherein those engaged can have but a common end in view, and can differ only as to the choice of means. In a storm at sea, no one on board can wish the ship to sink; and yet, not unfrequently, all go down together, because too many will direct, and no single mind can be allowed to control."

A passage in reference to the confiscation act of the recent session of Congress is noticeable for its suggestion of a measure which became afterward a prominent subject of discussion—the furtherance of a system of colonization for the disposal of negroes liberated by the war or by concert with some of the slaveholding States; while the suggestion with which it was coupled of remuneration by Congress for the slaves set free, paved the way for the plans of compensated emancipation afterward so strongly urged by the President. "Under and by virtue of the act of Congress entitled an Act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, approved August 6, 1861, the legal claims of certain persons to the labor and service of certain other persons have become forfeited, and numbers of the latter thus liberated are already dependent on the United States and must be provided for in some way. Besides this, it is not impossible that some of the States will pass similar enactments for their own benefits respectively, and by the operation of which persons of the same class will be thrown upon them for disposal. In such case I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such States, according to some mode of valuation in lieu *pro tanto* of direct taxes, or upon some other plan to be agreed on with such States respectively, that such persons on such acceptance by the General Government be at once deemed free, and that in any event steps be taken for colonizing both classes, or the one first mentioned if the other shall not be brought into existence, at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization. To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquiring of territory, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition. Having practiced the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one with us. The power was at first questioned by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisiana, yielded his scruples on the plea of great expediency. If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object, for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on political and commercial grounds than on providing room for population. On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money with the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to absolute necessity, that without which the Government cannot be perpetuated?"

A recommendation was also thrown out exhibiting the desire of a liberal policy toward the African race where it had established governments of its own. "If any good cause exists," it was said, "why we should persevere longer in withholding our recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayti and Liberia, I am unable to discover it. Unwilling, however, to inaugurate a novel policy in regard to them without the approbation of Congress, I submit for your consideration the expediency of an appropriation for maintaining a chargé d'affaires near each of those new states. It does not admit of doubt that important commercial advantages might be secured by favorable treaties with them."

In these and other matters the President evidently desired to exercise the authority entrusted to him with moderation, with an eye to the welfare of the whole country, and with the least possible violence to existing institutions. "The war," said he, "continues. In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have, therefore, in every case, thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the legislature. In the exercise of my best discretion I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents instead of putting in force, by proclamation, the law of Congress enacted at the late session for closing those ports. So, also, obeying the dictates of prudence, as well as the obligations of law, instead of transcending, I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered. The Union must be preserved; and hence, all indispensable means must be employed. We should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable."

The most elaborate part of the Message was an effort to present the essential elements of the war, underlying the assumptions of the South of the elevation of a dominant aristocracy in relation to the superior rights and interests of the people. It appeared to be a question with the President not so much of the abolition of slavery as of the preservation of that freedom to all with which the system of the South was at variance. In fact, the war, in the President's mind, involved a great principle of popular rights in the maintenance of the honor and dignity of labor against the pretensions of Southern economists striving for an embodiment of their theories in new institutions by the power of the sword. This was his argument brought out, without reference to Adam Smith and his followers in political science, but rather from his own experience and observation of life. "It continues to develop," said he, "that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principles of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In these documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers, except the legislative body, advocated with labored arguments to prove that large control of the government in the people is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

"It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point with its connections not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital, that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves; and further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life. Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both of these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless. Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of a community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others, nor have others work for them. In most of the Southern States a majority of the whole people of all colors are neither slaves nor masters, while in the Northern a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men with their families, wives, sons, and daughters work for themselves on their own farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital; that is, they labor with their own hands and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class. Again, as has already been said, there is not of necessity any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these states, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, and then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of the condition of all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty, none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost."

The Message closed with an encouraging glance into the future:—"From the first taking of our national census to the last are seventy years; and we find our population, at the end of the period, eight times as great as it was at the beginning. The increase of those other things which men deem desirable has been even greater. We thus have, at one view, what the popular principle, applied to government through the machinery of the states and the Union, has produced in a given time, and also what, if firmly maintained, it promises for the future. There are already among us those who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain two hundred and fifty millions. The struggle of to-day is not altogether for to-day—it is for a vast future also. With a firm reliance on Providence, all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us."

The report of the Secretary of War, Cameron, exhibited the extraordinary progress which had been made in the collection of a great army. It showed an array of figures which a twelve month before would have been thought fabulous. At the meeting of Congress in July he had roundly estimated the men called to arms or at the command of the Government, including the three months' volunteers, at 310,000, a vast number to be reported in so short a period as that which intervened between the attack upon Sumter and the next anniversary of the national Day of Independence. Large as that aggregate was considered then, it was now, after an interval of only five months, more than doubled. The estimated strength of the army for the war was 660,971, and to this was to be added 77,878 three months' men. Of the force enlisted for the war the Infantry numbered 568,383; Cavalry 59,398; Artillery 24,688; Rifles and Sharpshooters 8,395; Engineers 107. New York furnished the largest number of volunteers sent by any one State, namely, 100,200; Pennsylvania came next, 94,760; Ohio, 81,205; Illinois, 80,000; Massachusetts, 26,760, and the rest in like generous proportion. The slaveholding States Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri furnished an aggregate of 58,130, no inconsiderable army in itself.

The Secretary of course congratulated the country on such a proof of the patriotism of the people. The call authorized by Congress for half a million of men had been promptly made, and "so numerous were the offers that it was found difficult to discriminate in the choice, where the patriotism of the people demanded that there should be no restriction upon enlistments. Every portion of the loyal States desired to swell the army, and every community was anxious that it should be represented in a cause that appealed to the noblest impulses of our people. So thoroughly aroused was the national heart that I have no doubt this force would have been swollen to a million had not the department felt compelled to restrict it, in the absence of authority from the representatives of the people to increase the limited number." The number of troops actually raised, had in fact exceeded the liberal authority of Congress, and it was for that body to decide if the force should be reduced to the contemplated standard.

"It is said of Napoleon by Jomini," continues the report of the Secretary, "that in the campaign of 1815, that great General on the 1st of April had a regular army of 200,000 men. On the 1st of June he had increased this force to 414,000. The proportion, adds Jomini, 'had he thought proper to inaugurate a vast system of defense, would have raised it to 700,000 men by the 1st of September.' At the commencement of this rebellion, inaugurated by the attack upon Fort Sumter, the entire military force at the disposal of this Government was 16,000 regulars, principally employed in the west to hold in check marauding Indians; 75,000 volunteers were called upon to enlist for three months' service, and responded with such alacrity that 77,875 were immediately obtained. Under the authority of the act of Congress of July 22, 1861, the States were asked to furnish 500,000 volunteers to serve for three years, or during the war; and by the act approved the 29th day of the same month, the addition of 25,000 men to the regular army of the United States was authorized. The result is that we have now an army of upwards of 600,000 men. If we add to this the number of the discharged three months' volunteers, the aggregate force furnished to the Government since April last exceeds 700,000 men. We have here an evidence of the wonderful strength of our institutions. Without conscriptions, levies, drafts, or other extraordinary expedients, we have raised a greater force than that which, gathered by Napoleon with the aid of all these appliances, was considered an evidence of his wonderful genius and energy, and of the military spirit of the French nation. Here every man has an interest in the Government, and rushes to its defense when dangers beset it. By reference to the records of the Revolution it will be seen that Massachusetts, with a population of 350,000, had at one time 56,000 troops in the field, or over one-sixth of her entire people—a force greatly exceeding the whole number of troops furnished by all the Southern States during that war. Should the present loyal States furnish troops in like proportion, which undoubtedly would be the case should any emergency demand it, the government could promptly put into the field an army of over three millions. It gives me great satisfaction to refer to the creditable degree of discipline of our troops, most of whom were, but a short time since, engaged in the pursuits of peace. They are rapidly attaining an efficiency which cannot fail to bring success to our arms. Officers and men alike evince an earnest desire to accomplish themselves in every duty of the camp and field, and the various corps are animated by an emulation to excel each other in soldierly qualities."

In speaking of the actual progress of the war thus far, the Secretary characterized the interval of seven months which had passed as a season of preparation, reminding the people of the vast undertaking before them. "The conspiracy against the Government extended over an area of 736,144 square miles, possessing a coast line of 3,523 miles, and a shore line of 25,414 miles, with an interior boundary line of 7,031 miles in length. This conspiracy stripped us of arms and munitions, and scattered our navy to the most distant quarters of the globe. The effort to restore the Union, which the Government entered on in April last, was the most gigantic endeavor in the history of civil war." For obvious causes, he added, "the history of this rebellion in common with all others records the first successes in favor of the insurgents. The disaster of Bull Run was but the natural consequence of the premature advance of our brave but undisciplined troops, which the impatience of the country demanded. The betrayal also of our movements by traitors in our midst enabled the rebels to choose and intrench their position, and by a reënforcement in great strength, at the moment of victory, to snatch it from our grasp. The other successes of the rebels, though dearly won, were mere affairs, with no important or permanent advantages. The possession of Western Virginia and the occupation of Hatteras and Beaufort have nobly redeemed our transient reverses."

Passing over various matters of detail in reference to the conduct of the war, respecting organization, military communications, equipments and the like, we come to a remarkable speculation in Secretary Cameron's report, in regard to the territory of Virginia. The suggestion is of interest as an effort to relieve the great state problem of the security of the Capital of some of its pressing difficulties. "The geographical position of the metropolis of the nation, menaced by the rebels. and required to be defended by thousands of our troops, induces me to suggest for consideration the propriety and expediency of a reconstruction of the boundaries of the states of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. Wisdom and true statesmanship would dictate that the seat of the National Government, for all time to come, should be placed beyond reasonable danger of seizure by enemies within, as well as from capture by foes from without. By agreement between the States named, such as was effected, for similar purposes, by Michigan and Ohio, and by Missouri and Iowa, their boundaries could be so changed as to render the Capital more remote than at present from the influence of State governments which have arrayed themselves in rebellion against the federal authority. To this end, the limits of Virginia might be so altered as to make her boundaries consist of the Blue Ridge on the east and Pennsylvania on the north, leaving those on the south and west as at present. By this arrangement, two counties of Maryland (Alleghany and Washington) would be transferred to the jurisdiction of Virginia. All that portion of Virginia which lies between the Blue Ridge and Chesapeake Bay could then be added to Maryland, while that portion of the peninsula between the waters of the Chesapeake and the Atlantic, now jointly held by Maryland and Virginia, could be incorporated into the State of Delaware. A reference to the map will show that these are great natural boundaries, which, for all time to come, would serve to mark the limits of these States. To make the protection of the Capital complete, in consideration of the large accession of territory which Maryland would receive under the arrangement proposed, it would be necessary that that State should consent so to modify her constitution as to limit the basis of her representation to her white population. In this connection it would be the part of wisdom to re-annex to the District of Columbia that portion of its original limits which by act of Congress was retroceded to the State of Virginia."

There was another novel passage of the report, however, which perhaps being of a more practical, and as it was thought, dangerous character than this parceling of an old State, met with decided opposition at the start. It was the concluding portion in regard to the disposition of the slaves of rebels thrown by the fortune of war within the national lines. As originally written in the Report and forwarded to the northern newspapers in advance of the presentation of the document to Congress, the passage thus stood :—"It has become a grave question for determination, what shall be done with the slaves abandoned by their owners on the advance of our troops into Southern territory, as in the Beaufort district of South Carolina. The whole white population therein is 6,000, while the number of negroes exceeds

32,000. The panic which drove their masters in wild confusion from their homes, leaves them in undisputed possession of the soil. Shall they, armed by their masters, be placed in the field to fight against us, or shall their labor be continually employed in reproducing the means for supporting the armies of rebellion? The war into which this Government has been forced by rebellious traitors is carried on for the purpose of repossessing the property violently and treacherously seized upon by the enemies of the Government, and to reëstablish the authority and laws of the United States in the places where it is opposed or overthrown by armed insurrection and rebellion. Its purpose is to recover and defend what is justly its own. War, even between independent nations, is made to subdue the enemy, and all that belongs to that enemy, by occupying the hostile country, and exercising dominion over all the men and things within its territory. This being true in respect to independent nations at war with each other, it follows that rebels who are laboring by force of arms to overthrow a Government, justly bring upon themselves all the consequences of war, and provoke the destruction merited by the worst of crimes. That Government would be false to national trust, and would justly excite the ridicule of the civilized world, that would abstain from the use of any efficient means to preserve its own existence, or to overcome a rebellious and traitorous enemy, by sparing or protecting the property of those who are waging war against it.

"The principal wealth and power of the Rebel States is a peculiar species of property, consisting of the service or labor of African slaves, or the descendants of Africans. This property has been variously estimated at the value of from $700,000,000 to $1,000,000,000. Why should this property be exempt from the hazards and consequences of a rebellious war? It was the boast of the leader of the rebellion, while he yet had a seat in the Senate of the United States, that the Southern States would be comparatively safe and free from the burdens of war, if it should be brought on by the contemplated rebellion, and that boast was accompanied by the savage threat that 'Northern towns and cities would become the victims of rapine and military spoil,' and that 'Northern men should smell Southern gunpowder and feel Southern steel.' No one doubts the disposition of the rebels to carry that threat into execution. The wealth of Northern towns and cities, the produce of Northern forms, Northern workshops and manufactories, would certainly be seized, destroyed, or appropriated as military spoil. No property in the North would be spared from the hands of the rebels, and their rapine would be defended under the laws of war. While the loyal States thus have all their property and possessions at stake, are the insurgent rebels to carry on warfare against the Government in peace and security to their own property? Reason and justice and self-preservation forbid that such should be the policy of this Government, but demand, on the contrary, that, being forced by traitors and rebels to the extremity of war, all the rights and powers of war should be exercised to bring it to a speedy end. Those who make war against the Government justly forfeit all rights of property, privilege, or security, derived from the Constitution and laws, against which they are in armed rebellion; and as the labor and service of their slaves constitute the chief property of the rebels, such property should share the common fate of war to which they have devoted the property of loyal citizens.

"While it is plain that the slave property of the South is justly subjected to all the consequences of this rebellious war, and that the Government would be untrue to its trust in not employing all the rights and powers of war to bring it to a speedy close, the details of the plan for doing so, like all other military measures, must, in a great degree, be left to be determined by particular exigencies. The disposition of other property belonging to the rebels that becomes subject to our arms is governed by the circumstances of the case. The Government has no power to hold slaves, none to restrain a slave of his liberty, or to exact his service. It has a right, however, to use the voluntary service of slaves liberated by war from their rebel masters, like any other property of the rebels, in whatever mode may be most efficient for the defense of the Government, the prosecution of the war, and the suppression of the rebellion. It is as clearly a right of the Government to arm slaves when it may become necessary as it is to use gunpowder taken from the enemy. Whether it is expedient to do so is purely a military question. The right is unquestionable by the laws of war. The expediency must be determined by circumstances, keeping in view the great object of overcoming the rebels, reëstablishing the laws, and restoring peace to the nation. It is vain and idle for the Government to carry on this war, or hope to maintain its existence against rebellious force, without employing all the rights and powers of war. As has been said, the right to deprive the rebels of their property in slaves and slave labor, is as clear and absolute, as the right to take forage from the field, or cotton from the warehouse, or powder and arms from the magazine. To leave the enemy in the possession of such property as forage and cotton and military stores, and the means of constantly reproducing them, would be madness. It is, therefore, equal madness to leave them in peaceful and secure possession of slave property, more valuable and efficient to them for war, than forage, cotton, and military stores. Such policy would be national suicide. What to do with that species property, is a question that time and circumstance will solve, and need not be anticipated further than to repeat that they cannot be held by the Government as slaves. It would be useless to keep them as prisoners of war; and self-preservation, the highest duty of a government, or of individuals, demands that they should be disposed of or employed in the most effective manner that will tend most speedily to suppress the insurrection and restore the authority of the Government. If it shall be found that the men who have been held by the rebels as slaves are capable of bearing arms and performing efficient military service, it is the right, and may become the duty, of the Government to arm and equip them, and employ their services against the rebels, under proper military regulation, discipline, and command. But in whatever manner they may be used by the Government, it is plain that, once liberated by the rebellious act of their masters, they should never again be restored to bondage. By the master's treason and rebellion he forfeits all right to the labor and service of his slave; and the slave of the rebellious master, by his service to the Government, becomes justly entitled to freedom and protection. The disposition to be made of the slaves of rebels, after the close of the war, can be safely left to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. The Representatives of the People will unquestionably secure to the loyal slaveholders every right to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the country."

Before, however, reaching Congress, this important exposition of the rights and duties of war, as they presented themselves to the busy intelligence of the Secretary, underwent a very considerable modification. Congress was to meet on Monday the 2d of December. On Saturday the Secretary presented his Report to the President, and on Sunday afternoon mailed it, according to custom, on the day preceding the reading of the

Message it was to accompany to the principal papers of the North and West. The President, on reading the Report, thought that the Secretary had outrun discretion in offering his suggestion or recommendation; premature at least, in regard to the military use of the negroes. He accordingly sent for the Secretary and required the suppression of the obnoxious passage. This Mr. Cameron refused to do, whereupon the President resolved to strike out all relating to the emancipation and arming of the slaves, which he did, retaining the few following sentences only:—"It is already a grave question what shall be done with those slaves who are abandoned by their owners on the advance of our troops into Southern territory, as at Beaufort district in South Carolina. The number left within our control at that point is very considerable, and similar cases will probably occur. What shall be done with them? Can we afford to send them forward to their masters, to be by them armed against us, or used in producing supplies to maintain the rebellion? Their labor may be useful to us; withheld from the enemy it lessens his military resources, and withholding them has no tendency to induce the horrors of insurrection, even in the rebel communities. They constitute a military resource, and being such, that they should not be turned over to the enemy is too plain to discuss. Why deprive him of supplies by a blockade, and voluntarily give him men to produce supplies?" The two harmless concluding sentences as to the disposition of the slaves by Congress were left untouched.

It was observed that while this delicacy was shown in the suppression of the suggestions of the Secretary of War, a similar recommendation of the disposition and employment of the fugitive negroes in the naval service, in the report of the Secretary, Mr. Welles, was suffered to pass unquestioned. This was the language of the Secretary of the Navy:—"In the coastwise and blockading duties of the navy it has been not unfrequent that fugitives from insurrectionary places have sought our ships for refuge and protection, and our naval commanders have applied to me for instruction as to the proper disposition which should be made of such refugees. My answer has been that, if insurgents, they should be handed over to the custody of the Government; but if, on the contrary, they were free from any voluntary participation in the rebellion and sought the shelter and protection of our flag, then they should be cared for and employed in some useful manner, and might be enlisted to serve on our public vessels or in our navy yards, receiving wages for their labor. If such employment could not be furnished to all by the navy, they might be referred to the army, and if no employment could be found for them in the public service, they should be allowed to proceed freely and peaceably without restraint to seek a livelihood in any loyal portion of the country. This I have considered to be the whole required duty, in the premises, of our naval officers."

Mr. Welles' report exhibited an activity in his Department proportioned to that displayed in the military service. To the 76 vessels of all ranks composing the Navy at the time of his entrance upon office, 136 vessels mounting 518 guns, more than half of them steam vessels, had been added by purchase, while 14 screw sloops, 23 gunboats, 12 sidewheel, and 3 iron-clad steamers, carrying in all 256 guns, were in process of construction. All of the fifty-two new vessels ordered to be built were steamers, the Secretary pronouncing "steam as well as heavy ordinance an indispensable element of the most efficient naval power." The number of seamen in the service had increased three fold. It was in March, as we have stated, 7,600; it was now not less than 22,000.

The work before the Department in

the employment of the force at hand had embraced three distinct lines of naval operations—namely, the blockade, the fitting out of special expeditions, and the pursuit of piratical cruisers on the high seas. The first required "the closing of all the insurgent ports along the coast line of nearly 3,000 miles, in the form and under the exacting regulations of an international blockade, including the naval occupation and defence of the Potomac river, from its mouth to the Federal Capital, as the boundary line between Maryland and Virginia, and also the main commercial avenue to the principal base of our military operations." The difficulty of guarding the shallow waters of the coast, with the inner channels of communication, and the energy of the Confederates in endeavoring to supply their wants from abroad, were admitted. The task, however, had been faithfully pursued and with no inconsiderable degree of success, one hundred and fifty-three vessels having been captured sailing under various flags, most of them while attempting to violate the blockade. Something was expected from the "stone fleet," or vessels laden with stone, sunk at Ocracoke Inlet and off the harbor of Charleston, as "the most economical and satisfactory method of interdicting commerce at those points." The command of Flag-Officer Stringham on the Atlantic Coast had been divided. Captain Louis M. Goldsborough having been appointed to guard the shores of Virginia and North Carolina, while the residue of the Southern Coast was intrusted to Captain Dupont. Captain McKean had succeeded Captain Mervine in the command of the Gulf Squadron. Due honor was paid the achievements at Hatteras and Port Royal; Captain Wilkes was handsomely complimented for his seizure of the Ambassadors, and generally the "intrepidity, courage and loyalty of our naval officers, soldiers, and marines" were pronounced "never more marked than in this rebellion."

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury—delayed for a short time beyond the opening of Congress—was anxiously looked for. In his previous report, at the July session, he had calculated from the estimates of the several departments, upon an expenditure for the year beginning June, 1861, of about three hundred and eighteen and a half millions, eighty millions of which he expected to receive from the income of the year and the remainder by a series of loans.*

Comparing the income realized with that expected from Custom-house duties the Secretary found a considerable deficiency. He had calculated in the previous June upon an income for the year from this source of fifty-seven millions. The returns for the first quarter showed that the aggregate for the year would not greatly exceed thirty-two millions, The duties imposed by Congress had been lighter than he had recommended, and he found "another and perhaps more potential cause of reduced receipts in the changed circumstances of the country, which have proved, even beyond anticipation, unfavorable to foreign commerce." More than half a million was to be deducted from the estimate of the land receipts. Including the direct tax imposed upon the States of twenty millions, the aggregate of revenue from all sources for the year might be estimated at about fifty-four and a half millions, about twenty-five and a half millions less than the estimate of July. The system of loans and issue of Treasury notes recommended in the Secretary's previous report, or adopted by Congress, had thus far yielded to the Government about one hundred and ninety-seven and a quarter millions of dollars, the loans having been chiefly negotiated through the banking institutions of the Atlantic cities without the contemplated appeal to European capitalists. The calculations for the year had been originally made on an estimate of a quarter of a million of volunteers in the field and a regular army of about fifty thousand ; but as this number had been so greatly increased by the order of Congress, additional appropriations were of course necessary to meet the expenditures. Two hundred millions were asked for to meet the deficiency —making the outlay for the year, from June, 1861, to June, 1862, about five hundred and forty-three and a half millions.

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* Ante. vol. i. p. 361–3.

To meet or facilitate the collection of this sum the Secretary enjoined retrenchment and reform with a rigorous system of responsibility in the national expenditure, justly representing that any saving effected in this way would be "worth more in beneficial effect and influence than the easiest acquisition of equal sums even without cost or liability to repayment." He renewed his previous suggestion that the property of rebels both in the loyal and insurgent States should be made to pay, in part at least, the cost of the rebellion. "Rights to services," he added, "under State laws, must, of necessity, form an exception to any rule of confiscation. Persons held by rebels under such laws, to service as slaves, may, however, be justly liberated from their constraint and made more valuable in various employments, through voluntary and compensated service, than if confiscated as subjects of property." Provision by direct taxation to the amount of fifty millions, in addition to forty millions expected from customs, was recommended to supply an adequate sum for ordinary expenditures, the payment of interest on the public debt, and for a sinking fund for the gradual extinction of the principal. This would require special taxes on stills, distilled liquors, tobacco, bank notes, carriages, legacies, paper evidences of debt, and instruments for conveyance of property and other like subjects of taxation. For the rapidly increasing demands of the nation during the war, new loans would of course be required. In endeavoring to solve the problem of "obtaining the necessary means without unnecessary cost," the Secretary, looking at the vast aggregate paper currency of the country, devised a plan for making this, which was in reality "a loan without interest from the people to the banks," directly available to the wants of the national government. In fact he was disposed to consider the issue of bank notes by local institutions under State laws as prohibited by the Constitution ; while the authority certainly belonged to Congress "under its powers to lay taxes, to regulate commerce, and to regulate the value of coin, to control the credit circulation which enters so largely into the transactions of commerce and affects in so many ways the value of coin." There were two methods, it was urged, by which the end proposed might be attained,—one by the withdrawal of the notes of private corporations and the issue in their stead of United States notes, payable in coin on demand ; the other contemplating "the preparation and delivery, to institutions and associations, of notes prepared for circulation under national direction, and to be secured as to prompt convertibility into coin by the pledge of United States bonds and other needful regulations." The second plan was recommended as the more advantageous. It would provide a sound, convenient, uniform currency, in place of a very defective one in many instances, and it would promote the security of the Union by the distribution of the national stocks throughout the country. The notes thus issued should be receivable for all government dues except customs, which would be still payable in gold. This scheme, if carried out, would contribute at once one hundred and fifty millions, the estimated amount of bank circulation in the loyal States, to the national relief.

Included in Mr. Chase's report was a

calculation of the probable wants of the fiscal year ending in June, 1863, at about four hundred and seventy-five millions, to provide for which, with the supply of the deficiencies of the previous year, would necessitate an aggregate of $655,000,000 in loans. On the first day of July, 1860, the public debt was less than sixty-five millions; on the first day of July, 1863, supposing the war to continue, it was estimated it would reach nearly nine hundred millions. "It is earnestly to be hoped, however," was the language of the report, "and in the judgment of the Secretary, not without sufficient grounds, that the present war may be brought to an auspicious termination before midsummer. In that event the provision of revenue by taxation, which he has recommended, will amply suffice for all financial exigencies, without resort to additional loans; and not only so, but will enable the government to begin at once the reduction of the existing debt." Such was the expectation of Secretary Chase in regard to the suppression of the Rebellion in the month of December, 1861.

We have seen the returns of the Union army, by the Secretary of War, made to exceed six hundred thousand men, from which, however, a liberal deduction was to be made to reduce the number to the force ready for service in the field. An estimate made at this time by a Northern journal, with a show of particularity, set forth the Confederate force in the field at nearly five hundred thousand. To the Department of the Potomac, under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston, with his headquarters at Manassas Junction, Major-General Gustavus W. Smith commanding the left-wing, and General Beauregard the right, were assigned one hundred and fifty thousand men. To the Department of the Chesapeake, with General Huger in command at Norfolk and Portsmouth, and General Magruder at Yorktown, forty thousand. In Western Virginia, under Generals Lee and Floyd, thirty thousand. In Missouri, under Price and McCulloch, sixty thousand. In Kentucky and Tennessee, under General Albert S. Johnston, with his headquarters at Nashville, an aggregate of one hundred and twenty-five thousand. This included General S. B. Buckner's command at Bowling Green in Kentucky, of twenty thousand, and that of Generals Polk and Pillow at Columbus and Hickman of fifteen thousand. The defences of the lower Mississippi, including New Orleans, were maintained by some sixty thousand. To Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and Galveston, were assigned some forty thousand.*

In the absence of official returns, not accessible at the North at the time, such an estimate, of course, could only be conjectural. Accepting it, however, as a rough calculation, subject to correction, there would probably remain a force sufficient, added to that reported by Secretary Cameron, to raise the aggregate of men enlisted or in arms in all parts of the country to the number of more than a million. What use could be made of this immense host, the equipment of which had largely drawn upon the workshops of Europe, and supplied for the last three months the chief manufacturing industry at home? Would it be concentrated at various points, on the Potomac, in Kentucky, on the Mississippi, the Gulf of Mexico, and meet in deadly conflict on the soil of the Southern States, or would it be held spellbound in mutual defiance till the sober second thought of the insurgents would prevail, arrest the impending desolation, and bring both portions of the nation together in fraternal unity under the old flag?

Such a result would at any moment have been welcomed by the President, the Cabinet, the Northern States, and the whole civilized world; but the decision of the matter rested with the insurgents, and they had shown no disposition to bring about so acceptable an event. Their leaders had resolved upon Independence, and they would fight for it to the end. The voice of the Confederate Government was clear enough on this point, and there was no lack of zeal in the State authorities to second the resolution. Governor Letcher, of Virginia, a State which had most to lose by the continuance of the conflict, may speak for the rest. In his message to the legislature of his State at the time of which we write, the beginning of December, he reviewed the condition of affairs. With a coolness and imperturbability belonging to the practiced politician, he spoke as the representative of a cause which had only to be asserted to be successful. Taking for granted the proposition that it was the intention of the Government at Washington to subjugate the South, and coerce its people to remain in a Union, "the great aims and objects of which," he asserted, "had failed," he maintained that the struggle which had been begun should not terminate "until our enemies shall recognize fully and unconditionally the independence of the Southern Confederacy." Whatever men or money should be wanted, he promised, should be cheerfully furnished. "There can be and there will be no compromise. We can never again live in harmony and peace under the same government. We can never entertain friendly feelings for a people who have ruthlessly shed Southern blood upon Southern soil in so execrable a war. They have shown themselves our worst enemies, and such we hold them to be. The separation that has taken place has been signalized in blood, and it ought to be, and I trust will be, a permanent separation. Reconstruction is not desirable, and even if it were, it is now an impossibility."

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* *New York Herald*, December 7, 1861.

Of a similar tone, stronger, if possible, in its contempt of the North, was the language held in South Carolina the previous month to the legislature by Governor Pickens. "As far as the Northern States are concerned, their Government is hopelessly gone, and if we fail, with all our conservative elements to save us, then, indeed, there will be no hope for an independent and free republic on this continent, and the public mind will despondingly turn to the stronger and more fixed forms of the Old World. Clouds and darkness may rest upon our beloved country, but if we are true to ourselves and just to others, looking with confiding faith up to that Providence who presides over the destinies of men and governments, we will surely triumph and come out of our trials a wiser and a better people."

CHAPTER LI.

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN KENTUCKY—BATTLE OF MILL SPRING, JANUARY 19, 1862.

On the 9th of November, by a new arrangement at Washington of the military Districts of the West, Brigadier-General Don Carlos Buell was placed in charge of the Department of the Ohio, consisting of the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, the portion of Kentucky east of the Cumberland River, and the State of Tennessee, while the portion of Kentucky west of the Cumberland was included in the Department of the Missouri assigned to General Halleck. General Buell, a native of Ohio, about forty-two years of age, was a graduate of West Point of 1841, appointed to the 3d Infantry, and a few years after distinguished himself in the war with Mexico, where he had risen from 1st Lieutenant to the brevet rank of Major. He was in the engagements at Monterey, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, and was wounded at Churubusco. He subsequently filled the office of Assistant Adjutant-General. He had been actively engaged in the organization of the army, and in command on the Potomac since the breaking out of the Rebellion. His appointment as the successor of General Sherman, was hailed as the promise of an energetic and decisive campaign.

The inevitable moment of action was now approaching. The appointment in October of the Confederate general, Albert S. Johnston, to the Department of the Mississippi, had infused new vigor into the operations of the rebels on the Kentucky frontier. This officer was a native of Kentucky, now in his fifty-ninth year. He had been educated at West Point, and was engaged in the Black Hawk war, acting as Adjutant-General when President Lincoln was a Captain of Volunteers. He resigned his commission at the close of the war, and resided first in Missouri, afterwards in Texas. On the war breaking out in that region he entered again into military service, and became Secretary of War. When the country was annexed, and war with Mexico followed, he raised a partisan troop and accompanied General Taylor to Monterey. When peace came he received from the Government the office of Paymaster. Jefferson Davis when Secretary of War made him Colonel of the 2d Cavalry, and he was subsequently appointed to the command of the Southwestern Military District. President Buchanan placed him at the head of the grand military expedition to Utah, from which he returned to join the Rebellion.

Calling together considerable bodies of troops from various quarters, General Johnston now strengthened the force at Bowling Green by the division of General Hardee from Southeastern Missouri, when that officer superseded General Buckner in his command. General Polk also received some additions to his force, already large, while General Zollicoffer, having secured the pass at Cumberland Gap, was taking up an important position in the midst of the rich mineral and agricultural district on the upper waters of the Cumberland. On the 16th of December, from his camp at Birch Grove, he addressed a Proclamation to the People of Southeastern Kentucky, assuring them that he came not to war upon Kentuckians, but to repel "those armed Northern hordes who were attempting the subjugation of a sister Southern State." Adroitly turning the evils he himself was creating to the charge of the supporters of the Government, whose whole object was the preservation of the peaceful relations he was seeking to destroy, this ruthless invader, whose path was marked by devastation, proclaimed that he had come to "open again the rivers, restore the ancient markets and the accustomed value of lands and labor." With a consciousness of past misdeeds, he admitted that his force had been represented as murderers and outlaws. "We have come to convince you," he said, "that we truly respect the laws, revere justice and mean to give security to your personal and property rights." With a liberal employment of the maxim that all is fair in war, in other words, with a total disregard of truth, he asserted that the openly avowed object on the part of the North was to set the slaves at liberty, while "the ensuing step will be to put arms in their hands and give them political and social equality with yourselves. We saw these things," he added, "in the beginning, and are offering our heart's blood to avert those dreadful evils which we saw the Abolition leaders had deliberately planned for the South. 'All men must have the *ballot* or none; all men must have the *bullet* or none,' said Mr.

Seward the present Federal Secretary of State. How long will Kentuckians close their eyes to the contemplated ruin of their present structure of society?"

The day following this proclamation, there was a spirited engagement on the south side of Green River, opposite Mumfordsville, at Rowlett's Station, where the troops were restoring the railway bridge which had been destroyed by the rebels, between four companies of Colonel Willich's 32d German Indiana Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Van Trebra, a part of General McCook's advance division, and Colonel Terry's regiment of Texan mounted Rangers, supported by two regiments of infantry and a battery of six guns. The national party, thus greatly outnumbered, bravely repelled the enemy's onset. The attack of the enemy was mainly with his cavalry and artillery. The Union troops fought as skirmishers, rallying rapidly into squares when charged by the cavalry; sometimes even defending themselves singly and killing their assailants with the bayonet. Thirty-three of the rebels, including Colonel Terry, were killed, and about fifty wounded. The Union loss was Lieutenant Saxe and eight men killed and ten wounded.* The Indiana troops were aided by a battery stationed on the north side of the river. The enemy retreated as reinforcements were coming up. Colonel Willich's command was handsomely complimented a few days after in an order from General Buell, at Headquarters at Louisville. He "thanked the officers and soldiers of the regiment for their gallant and efficient conduct, commending it as a study and example to all other troops under his command, and enjoining them to emulate the discipline and instruction which ensure such results." He ordered the name of Rowlett Station to be inscribed on the regimental colors of the regiment. Colonel August Willich, a soldier of European experience, entered the service as Major of Colonel McCook's 9th Ohio. The efficiency of both regiments was largely due to his zeal and ability as an instructor and disciplinarian.

After this engagement the enemy, falling back towards Bowling Green, having destroyed the northern railway communication, strengthened their defences at that place, and concentrated there a large force under command of General Albert Sydney Johnston; while McCook's, Nelson's, and Mitchell's divisions of General Buell's army threatened the position in front. Whilst these twofold preparations of attack and defence were being made and similar proceedings were going on upon the line of Zollicoffer's advance, there was a sudden diversion of a portion of the national forces to arrest a movement of General Humphrey Marshall, who, notwithstanding his previous disclaimer, was again himself in arms. He was this time in command of a force of some three thousand rebels in the extreme eastern portion of the State, on the Big Sandy River, where he had entrenched himself in the neighborhood of Paintsville. Thither, by order of General Buell, he was pursued by Colonel Garfield, following up the course of the river from the Ohio, at the head of a brigade composed of his own, the 42d Ohio regiment, the 14th Kentucky, and three hundred of the 2d Virginia cavalry. His march was one of extraordinary difficulties from the state of the roads, the men being compelled to relieve the teams by adding a portion of the transportation burdens to their own, as they made their way through the deep mud of the wet, inclement winter season. On hearing of their approach, Marshall broke up his camp and began a retreat, his whole army flying in confusion, closely pursued by Colonel Garfield's troops. In an encounter of the cavalry of the rival forces three were slain on the rebel side and a considerable number wounded, while the Union loss was two killed and one wounded. This occurred on the 7th of January, 1862. On the 9th, at noon, Colonel Garfield having been in the meantime reinforced by an Ohio regiment and a squadron of cavalry from Paris, led out a part of his command, eleven hundred men, from Paintsville in further pursuit of the enemy in the direction of Prestonburg. The enemy's pickets were driven in two miles below that town, and night coming on, the men slept on their arms on the field. At four o'clock the next morning they moved toward the main body of General Marshall's army at the forks of Middle Creek, three miles beyond Prestonburg. Skirmishing with his outposts began at eight o'clock, and at one in the afternoon the action became general. Marshall had with him twenty-five hundred men, with three cannon planted on a hill. Colonel Garfield was joined during the action by seven hundred additional troops from Paintsville, making his force in the field eighteen hundred. The engagement lasted till dark when the enemy was driven from all his positions, carrying off with him, however, the greater number of his dead and all his wounded. His loss in killed was estimated by Colonel Garfield at sixty. Twenty-seven were found on the field in the morning. Twenty-five rebel prisoners were taken and a quantity of stores, though the most were burnt in the precipitate retreat. The property found, it was said, "was wretchedly poor, the coats being made almost entirely of cotton." The Union loss was two killed, of the 14th Kentucky, and twenty-five wounded.* The comparatively small number of casualties on that side was owing to the excellent disposition of Colonel Garfield and the protection afforded by a wood to the men. The enemy's cannon were planted to sweep the valley road and his infantry on the sides of the adjacent hills. Colonel Garfield wholly avoided the guns, bringing his force along the brow of the hill, where the fight was carried on. His men, also, were skillful in availing themselves of the protection of the trees.

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* General Buell to General McClellan, December 18, 1861. General Buell's Military Order, December 27, 1861.

Among the anecdotes of the engagement, characteristic of this peculiar warfare, the story is told of the commanding Colonel's address to a band of Kentuckians volunteering to clear the hill of the enemy—"Go in boys; give them *Hail Columbia!*" and of his own enthusiasm being so much excited that he followed on with the reserve, pulling off his coat and flinging it up into the air, where it lodged in a tree. The men then threw up their caps with a wild shout and rushed upon the enemy; Colonel Garfield in his shirt-sleeves leading the way. A member of Captain Bushnell's company of the commander's 42d Ohio, was about to bite a cartridge when a musket-ball struck the cartridge from his fingers. Coolly facing the direction from which the shot came, he took out another cartridge and exclaimed, "You can't do that again, old fellow."*

Colonel James A. Garfield, the leader of the Union troops in this encounter, was born in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in 1831. He was educated at Williams College, Vermont, where it is said, he enjoyed a high reputation for ability, graduating with distinction in 1856. He afterward became Principal of an Academy in northern Ohio, and in 1859 was elected to the State Senate, of which he became a prominent member. He had just been admitted to the bar when the Rebellion broke out. He offered his services to the nation, and was soon at the head of his Ohio regiment.

This decisive battle freed the people of Kentucky from the military operations of General Marshall, and left Generals Thomas and Schoepf free to pursue their designs against Zollicoffer. Colonel Garfield took possession of Prestonburg, and issued a proclamation, in which he offered to all in arms "only the alternative of battle or of unconditional surrender;" but to those who had taken no part in the war, "even though they held sentiments adverse to the Union," the full protection of the Government in life and property.

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* Colonel J. A. Garfield to Captain J. B. Fry, A. A. G., January 8th, 1862.

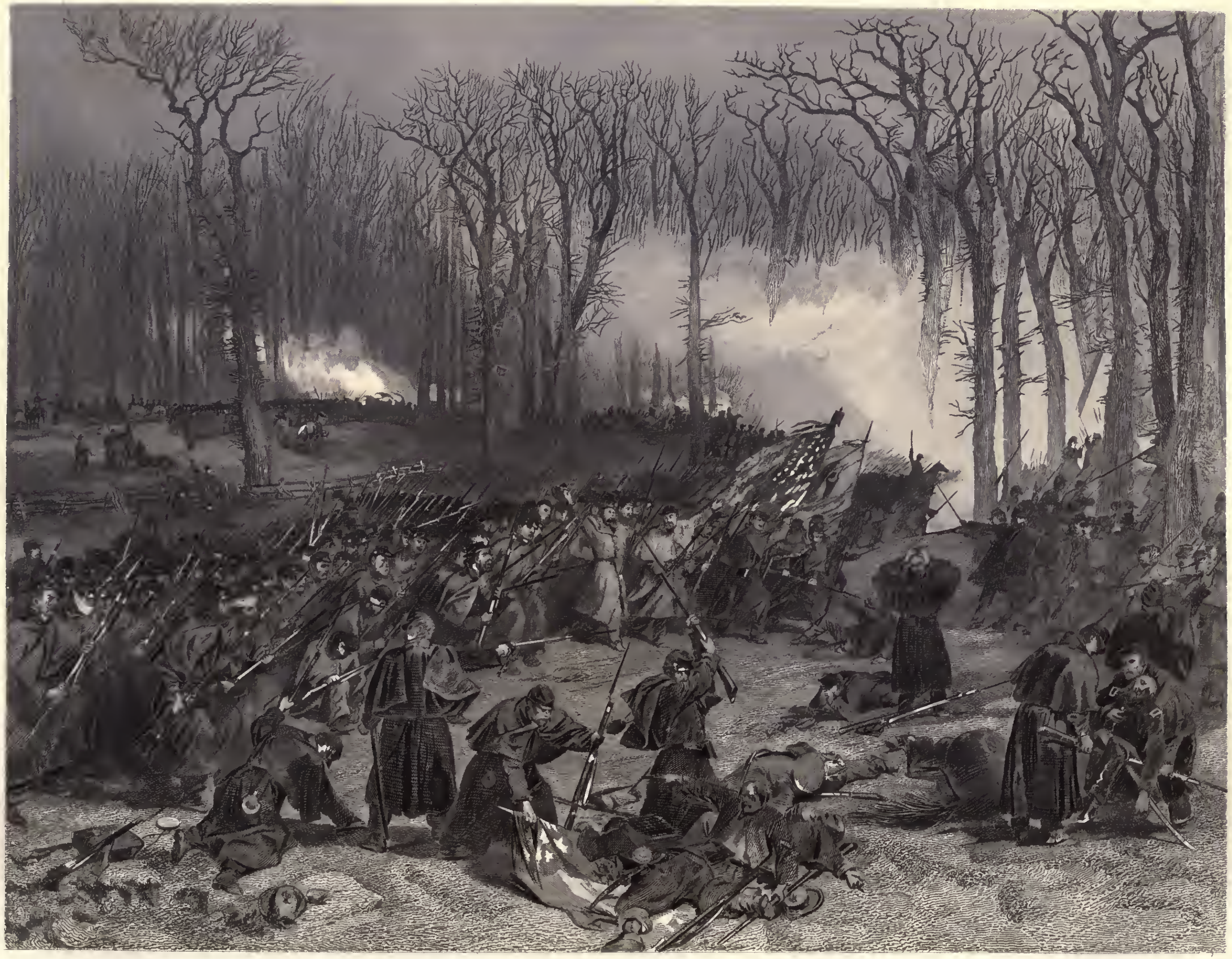
* Anecdotes of the engagement narrated by Captain Willard of Colonel Garfield's 42d Ohio Regiment. *Cleveland Herald*, January 16, 1862.

For "gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Prestonburg," Colonel Garfield was in February promoted to be a Brigadier-General of Volunteers.

Following hard upon Colonel Garfield's engagement with Marshall at Prestonburg came the decisive victory over the forces of the enemy at Mill Springs, up to that time the most important battle gained by the Union forces, and, in fact, as it proved, the commencement of a series of successful military operations of the utmost value in the progress of the war in the West. To the faithful few, the valiant bands of Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota, and Kentucky, and the exiles of Tennessee, who fought on the banks of the Cumberland, men looked back with gratitude when fort after fort fell, and post after post was evacuated, carrying the headquarters of the Union army to the proud city of Nashville, which not long before had been proposed as the capital of the Confederate States.

We have seen General Zollicoffer establishing himself on the Cumberland on the borders of Wayne and Pulaski county, where he held an advantageous position on both sides of the river, which he fortified with great skill. The spot which he had selected was about twenty-five miles due north of the state line of Tennessee and about fifteen by the road south-west from Somerset, where, at Mill Springs, a bend of the Cumberland and its junction with the White Oak Creek afforded water protection on three sides. In this area, on a range of hills several hundred feet above the river, and supporting one another, Zollicoffer built his works, a series of well constructed fortifications, from which he could be dislodged only by a close and severe contest. The position was still further secured by additional works on the south side of the Cumberland. On this well defended height and its vicinity were encamped some twelve thousand men, with about eight hundred cavalry and fifteen pieces of artillery. In the beginning of January, General Zollicoffer was joined by Major-General George B. Crittenden, who, as the superior officer, assumed the command. General Crittenden was the son of the venerable Senator from Kentucky. He had received a military education at West Point, and served in the army of the United States, from which he had been discharged, it is said, on account of intemperance. In front of the rebel position, guarding the approaches of the enemy, General Schoepf was encamped with his brigade at Somerset, while General Thomas was stationed with his division a considerable distance to the north, at Lebanon.

Such was the state of affairs in the region early in January, when an expedition was set on foot, in pursuance of instructions from General Buell, against the threatening position of the enemy. Its details, with an account of the action which ensued, commonly called the battle of Mill Springs, are thus given in the official report of Brigadier-General Geo. H. Thomas, to whom the movement was entrusted. "I have the honor," says that officer in his report to General Buell of the 31st of January, "to report that in carrying out the instructions of the General commanding the department, contained in his communications of the 29th of December, I reached Logan's Cross Roads, about ten miles north of the intrenched camp of the enemy, on the Cumberland river, on the 17th inst., with a portion of the 2d and 3d Brigades, Kenney's Battery of Artillery, and a battalion of Wolford's Cavalry. The 4th and 10th Kentucky, 14th Ohio, and the 18th United



BATTLE OF MILL CREEK.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers

States Infantry, being still in the rear, detained by the almost impassable condition of the roads, I determined to halt at this point to await their arrival, and to communicate with General Schoepf. The 10th Indiana, Wolford's Cavalry, and Kenney's Battery took position on the road leading to the enemy's camp. The 9th Ohio and 2d Minnesota, (part of Colonel McCook's brigade,) encamped three-fourths of a mile to the right, on the Robertsport road. Strong pickets were thrown out in the direction of the enemy, beyond where the Somerset and Mill Springs road comes into the main road from my camp to Mill Springs, and a picket of cavalry some distance in advance of the infantry. General Schoepf visited me on the day of my arrival, and after consultation I directed him to send to my camp Standart's Battery, the 12th Kentucky and the 1st and 2d Tennessee regiments, to remain until the arrival of the regiments in the rear. Having received information on the evening of the 17th that a large train of wagons, with its escort, were encamped on the Robertsport and Danville Road, about six miles from Colonel Stedman's camp, I sent an order to him to send his wagons forward, under a strong guard, and to march with his regiment, (the 14th Ohio,) and the 10th Kentucky, (Colonel Harlan,) with one day's rations in their haversacks, to the point where the enemy were said to be encamped, and either capture or disperse them.

"Nothing of importance occurred, from the time of my arrival until the morning of the 19th, except a picket skirmish on the 17th. The 4th Kentucky, the battalion of Michigan Engineers, and Wetmore's Battery, joined on the 18th. About 5½ o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the pickets from Wolford's Cavalry encountered the enemy advancing on our camp; retired slowly, and reported their advance to Colonel M. D. Manson, commanding the 2d Brigade. He immediately formed his regiment (the 10th Indiana) and took a position on the road to await the attack, ordering the 4th Kentucky (Colonel S. S. Fry) to support him, and then informed me in person that the enemy were advancing in force, and what disposition he had made to resist them. I directed him to join his brigade immediately, and hold the enemy in check until I could order up the other troops, which were ordered to form immediately, and were marching to the field in ten minutes afterwards. The battalion of Michigan Engineers, and Company A, 38th Ohio, (Captain Greenwood,) were ordered to remain as guard to the camp. Upon my arrival in the field soon afterward, I found the 10th Indiana formed in front of their encampment, apparently awaiting orders, and ordered them forward to the support of the 4th Kentucky, which was the only whole regiment then engaged. I then rode forward myself to see the enemy's position, so that I could determine what disposition to make of my troops as they arrived. On reaching the position held by the 4th Kentucky, 10th Indiana, and Wolford's Cavalry, at a point where the roads fork leading to Somerset, I found the enemy advancing through a cornfield, and evidently endeavoring to gain the left of the 4th Kentucky regiment, which was maintaining its position in a most determined manner. I directed one of my aids to ride back and order up a section of artillery and the Tennessee Brigade to advance on the enemy's right, and sent orders for Colonel McCook to advance with his two regiments (the 9th Ohio and 2d Minnesota) to the support of the 4th Kentucky and 10th Indiana. A section of Kenney's Battery took a position on the edge of the field to the left of the 4th Kentucky, and opened an efficient fire on a regiment of Alabamians, which was advancing on the 4th Kentucky. Soon afterward the 2d Minnesota, (H. P. Van Cleve,) the Colonel reporting to me for instructions, I directed him to take the position of the

4th Kentucky and 10th Indiana, which regiments were nearly out of ammunition. The 9th Ohio, under the immediate command of Major Kæmmerling, came into position on the right of the road at the same time.

"Immediately after the regiments had gained their position, the enemy opened a most determined and galling fire, which was returned by our troops in the same spirit, and for nearly half an hour the contest was maintained on both sides in the most obstinate manner. At this time the 12th Kentucky (Colonel W. A. Hoskins) and the Tennessee brigade reached the field to the left of the Minnesota regiment, and opened fire on the right flank of the enemy, who then began to fall back. The 2d Minnesota kept up a most galling fire in front, and the 9th Ohio charged the enemy on the right, with bayonets fixed, turned their flank and drove them from the field, the whole line giving way and retreating in the utmost disorder and confusion. As soon as the regiments could be formed and refill their cartridge boxes, I ordered the whole force to advance. A few miles in the rear of the battle-field a small force of cavalry was drawn up near the road, but a few shots from our artillery (a section of Standart's Battery) dispersed them, and none of the enemy were seen again until we arrived in front of their intrenchments; as we approached their intrenchments the division was deployed in line of battle, and steadily advanced to the summit of the hill at Moulden's. From this point I directed their intrenchments to be cannonaded, which was done until dark by Standart's and Wetmore's Batteries. Kenney's Battery was placed in position on the extreme left at Russell's house, from which point he was directed to fire on their ferry to deter them from attempting to cross. On the following morning Captain Wetmore's Battery was ordered to Russell's house and assisted with his Parrot guns in firing upon the ferry. Colonel Manson's Brigade took position on the left, near Kenney's Battery, and every preparation was made to assault their intrenchments on the following morning. The 14th Ohio, Colonel Stedman, and the 10th Kentucky, Colonel Harlan, having joined from detached service, soon after the repulse of the evening, continued with their brigade in the pursuit, although they could not get up in time to join in the fight. General Schoepf also joined me on the evening of the 19th, with the 17th, 31st, and 38th Ohio. His entire brigade entered with the other troops. On reaching the intrenchments we found the enemy had abandoned everything and retired during the night. Twelve pieces of artillery, with their caissons packed with ammunition, one battery wagon, and two forges, a large amount of ammunition, a large number of small arms, (mostly the old flintlock musket,) one hundred and fifty or sixty wagons, and upward of one thousand horses and mules, a large amount of commissary stores, intrenching tools, and camp and garrison equipage, fell into our hands. A correct list of all the captured property will be forwarded as soon as it can be made up and the property secured. The steam and ferry boats having been burned by the enemy in their retreat, it was found impossible to cross the river and pursue them; beside, their command was completely demoralized, and retreated with great haste and in all directions, making their capture in any numbers quite doubtful, if pursued. There is no doubt but what the moral effect produced by their complete dispersion will have a more desired effect in reëstablishing Union sentiment than though they had been captured.

"It affords me much pleasure to be able to testify to the uniform steadiness and good conduct of both officers and men during the battle. I regret to have to report that Colonel R. L. McCook, commanding the 3d Brigade, and his Aid, Lieutenant A. S. Burt, 18th United States

Infantry, were both severely wounded in the first advance of the 9th Ohio regiment, but continued on duty until the return of the brigade to camp at Logan's Cross Roads. Colonel S. S. Fry, 4th Kentucky regiment, was slightly wounded whilst his regiment was gallantly resisting the advance of the enemy, during which time General Zollicoffer fell from a shot from his (Colonel Fry's) pistol, which, no doubt, contributed materially to the discomfiture of the enemy. * * * A number of flags were taken on the field of battle, and in the intrenchments. The enemy's loss, as far as known, is as follows: Brigadier-General Zollicoffer, Lieutenant Bailey Peyton, and 190 officers and non-commissioned officers and privates, killed. Lieutenant-Colonel W. B. Carter, 20th Tennessee, Lieutenant J. W. Allen, 15th Mississippi, Lieutenant Allan Morse, 16th Alabama, and five officers of the Medical Staff, and 81 non-commissioned officers and privates taken prisoners. Lieutenant J. E. Patterson, 20th Tennessee, and A. J. Knapp, 15th Mississippi, and 66 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded. Making 192 killed, 89 prisoners not wounded and 62 wounded. A total of killed, wounded, and prisoners of 349. Our loss is: One commissioned officer and thirty-eight men, killed, and fourteen officers, including Lieutenant Bart, United States Infantry, A. D. C., and 194 men, commissioned officers and privates, wounded."

The 10th Indiana lost ten men, killed; three commissioned officers and seventy-two non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded. The 9th Ohio lost six men, killed; four commissioned officers and twenty-four non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded. The casualties of the 2d Minnesota were twelve non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; two officers and thirty-one privates, wounded. Twenty-one pieces of artillery, some fifteen hundred horses and mules, the entire camp equipage of the enemy, and other stores to a large amount, fell into the hands of the victorious army. A circular or order of march of General Crittenden, dated from his headquarters, Birch Grove, Kentucky, January 18th, shows the force which left the rebel intrenchments that night. To General Zollicoffer were assigned the 15th, 19th, 20th, and 25th Mississippi regiments, with Captain Rutledge's battery of four guns, and to General Carroll the 17th, 28th, and 29th Tennessee regiments, with two guns, the 16th Alabama in reserve, with battalions of cavalry in the rear. The movement was apparently made with the expectation of cutting off a portion of the Union troops before the rest arrived or the junction of the two commands of Thomas and Schoepf was effected. "False intelligence of the enemy's force," said the *Knoxville* (Tennessee) *Register*, accounting for the defeat, "was brought by one Johnson, known familiarly as 'hogback Johnson.' General Crittenden ordered an advance, supposing the enemy to be only fifteen hundred strong."

The Report of Acting Brigadier-General McCook, and the several regimental reports, supply many interesting details of the valor exhibited on this well-fought field. The Minnesota regiment, in their hand-to-hand encounter with the Mississippians, were at one time in such close encounter that "they were poking their guns through the same fence at each other." The charge of the 9th Ohio gained that regiment, already well tried in the school of war in Virginia, great credit for gallantry. "Seeing the superior numbers of the enemy and their bravery," says Colonel McCook in narrating the incident, "I concluded the best mode of settling the contest was to order the 9th Ohio to charge the enemy's position with the bayonet and turn his left flank. The order was given the regiment to empty their guns and fix bayonets. This done, it was ordered to charge. Every man sprang to it with alacrity and vociferous cheering. The enemy seemingly prepared to resist it; but before the regiment reached him the lines commenced to give way—but few of them stood, perhaps ten or twelve. This broke the enemy's flank, and the whole line gave way in great confusion, and the whole turned into a perfect rout." The Report of Lieutenant-Colonel W. C. Kise, commanding the 10th Indiana, was equally honorable to that regiment, which was the first to meet the enemy in the morning, and, "powder-besmeared, tired and hungry, having had nothing to eat since the previous night," the foremost in pursuit of his shattered forces at eve. They, too, executed a bayonet charge with great spirit, "driving the enemy from the woods into an open field two hundred yards." Colonel McCook was severely wounded in the leg below the knee, but remained in the field, pursuing the enemy at the head of his brigade a distance of twelve miles, of which he was compelled to make three miles on foot in an ankle-deep morass. His horse received three wounds from shots. One ball passed through the collar of his overcoat and the fifth struck him in the leg.*

In respect to the death of General Zollicoffer, it was at first related that Colonel Fry recognized him as he came up, and shot him on the instant with his revolver; but this was not so, as appears by his own subsequent statement, as it was reported in the *Louisville Journal*. Colonel Fry, it seems, was in the act of leading his regiment, the 4th Kentucky, in a charge upon the Mississippians, when General Zollicoffer, evidently mistaking him for an officer on his own side, rode up to him with an aid and said, "You are not going to fight your friends, are you? These," pointing to the Mississippians, "are all your friends." The aid then fired, wounding the horse of Colonel Fry; when the latter turned and fired, killing Zollicoffer, knowing neither his person nor his rank.* The rebel General wore a white rubber coat over his uniform, and, it is said, had his beard shaved off the evening previous to the battle, to be less readily distinguished.

Lieutenant Bailey Peyton was the son of an ex-member of Congress of Tennessee. He had been educated abroad at Heidelburg, and was engaged in the profession of the law in his native State. He was about twenty-seven years old at the time he fell, and, it is said, "was a staunch Union man until public opinion placed him into the army. He expressed regret as to the nature of the war between the sections only the day before he was killed. He was shot twenty steps in advance of his company by a Minié ball." The bodies of both officers were taken charge of and carried by a flag of truce from Munfordsville to the enemy's line, a funeral salute being fired from the Union camp as the escort passed over the pontoon bridge at Green river.†

General Thomas, the commander of the Union forces in this battle, was a native of Virginia, a graduate of West Point of 1840, when he was appointed to the 3d Artillery. He had since been actively engaged in his professional duties in the army; in the Florida war; in Mexico, at Monterey, and at Buena Vista; in all which services he was brevetted for his gallantry. He was afterward instructor of artillery and cavalry at West Point, and at the breaking out of the Rebellion held the rank of Major of the 2d Cavalry. In the rapid promotion which followed he rose first to a Colonelcy, then to the rank of Brigadier-General, serving, previously to his appointment to Kentucky, with General Patterson's division on the Shenandoah.

The news of the battle of Mill Spring

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* Letter from Colonel R. L. McCook to Gustavus Tafel, Camp Hamilton, Kentucky, January 21, 1862.

* Report of a letter from Colonel S. S. Fry to his wife, narrating the manner in which he killed General Zollicoffer, published in the *Louisville Journal*.

† Munfordsville Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*, January 30, 1862.

was received with enthusiasm throughout the North for the evidence that it afforded of the courage and perseverance of the Union troops in an open encounter. The enemy had come forth from his entrenchments, and though with superior numbers and the expectation of engaging the advance of General Thomas's force at an advantage, yet the contest had been an open one. The dreaded Mississippians had been met hand-to-hand, and the victory was with the men of the West. It had been said that the prowess of the contending parties would not be fully tested till they left skirmishing at long range and came to the deadly and decisive thrust of the bayonet. That experiment had now been tried, and the example was not thrown away upon the Northern ranks.

After a long period of comparative inactivity, as it seemed, though the necessary work of preparation was all the while going on, checked by various reverses, Mill Spring, breaking the line of the enemy in Kentucky, opened the South to our arms. It was hailed as the sure promise of success in the future. By no one were its omens more joyfully accepted than by the President and the new Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, who only a few days before had entered on the duties of his office. Immediately on receipt of General Thomas's first announcement of the victory, he issued, by order of the President, this General Order from the War Department: "The President, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, has received information of the brilliant victory achieved by the United States forces over a large body of armed traitors and rebels at Mill Spring in the State of Kentucky. He returns thanks to the gallant officers and soldiers who won that victory, and when the official reports shall be received, the military skill and personal valor displayed in battle will be acknowledged and rewarded in a fitting manner. The courage that encountered and vanquished the greatly superior numbers of the rebel force, pursued and attacked them in their intrenchments, and paused not until the enemy was completely routed, merits and receives commendation. The purpose of this war is to pursue and destroy a rebellious enemy, and to deliver the country from danger. Menaced by traitors, alacrity, daring, courageous spirit and patriotic zeal on all occasions, and under every circumstance, are expected from the army of the United States. In the prompt and spirited movements and daring at the battle of Mill Spring, the nation will realize its hopes, and the people of the United States will rejoice to honor every soldier and officer who proves his courage by charging with the bayonets and storming intrenchments, or in the blaze of the enemy's fire."

CHAPTER LII.

CAPTURE OF FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON, AND RE-OCCUPATION OF NASHVILLE, FEBRUARY, 1862.

Simultaneously with the first movements of Colonel Garfield in Eastern Kentucky, the advance of General Thomas toward the position of General Zollicoffer, and the concentration of General Buell's great army in front of the rebel stronghold at Bowling Green, Gen. Halleck was busy in his department of Missouri setting on foot the necessary preparations for a most important series of operations against the left of the enemy's line on the Mississippi and the northern state boundary of Tennessee. The outermost Confederate defences of the great central region of the South lay in an irregular line between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, Kentucky being chosen for the battleground to the west of the mountains, as Virginia had been on the east. As Charleston, South Carolina, was to be defended on the Potomac, so New Orleans sought its protection by carrying the war towards the Ohio. Indeed, reversing the points of the compass from east to west, we may trace a curious parallelism in the two states. If Washington was threatened in the one quarter, Louisville was the object of attack on the other. As Fortress Monroe was a great basis of operations at one extremity, furnishing men and arms, so was Cairo on the west; and as the one had a menacing neighbor in Norfolk, so had the other in Columbus. What the line of the Kanawha was to northern Virginia, penetrating the mountainous region, the Big Sandy, with its tributaries emptying also in the Ohio, was to the defiles of Eastern Kentucky. What Manassas or Richmond was, in one quarter, to the foe, Bowling Green, a great railway centre, was to the other. As Virginia was pierced on the east by the James and the Rappahannock and the York, so was Kentucky on the west by the Cumberland and Tennessee; and as the Unionists held Newport News, a point of great strategic importance, at the mouth of one of these streams, so were they in possession of Paducah, a place of equal or greater advantage, at the entrance to another.

Commencing with Cumberland Gap, the key of Eastern Tennessee, the rebel defences swept along the southern border of Kentucky by the waters of the upper Cumberland at Mill Spring, thence westward to Bowling Green, dipping to the Cumberland in its lower course at Clarksville and Fort Donelson in Tennessee, the adjoining Fort Henry on the Tennessee river and ascending to Columbus on the Mississippi. Such was the outline of General Johnston the Confederate Commander's line of defence in his Department of the Mississippi. It was chosen with great skill, and had it been regularly completed by the possession of Paducah and Smithtown, the entrances of the Tennessee and the Cumberland, its security, so far as advantages of position were concerned, would have been perfect. The mountain passes, the river courses, the railway centres and arteries, would all have been in the enemy's hands. One thing, however, was wanting to make the possession complete—an adequate force to hold the intervals between the different points. Following the irregular outline, there were some four hundred miles in all to guard, and the defence was concentrated at the different positions. Between Bowling Green and Mill Spring there were a hundred miles which might be crossed by the Union forces, flanking either of those positions; consequently the latter fell without aid from its distant neighbor; and when one was taken the other became untenable. A most important advantage was lost to the enemy when, as we have seen, General Polk was anticipated by General Grant in his designs upon Paducah. The activity of a few hours in the movement of the transports from Cairo decided the fortunes of a campaign, and consequently affected the interests of the nation to an extent which it would be vain to attempt to calculate.

During the autumn and early part of the winter, much had been heard of the preparation by the Navy Department of the gunboats and mortar fleet at St. Louis and Cincinnati, and its gathering at Cairo for an onward movement down the Mississippi. The iron-covered gunboats were specially constructed for the service. They were broad in proportion to their length, so as to sit firmly on the water and support with steadiness the heavy batteries for which they were intended. The largest were of the proportion of about one hundred and seventy-five feet to fifty, drawing five feet when loaded. They were firmly built of oak with extra strength at the bows and bulwarks, and were sheathed with wrought iron plates two and a half inches in thickness. To ward off the shots of the enemy, the sides of the boats both above and below the knee were made to incline at an angle of forty-five degrees, so that they could be struck at right angles only by a plunging fire. The armament consisted of guns of the heaviest calibre. 84-pound rifled cannon were placed at the bows and 8-inch columbiads at the sides. The mortar-boats were about sixty feet long and twenty-five wide, and were surrounded on all sides by iron-plate bulwarks six or seven feet high. The huge mortar which they carried, bored to admit a 13-inch shell, with seventeen inches of thickness from the edge of the bore to the outer rim, weighed over seventeen thousand pounds; while the bed or carriage on which it was placed weighed four thousand five hundred pounds. From this formidable engine shells might be thrown a distance of from two and a half to three and a half miles. The vessels thus equipped were manned by seamen enlisted for the service, by western boatmen and volunteers from the eastern army, who being familiar with navigation appeared suited for this amphibious warfare. They were commanded by officers of the United States Navy, flag-officer Andrew H. Foote being placed in charge of the entire flotilla. This veteran officer, a native and resident of New Haven, Connecticut, was the son of the distinguished Senator from that State, Samuel A. Foote, whose resolutions in the Senate occasioned the famous debate between Webster and Hayne, in which the relative position of the North and the South was so eloquently brought into discussion. Having entered the navy in 1822, he was now in his fortieth year of service. He had seen much of the world in that time, and performed many arduous professional duties in the discharge of which he had become noted for his earnestness and efficiency. Deeply imbued with a religious spirit, he had turned his voyages to account in the service of philanthropy; defending the cause of the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, organizing temperance societies among the sailors, and improving their condition on shore; and earnestly pursuing the suppression of the slave trade in his command of the Perry on the coast of Africa. On his return he published a record of his labors—a volume entitled "Africa and the American Flag." Eager for action, when action was demanded, he had with great spirit signally avenged an attack upon his men in his successful assault upon the Barrier forts in China, in his last cruise in 1858. At the commencement of the Rebellion he was in command of the Navy Yard at Brooklyn, whence in the autumn of 1861 he was transferred to the Ohio, as the successor of Commander Rogers, to superintend the preparation and take command of the western gunboat flotilla. A sound patriot, eminently a stickler for the honor of the flag in the face of all enemies, foreign and domestic, his heart was in the work, and he quickly proved, as was expected, his uncommon resolution and energy.

There were various preliminary movements, both by land and water, preparatory to the decisive expedition up the Tennessee, which resulted in the capture of Fort Henry. Early in January several important reconnoissances were made to Fort Jefferson and elsewhere on both sides of the Mississippi, towards Columbus, of which exaggerated rumors were spread abroad, representing them as the beginning of a grand advance intended for an immediate attack upon the enemy, and much needless indignation was expended by newspaper letter-writers who professed themselves disappointed in the loss of an opportunity to describe some great battle, for which they had laid up a store of ink and an abundant supply of enthusiasm. The several Generals were criticised pretty freely, in consequence, for the shots which they fired into empty entrenchments, and the wearisome marches through seas of mud by which the men were led to the encounter of "no enemy but winter and rough weather." The officers pursued their own way, however, gathered their stores of information, formed their conclusions, and kept their own counsel, leaving the journalists, in ignorance of their intentions, to bite their pens in despair, and the public to fret and fume over the vexatious delays which it was slow in accepting as inevitable under such circumstances to all prudent military operations. A sufficient indication of these preliminary movements, which were so little understood at the time, is given in the following brief *résumé* from the *New York Herald:* "On the 9th of January a large force of Union troops —cavalry, artillery, and infantry—under the command of Brigadier-General McClernand, left Cairo, Illinois, for a reconnoissance in Southwestern Kentucky, towards the Tennesse border, in the direction of Columbus. This force numbered about seven thousand men. Cotemporaneously with this movement of McClernand's brigade, another force of nearly equal strength, under Brigadier-General Paine, marched from Bird's Point, opposite Cairo, in the direction of Charleston, Missouri, and thence to the Ohio river, to observe the movements of the rebels at Columbus on the river front. About the same time another brigade, numbering six thousand men, under Brigadier-General C. F. Smith, moved from Paducah to Mayfield, Kentucky, and towards Columbus, and another force from Cairo to Smithland, a point on the Ohio river, between the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. Besides these land forces, and in coöperation with them, several Union gunboats, under the command of Captain Porter, proceeded down the Ohio river and within two miles of Columbus. The movement of these forces, was for the same object, each having its sphere of action conducing to a common result—the reconnoitering of the enemy's left flank. The most active part taken in this grand reconnoissance was done under the command of General McClernand, coöperating with his senior and chief of the whole movement, General Grant.

"General McClernand's brigade, conveyed in river transports, left Cairo on the 10th for old Fort Jefferson, Kentucky, about fifteen miles distant. He disembarked his force on the following day and encamped. On the 12th he made a demonstration in the direction of Columbus, with a force of six companies of cavalry and two regiments of infantry, marching for several miles, until they observed the rebel Fort Beauregard. In front of this work was seen a strong abatis of fallen timber, extending over a distance of half a mile, and surrounding the enemy's intrenchments. The rigor of the weather and the non-appearance of any considerable force of the enemy led the Union commander to the belief that the rebels were massed within their intrenchments. The object of the reconnoissance being not to engage the enemy, if it could be avoided, the party returned the same day to Fort Jefferson.

"On the 13th another party of Union troops left Fort Jefferson and proceeded to Blandsville, where it selected a strong position for an encampment. On the 14th the whole of McClernand's force marched to Blandsville. They moved in two columns, with strong guards in advance, so as to command the approaches to Columbus and both bridges across Mayfield creek. On the 15th an advance was made to Weston, within ten miles of Columbus, going thence to the southwest of the latter to Milburn, taking the town by surprise. General Grant at this point assumed command of the troops. At this place a man came into camp who had just arrived from Columbus. From him was obtained valuable information respecting the condition of the rebels at that place. This refugee stated that the movements of the Union troops had caused much excitement among the rebels, and caused them to withdraw their forces from Fort Beauregard, Jackson, New Madrid and other places. On the 16th the forces marched to Milburn, and from thence the commander sent a detachment to Mayfield, where it communicated with General Smith's brigade from Paducah. On the 17th, the object of the expedition having been accomplished, the entire force under McClernand retraced their steps and returned to Cairo in the same order as they came, having travelled a distance of one hundred and forty miles, obtaining the fullest information of the nature of the ground over which they had passed.

"On the 21st of January, Brigadier-General C. F. Smith's brigade, consisting of six thousand men, cavalry, artillery, and infantry, arrived at Crown Point —a point on the Tennessee river—from Paducah, having marched a distance of one hundred and twenty miles over muddy roads, and crossing numerous swollen water courses. On the 22d ult., the day after the arrival of the brigade at Crown Point, General Smith proceeded on a personal reconnoissance, on the gunboat Lexington, in the direction of Fort Henry. The gunboat proceeded up the west channel of the river, to a point within one mile and a half of the fort. Three rebel steamers were discovered lying off the mouth of the small creek that empties into the Tennessee river just above the fort. A well-directed shell was fired from the Lexington, striking one of the rebel craft in the stern. A second shell fell short of its mark just in front of the enemy's works; a third burst in the air, directly over Fort Henry, doubtless doing good execution. The rebels in the fort then brought out a 32-pounder gun to bear on the Lexington, the shot from which fell into the water one-half mile short of its mark. General Smith obtained an excellent view of the rebel fort, camp, and garrison, and immediately returned with his brigade to Paducah, having met with the fullest success in the reconnoissance."

At the close of the month, when the unusual rise in the water offered a most favorable opportunity for the navigation of the river, and transport of troops, Commodore Foote earnestly urged upon General Halleck the expediency of an attack upon Fort Henry, giving it as his opinion and that of General Grant that with four iron-clad gunboats and a coöperating military force the position might be taken. So confident, indeed, was he of this result that when a few days after the order was given, and he saw work ahead for his flotilla, he issued his instructions in advance to Lieutenant Phelps to proceed immediately with the old lighter armed gunboats, "as soon as the fort shall have surrendered," to further conquests on the river.*

At daylight on the 4th of February, the expedition, under command of Commodore Foote and General Grant, set sail in a fleet of gunboats and transports from Paducah, on the Tennessee, for Fort Henry, distant some sixty-five miles by the river. In the afternoon a point was reached four miles below the fort, within the state of Tennessee, where the flotilla was arrested to land a body of troops, under General McClernand, with a view of making a detour and taking the work in the rear, while the gunboats proceeded with the attack from the water. A camp was formed on the shore, named after General Halleck the commander of the department, and the stars and stripes were raised again upon the soil of Tennessee. That afternoon a reconnoissance was made by the gunboats in the direction of the fort, which demonstrated the long range and excellent handling of the enemy's guns, Captain Porter's vessel, the Essex, receiving a rifle shot at the distance of two miles and a half. It entered, says the curious correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, who supplies us with various details of these scenes, "the Captain's state-room, a temporary affair, built of wood on her larboard side near the stern, entering in front just below the roof, where there was nothing but an inch pine board to resist it, passed between his clock and bureau, darted under his table and disappeared through the rear of the room near the floor. It did no damage except grazing one of the legs of his table and cutting the feet from a pair of stockings as neatly as if it had been done with shears. A few moments before the money chest of the boat was standing under the table, exactly where the ball passed, and Captain Porter removed it."

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* Commodore Foote to General Halleck, Cairo, January 28, 1861; to Hon. Gideon Welles, Paducah, February 3, 1862; Special Order No. 3 to Lieutenant Phelps, Paducah February 2, 1862. Speech of the Hon. James W. Grimes, United States Senate, March 13, 1862.

In the night, General Grant returned to the Ohio for reinforcements, which he brought up the next day, when a further reconnoissance was made of the channel leading to the fort. This was conducted by Lieutenant Phelps, in the Conestoga, and resulted in the extrication of eight torpedoes which had been placed in the bed of the river for the destruction of the fleet. They were formidable looking instruments of sheet iron, five feet and a half in length and a foot in diameter, of a cylindrical form, pointed at the ends. Within, in the centre, was a canvas bag containing seventy pounds of powder, alongside of which was placed a percussion cap for its explosion. This was to be struck by a trigger worked by a rod communicating with a lever outside, armed with grappling hooks to seize upon any vessel ascending the stream. To assist this purpose, the machine was attached to anchors at the bottom by cords of unequal length, so that it hung lightly in the river at an angle of about forty-five degrees. It was certainly an ingenious and well arranged contrivance, but unfortunately for the schemes of its inventors, it failed of success in three most important particulars. In the first place the secrecy necessary to the success of all such devices was violated; next, while they were planted with an eye to the usual depth of water, the river had unexpectedly risen so high that boats of any probable draft would float over quite untouched; and further, had all other things concurred to favor the experiment, it would have been defeated by the condition of the powder. After carefully dragging up the torpedoes at a safe distance, Lieutenant Phelps found the canvas bag, upon which all depended, thoroughly saturated with water. The correspondent, whom we have just cited, tells us how the Lieutenant was put upon the track of these ill-meant contrivances. "Their existence and location," says our entertaining imformant, "were revealed by that most irrepressible of all the forces of nature—a woman's tongue. In the morning, the 'Jessie Scouts'—a volatile daring corps of young men, who inevitably turn up wherever a fight is expected—went into a farm-house, where nearly thirty women had gathered for safety. The inmates, greatly alarmed, begged them not to injure a party of unprotected females. The scouts allayed their fears, when the women informed them they had frequently heard that Southern wives and daughters had no mercy to hope for at the hands of the Lincoln soldiery. In the conversation which ensued, one stated that her husband was a captain in the rebel army at Fort Henry. 'By about to-morrow night, madam,' remarked one of the scouts, 'there will be no Fort Henry—our gunboats will dispose of it.' 'Not a bit of it,' was the reply; 'they will be all blown up before they get past the island.' It was said so significantly that the scout questioned her further, but she refused to explain. He finally told her that unless she revealed all she knew he would be compelled to take her into the camp of the 'Lincolnites,' as a prisoner. This excited her terror, and she explained that torpedoes had been planted, and described their location as well as she was able. though bewailing her slip of the tongue."

About noon the next day, the 6th, the land and naval forces advanced together to the encounter. The former, numbering some fifteen thousand men, were arranged in two divisions, one under General C. F. Smith, proceeding by the left bank on the Kentucky shore to take and occupy the heights on that side commanding the fort; the other, under General McClernand, to pursue a circuitous route to which they were compelled by the rise of the waters, to the rear of the fort, on the road to Fort Donelson. There they were to prevent all reinforcements to Fort Henry, or escape from it, and be ready to storm the work promptly on receipt of orders.* Before either had reached its destination, the work of the day was already accomplished by flag-officer Foote, to whose proceedings we now turn our attention. The reader will find, in the direct, manly language of his official report of the transaction to the Department at Washington, the best account of the capture of Fort Henry. It was dated the following day at Cairo, whither the writer withdrew, not to remove himself from the scene of conflict, but hastily to gather new forces and return, if possible, with increased resolution to a more arduous encounter. "I have the honor," he writes, "to report that on the 6th inst., at 12½ o'clock P. M., I made an attack on Fort Henry, on the Tennessee river, with the iron-clad gunboats Cincinnati, Commander Stembel, the flag-ship; the Essex, Commander Porter; the Carondolet, Commander Walker, and the St. Louis, Lieutenant-Commanding Paulding; also taking with me the three old gunboats Conestoga, Lieutenant-Commanding Phelps; the Tyler, Lieutenant-Commanding Gwynn, and the Lexington, Lieutenant-Commanding Shirk, as a second division, in charge of Lieutenant-Commanding Phelps, which took a position astern and in-shore of the armed boats, doing good execution there in the action, while the armed boats were placed in the first order of steaming, approaching the fort in a parallel line.

"The fire was opened at 1,700 yards distance, from the flag-ship, which was followed by the other gunboats, and responded to by the fort. As we approached the fort, slow steaming till we reached within 600 hundred yards of the rebel batteries, the fire both from the gunboats and the fort increased in rapidity and accuracy of range. At twenty minutes before the flag was struck, the Essex unfortunately received a shot in her boiler, which resulted in the wounding and scalding of twenty-nine officers and men, including Commander Porter. The Essex then necessarily dropped out of line astern, entirely disabled, and unable to continue the fight, in which she had so gallantly participated until the sad catastrophe. The firing continued with unabated rapidity and effect upon the three gunboats as they continued still to approach the fort with their destructive fire, until the rebel flag was hauled down, after a very severe and closely-contested action of one hour and fifteen minutes.

"A boat containing the adjutant-general and captain of Engineers came alongside after the flag was lowered, and reported that General Lloyd Tilghman, the commander of the fort, wished to communicate with the flag-officer, when I dispatched Commander Stembel and Lieutenant-Commanding Phelps, with orders to hoist the American flag where the secession ensign had been flying, and to inform General Tilghman that I would see him on board the flag-ship. He came on board soon after the Union had been submitted for the rebel flag on the fort, and possession taken of it. I received the General and his Staff, and some sixty or seventy men, as prisoners, and a hospital ship, containing sixty invalids, together with the fort and its effects, mounting twenty guns, mostly of heavy calibre, with barracks and tents capable of accommodating 15,000 men, and sundry articles, which, as I turned the fort and its effects over to General Grant, commanding the army on his arrival, in one hour after we had made the capture, he will be enabled to give the Government a more correct statement of than I am enabled to communicate from the short time I had possession of the fort. The plan of the attack, as far as the army reaching the rear of the fort to make a demonstration simultaneously with the navy, was frustrated by the excessively muddy roads, and the high stage of water, preventing the arrival of our troops until some time after I had taken possession of the fort.

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* General Grant's Field Oaders No. 1, near Fort Henry, February 5, 1862.

"On securing the prisoners, and making the necessary preliminary arrangements, I dispatched Lieutenant-Commanding Phelps with his division up the Tennessee river. as I had previously directed, to remove the rails, and so far render the bridge of the railroad, for transportation and communication between Bowling Green and Columbus, useless, and afterwards to pursue the rebel gunboats and secure their capture if possible. This being accomplished, and the army in possession of the fort, and my services being indispensable at Cairo, I left Fort Henry in the evening of the same day, with the Cincinnati, Essex and St. Louis, and arrived here this morning.

"The armed gunboats resisted effectually the shot of the enemy, when striking the casemate. The Cincinnati, the flag-ship, received thirty-one shots, the Essex fifteen, the St. Louis seven, and the Carondelet six—killing one and wounding nine in the Cincinnati, and killing one in the Essex, while the casualties in the latter from steam amounted to twenty-eight in number. The Carondelet and St. Louis met with no casualties. The steamers were admirably handled by the commanders and officers, presenting only their bow guns to the enemy, to avoid the exposure of the vulnerable parts of their vessels. Lieutenant-Commanding Phelps, with his division, also executed my orders very effectually, and promptly proceeded up the river in their further execution after the capture of the fort. In fact all the officers and men gallantly performed their duty, and considering the little experience they have had under fire, far more than realized my expectations. Fort Henry was defended with the most determined gallantry by General Tilghman, worthy of a better cause, who, from his own account, went into action with eleven guns of heavy calibre bearing upon our boats, which he fought until seven of the number were dismantled or otherwise rendered useless."

The accident to the Essex, the chief disaster to the Union forces of the day, was more particularly described in a letter by an officer of the gunboat flotilla, published in the journals of the day. "It was a 32-pound shot passing through the edge of a bow port, through a strong bulkhead, plump into the boiler. There was only about sixty pounds of steam on, just enough to stem the current, or there would not have been one man left to tell the tale. Porter was standing near the gun and in the act of giving an order to a bright young lad named Brittain, the son of a clergyman in New York, when the ball came through, carrying off Brittain's head before going into the boiler. The pilot-house was directly over the boiler, and the only communication with it was from below. The two pilots had no way of escape, and were literally boiled to death. They thrust their heads out of the little air ports, which was all they could do. Some of the crew rushed out into the open air on the platform in front with their clothes and skin hanging in threads from their bodies, and with their last breath shouted, 'Hurrah for the Union.' Another poor fellow, while dying, being told that the fort had surrendered, said, 'I die content.' Another, with blistered hands, pulled the string to fire another shot, but the steam had dampened the priming. Seldom has greater heroism been displayed. Several poor fellows jumped overboard to escape the steam and were drowned. Altogether it was an awful scene, the contending ships and the fort, the roar of battle, and the hissing steam, sending its deadly breath into every pore of the devoted crew."

On the arrival of General McClernand at the rear of the fort, he found the camp of the enemy, where several thousand troops—regiments of Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and others, had been stationed, quite deserted. It had been abandoned in haste at his approach. Tents were left standing with all their appurtenances, arms, clothes, provisions, the public property and personal effects of officers and men. So eager, in fact, were the troops to be off, that they did not leave a single horse for the officers of the garrison to ride away upon, General Tilghman's favorite steed, "one of the finest, sir, in the Southern Confederacy," as he touchingly remarked, being taken with the rest.* On the opposite side of the river, General Smith's division reached the unfinished works at Fort Hickman, also to take possession of the tents and stores from which the owners had fled. Fort Henry was found to be a well-built bastioned fort without casemates, inclosing an area of three and a half acres. Outside was an extensive series of rifle pits. Its armament consisted of one 10-inch columbiad, a rifled 24-pounder, twelve smooth-bore 32's, a 24-pounder siege gun, and two 12-pounders. The rifled gun exploded early in the action. The casualties of the garrison were six killed and ten wounded.

Commander William D. Porter, who suffered so severe, but happily, as it proved, not fatal injury on board his vessel, was a son of the distinguished Commodore Porter, of world-wide fame, for his adventures in the Pacific Ocean in the second war with Great Britain. The gunboat which the son commanded in Commander Foote's flotilla, was named in honor of his father's ship, the Essex. Commander Porter was born in Louisiana, but was appointed to the navy from Massachusetts. He entered the service early in life, in 1823, and had shared the usual employments of a junior officer, his rank of Commander dating from 1855. At the beginning of 1861 he was in command of the Sloop St. Marys, at Panama, whence he dated an indignant letter of rebuke to Lieutenant J. H. Hamilton, a South Carolinian, who having deserted the service of the United States to conduct a rebel steam tug in Charleston harbor, thought fit to write his brethren in the navy to follow the same treasonable course. Porter's reply was not to be mistaken: "The Constitutional Government of the United States has entrusted me with the command of this beautiful ship, and before I will permit any other flag to fly at her peak than the Stars and Stripes, I will fire a pistol in her magazine and blow her up. * * The Constitution defines treason to be bearing arms against the United States. You have frequently heard this read on the quarter-deck of these vessels of the navy, and yet you would persuade the gallant men of the navy to place themselves alongside of the traitor Arnold and yourself. It has ever been the boast of the navy that she has never had one traitor within her corps. You, sir, are the first to destroy the proud boast. Future history will place you alongside of Arnold, and you will be the first to blot the page of naval history illuminated by the example of Decatur, Porter, Hull, Bainbridge, Jones, Caldwell, and other gallant and patriotic officers." Such were the terms in which Porter resented the wounds inflicted on his country. In the appointment to the fleet on the Mississippi he was among the foremost, and his gunboat was one of the first fitted for action. That he lost no opportunity for a word as well as a blow at the enemy, his correspondence with a rebel commander on the Mississippi at Fort Columbus, thus given in the newspapers of the day, abundantly witnesses. It opened with a general challenge: "Come out here, you cowardly rebels, and show your gunboats. PORTER." There was something in the appeal, unceremonious as it appears, which suited the meridian, for it was presently answered, though in more professional phraseology: "Marine Headquarters, Columbus, Kentucky, January 13, 1862. Commander Porter, on United States gunboat Essex:—Sir, The iron-clad steamer Grampus will meet the Essex at any point and time your honor may appoint, and show you that the power is in our hands. An early reply will be agreeable to your obedient servant, Marsh J. Miller, Captain-Commanding C. S. I. C. steamer Grampus." To which Porter answered, with a genuine sailor's inspiration: "United States gunboat Essex, W. D. Porter Commanding, Fort Jefferson, January 18, 1862. To the traitor Marsh Miller, commanding a rebel gunboat called the Grampus:—Commander Porter has already thrashed your gunboat fleet, shelled and silenced your rebel batteries at the Iron Banks, chased your miserable and cowardly self down behind Columbus; but if you desire to meet the Essex, show yourself any morning in Prentys' Bend, and you shall then meet with a traitor's fate—if you have the courage to stand. 'God and our country; rebels offend both.' PORTER."

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* Special Correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, February 14, 1862.

Brigadier-General Lloyd Tilghman, the Confederate commander of Fort Henry, a native of Maryland, was a graduate of West Point of the year 1836, with the rank of brevet 2d Lieutenant in the 1st Regiment Dragoons. He left the service immediately to follow the profession of civil engineering, in which he became engaged in various important public works. Returning to the army in the war with Mexico, he served with distinction on the Rio Grande, and elsewhere, and when peace was concluded, resumed his occupation of engineering, and was employed in an important position in the construction of the Panama railroad. He had of late resided at Paducah in Kentucky, and in the early defensive or armed neutrality movements in that state, held an appointment under General Buckner. When the state decided for the Union, he left for Tennessee, and accepted a commission from the Confederate Government. He figured prominently in the border movements attending the rebel occupation of Bowling Green, and was specially intrusted with the defences of the Cumberland and the Tennessee.

In the reports of the engagement at Fort Henry, which were current at the time, it was said, that in surrendering to Flag-Officer Foote, General Tilghman remarked, "I am glad to surrender to so gallant an officer," to which the Commodore replied, in no disparagement of his gallantry, for to that he has testified in his official report, but with a full consciousness of the relative value of assailing the Government and defending it; "You do perfectly right, sir, in surrendering, but you should have blown my boats out of the water before I would have surrendered to you." In fact, the gallant sailor seems to have taken quite a fancy to his valiant antagonist. Writing to a friend at Baltimore, who was particularly interested in the events of the day, he said—"You will see quite enough, and perhaps more than you want to see, about our fight. Tighlman and I laughed over it, and became quite social if not warm friends before I turned him over to our General, as I was leaving the evening of our action. He acted so bravely and gallantly in the fight, and is such a high-toned, brave man, that he won my heart, and I take pleasure in bearing testimony to his pluck, the gallant defence of his post, and how near he was to killing your nephew."

By the courtesy of General Grant, General Tilghman was permitted to communicate a report of the transactions of the day to Headquarters at Bowling Green. In this he stated, that he had commenced the action with the gunboats with eleven guns, and had continued the engagement for about two hours. when having but four guns fit for service, he found it impossible to maintain the fort, and surrendered. "The effect of our shot," says he, "was severely felt by the enemy, whose superior and overwhelming force alone gave them the advantage." While he bore testimony to the gallantry of the officers and men, he added, "I also take great pleasure in acknowledging the courtesies and considerations shown by Brigadier-General U. S. Grant, and Commander Foote, and the officers under their command."*

Commodore Foote was a straight-forward man, ready for duty in whatever form it might present itself. We have seen an Episcopal Bishop becoming a Major-General, in the Confederate service. The reverse of that spectacle was far more pleasing, when Commodore Foote, the Sunday after his victory, preached a sermon from the pulpit of a church at Cairo. The congregation of the Presbyterian Church, at that place, we are told, "were disappointed at the non-appearance of their pastor. After waiting half an hour for his arrival, Commodore Foote was induced to conduct the services. He seemed to be as much at home in the pulpit as he was in the Cincinnati during the bombardment, for he extemporized an excellent practical discourse from the text, 'Let not your hearts be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me.' The auditors," it is added, "were much affected at hearing the voice from which so lately rang out the word of command,

'In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge
Of battle, when it raged,'

raised in humble acknowledgment to Heaven for the victory, in earnest invocation for future protection, and in simple, but forcible, expositions of the truth, that happiness depends not on externals, but upon integrity, purity of life, and straightforward, conscientious performance of the duties which devolve upon us."*

The victory of Commodore Foote, everywhere received with congratulations at the North, was announced to General McClellan, at Washington, in this brief dispatch by Major-General Halleck from his headquarters at St. Louis the day after its occurrence. "Fort Henry is ours! The flag of the Union is reëstablished on the soil of Tennessee. It will never be removed." The dispatch of Commodore Foote from the deck of his flag-ship, after the surrender, was read to both Houses of Congress immediately on its receipt, and was received with loud demonstrations of applause. The Senate, fired by the success of the gunboats, at once passed the bill from the naval committee for building twenty additional iron-clad steam vessels of that description.

"The country," wrote Secretary Welles, in reply to Commodore Foote, "appreciates your gallant deeds, and this Department desires to convey to you and your brave associates its profound thanks for the service you have rendered." A few days after, the following General Order was issued by Flag-Officer Foote: "The officers and crew of that portion of the gunboat flotilla which were engaged in the capture of Fort Henry on the 6th inst., already have had their brilliant services and gallant conduct favorably noticed by the Commanding General of the Western Army, and by the Secretary of the Navy, conveying the assurance that the President of the United States, the Congress, and the country, appreciate their gallant deeds, and proffer to them the profound thanks of the Navy Department for the services rendered. In conveying these pleasing tidings that our services are achnowledged by the highest authorities of the Government, you will permit me to add, that in observing the good order, coolness, courage, and efficiency of officers and men, in the memorable action between the gunboats and the fort, that I shall ever cherish with the liveliest interest all the officers and men who participated in the battle, and in the future shall, with increased hope and the greatest confidence, depend upon all officers and men attached to the flotilla, in the performance of every duty, whether in the fight or the laborious work of its preparation."

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* Brigadier-General Lloyd Tilghman to Colonel W. W. Mackall, A. A. General, C. S. A., Bowling Green. Fort Henry, February 9, 1862.

* Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*, Cairo, February 10, 1862.

Of the sequel to the capture of Fort Henry, the expedition up the Tennessee river, which had been so judiciously provided for by Commodore Foote in advance, we have a most interesting detailed account in the official report of Lieutenant-Commanding S. L. Phelps, to whom the work was entrusted. "Soon after the surrender of Fort Henry," writes that officer to Flag-Officer Foote, from the gunboat Conestoga, on the 10th of February," I proceeded, in obedience to your order, up the Tennessee river, with the Taylor, Lieutenant-Commanding Gwin; Lexington, Lieutenant-Commanding Shirk, and this vessel, forming a division of the flotilla, and arrived after dark at the railroad crossing, twenty-five miles above the fort, having on the way destroyed a small amount of camp equipage, abandoned by the fleeing rebels. The draw of the bridge was found closed, and the machinery for turning it disabled. About a mile and a half above were several rebel transport steamers escaping up stream. A party was landed, and in an hour I had the satisfaction to see the draw open. The Taylor being the slowest of the gunboats, Lieutenant-Commanding Gwin landed a force to destroy a portion of the railroad track, and to secure such military stores as might be found, while I directed Lieutenant-Commanding Shirk to follow me with all speed in chase of the fleeing boats. In five hours this boat succeeded in forcing the rebels to abandon and burn those of their boats loaded with military stores. The first one fired (Samuel Orr) had on a quantity of submarine batteries, which very soon exploded; the second one was freighted with powder, cannon-shot, grape, balls, etc. Fearing an explosion from the fired boats—there were two together—I had stopped at a distance of a thousand yards, but, even there, our skylights were broken by the concussion; the right upper doors were forced open, and locks and fastenings everywhere broken. The whole river, for half a mile roundabout, was completely 'beaten up' by the falling fragments, and the shower of shot, grape, balls, etc. The house of a reported Union man was blown to pieces, and it is suspected that there was design in landing the boats in front of the doomed home. The Lexington having fallen, and without a pilot on board, I concluded to wait for both of the boats to come up. Joined by them, we proceeded up the river. Lieutenant-Commanding Gwin had destroyed some of the tressel-work at the end of the bridge, burning with them a lot of camp equipage. J. N. Brown, formerly a lieutenant in the navy, and signing himself C. S. N., had fled with such precipitation as to leave his papers behind. These Lieutenant-Commanding Gwin brought away, and I send them to you, as they give an official history of the rebel floating preparations on the Mississippi, Cumberland, and Tennessee. Lieutenant Brown had charge of the construction of gunboats.

"At night, on the 7th, we arrived at a landing in Hardin County, Tennessee, known as Cerro Gordo, where we found the steamer Eastport, being converted to a gunboat. Armed boat-crews were immediately sent on board, and search was made for means of destruction that might have been devised. She had been scuttled, and the section pipe broken. These leaks were soon stopped. A number of rifle shots were fired at our vessels, but a couple of shells dispersed the rebels. On examination, I found that there were large quantities of timber and lumber prepared for fitting up the Eastport; that the vessel itself—some two hundred and eighty feet long—was in excellent condition, and already half finished, considerable of the plating designed for her was lying on the bank, and everything at hand to complete her. I therefore directed Lieutenant-Commanding Gwin to remain with the Taylor to guard the prize, and to load the lumber, etc., while the Lexington and Conestoga should proceed still higher up. Soon after daylight, on the 8th, we passed Eastport, Mississippi, and at Chickasaw, further up near the state line, seized two steamers, the Sallie Wood and Muscle—the former laid up, and the latter freighted with iron, destined for Richmond, and for rebel use. We then proceeded up the river, entering the State of Alabama, and ascending to Florence, at the foot of the Muscle shoals. On coming in sight of the town, three steamers were discovered, which were immediately set on fire by the rebels. Some shots were fired from the opposite side of the river below. A force was landed, and considerable quantities of supplies, marked Fort Henry, were secured from the burning wrecks. Some had been landed and stored. These I seized, putting such as we could bring away on board our vessels, and destroying the remainder. No flats or other craft could be found. I found also more of the iron and plating intended for the Eastport.

"A deputation of citizens of Florence waited upon me, first desiring that they might be made able to quiet the fears of their wives and daughters, with assurances from me that they would not be molested; and secondly, praying that I would not destroy their railroad bridge. As for the first, I told them we were neither ruffians nor savages, and that we were there to protect from violence, and to enforce the laws; and, with reference to the second, that if the bridge were away, we could ascend no higher, and that it could possess no military importance, so far as I saw, as it simply connected Florence itself with the railroad on the south bank of the river. We had seized three of their steamers, one half-finished gunboat, and had forced the rebels to burn six others loaded with supplies, and their loss, with that of freight, is a heavy blow to the enemy. Two boats are still known to be on the Tennessee, and are, doubtless, hidden in some of the creeks, where we shall be able to find them when there is time for the search. We returned on the night of the 8th, to where the Eastport lay. The crew of the Taylor had already got on board the prize an immense amount of lumber, etc. The crews of the three boats set to work to finish the undertaking, and we have brought away probably 250,000 feet of the best quality of ship and building lumber, all the iron, machinery, spikes, plating, nails, etc., belonging to the rebel gunboat, and I caused the mill to be destroyed where the lumber had been sawed. Lieutenant-Commanding Gwin had, in our absence, enlisted some twenty-five Tennesseans, who gave information of the encampment of Colonel Drew's rebel regiment, at Savannah, Tennessee. A portion of the six hundred or seven hundred were known to be 'pressed' men, and all were badly armed. After consultation with Lieutenants-Commanding Gwin and Shirk, I determined to make a land attack upon the encampment. Lieutenant-Commanding Shirk, with thirty riflemen, came on board the Conestoga, leaving his vessel to guard the Eastport, and accompanied by the Taylor, we proceeded up to that place prepared to land one hundred and thirty riflemen and a 12-pound rifled howitzer. Lieutenant-Commanding Gwin took command of this force when landed, but had the mortification to find the camp deserted. The rebels had fled at one o'clock in the night, leaving considerable quantities of arms, clothing, shoes, camp utensils, provisions, implements, etc., all of which were secured or destroyed, and their winter quarters of log huts were burned. I seized, also, a large mail bag, and send you the letters, giving military information. The gunboats were then dropped down to a point where arms, gathered under the rebel 'press law,' had been stored, and an armed party, under Second-Master Goudy, of the Taylor, succeeded in seizing about seventy rifles and fowling-pieces. Returning to Cerro Gordo, we took the Eastport, Sallie Wood, and Muscle in tow, and came down the river to the railroad crossing. The Muscle sprang aleak, and all efforts failed to prevent her sinking, and we were forced to abandon her, and with her a considerable quantity of fine lumber. We are having trouble in getting through the draw of the bridge here.

"I now come to the, to me, most interesting portion of this report, which has already been long; but I trust you will find some excuse for this in the fact that it embraces a history of labors and movements day and night, from the 6th to the 10th of the month, all of which details I deem it proper to give you. We have met with the most gratifying proofs of loyalty everywhere across Tennessee, and in portions of Mississippi and Alabama we visited. Most affecting instances greeted us almost hourly. Men, women, and children, several times gathered in crowds of hundreds, shouted their welcome, and hailed their National flag with an enthusiasm there was no mistaking; it was genuine and heartfelt. The people braved everything to go to the river bank, where a sight of their flag might once more be enjoyed, and they have experienced, as they related, every possible form of persecution. Tears flowed freely down the cheeks of men as well as women, and there were those who had fought under the stars and stripes at Moultrie, who in this manner testified to their joy. This display of feeling, and sense of gladness at our success, and the hopes it created in the breasts of so many people in the heart of the Confederacy, astonished us not a little, and I assure you, sir, I would not have failed to witness it for any consideration. I trust it has given us all a higher sense of the sacred character of our present duties. I was assured at Savannah, that of the several hundred troops there, more than one-half, had we gone to the attack in time, would have hailed us as deliverers, and gladly enlisted with the National forces. In Tennessee the people generally, in their enthusiasm, braved secessionists, and spoke their views freely; but in Mississippi and Alabama, what was said was guarded. 'If we dared express ourselves freely, you would hear such a shout greeting your coming as you never heard.' 'We know that there are many Unionists among us, but a reign of terror makes us afraid of our shadows.' We were told, too, 'Bring us a small organized force, with arms and ammunition for us, and we can maintain our position, and put down rebellion in our midst.' There were, it is true, whole communities, who, on our approach, fled to the woods, but these were where there was less of the loyal element, and where the fleeing steamers in advance had spread tales of our coming with firebrands, burning, destroying, ravishing, and plundering.

"The crews of these vessels have had a very laborious time, but have evinced a spirit in their work highly creditable to them. Lieutenants-Commanding Gwin and Shirk have been untiring, and I owe to them and to their officers many obligations for our entire success."

CHAPTER LIII.

CAPTURE OF FORT DONELSON, AND OCCUPATION OF NASHVILLE, FEBRUARY, 1862

No sooner, as we have seen, was the comparatively easy conquest of Fort Henry effected than General Grant hastened back to Cairo, to make preparations for the next employment of his flotilla against the more imposing defences of Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland. This fortification was situated near the boundary of Tennessee, on the west bank of the river, about a hundred miles from its mouth, a short distance below the town of Dover, where the stream having pursued a westerly course for some miles turns northwardly to the Ohio. It was connected by a direct road with Fort Henry, but twelve miles to the westward, whence it had been reinforced by the retreating soldiery on the capture of that position, and being placed as an outpost or river defence of Nashville, some eighty miles above, was in ready communication by steamboat navigation with that important centre of the enemy's supplies. At Clarksville, an intermediate town thirty miles distant from the Fort, a branch of the Louisville and Nashville railway led in one direction to Bowling Green, in another to Memphis. There was little difficulty therefore in pouring in whatever reinforcements might be thought needed for the defence of Fort Donelson. Sufficient warning had been given of its danger in the fall of Fort Henry, where a strong Union force was gathering on its flank ready to advance. It was accordingly strengthened by various engineering devices and by the addition of large forces to the garrison. "I determined," says General Johnston, Confederate commander of the department, "to fight for Nashville at Donelson, and have the best part of my army to do it, retaining only 14,000 men to cover my front (at Bowling Green) and giving 16,000 to defend Donelson."*

Fort Henry surrendered on the 6th of February. On the 8th, General Pillow took command of Fort Donelson, and immediately set to work to improve its defences. This was done under the supervision of Major Gilmer, chief engineer of General A. S. Johnston's staff. The fortifications, thus strengthened and enlarged, consisted of a principal water battery, excavated on the side of the hill on which the work was built, thirty feet above the water at its present stage, mounting eight 32-pound guns and a 10-inch columbiad, bored as a 32-pounder and rifled ; a second water battery above, mounting a similar rifled gun and two 22-pounder carronades ; and on the summit, immediately behind the battery, a fieldwork, intended for the infantry supports, and beyond it to the eastward, at the considerable distance of a mile, a series of defences against an attack from the land, consisting of trenches or rifle-pits, protected in front of the exterior line by a wide abattis of felled trees and interlaced brushwood. The lines, some two miles in the windings, ran along a ridge cut through by several ravines running toward the river. the hill-sides rising by abrupt ascents seventy-five or eighty feet. On the elevations batteries of howitzers and field-pieces were stationed. The outworks rested at either extremity upon creeks impassable on account of back water from the river.* The fortifications, thus enclosed, were defended at the time of the investment by a force estimated at more than eighteen thonsand. General Floyd, whose proclamation announcing his departure for Kentucky, following close upon his flight from Virginia, will be remembered by the reader, was chief in command, arriving at the fort with reinforcements from Cumberland City on the 13th, when the seige was already begun, when he superseded General Pillow. Brigadier-General Buckner and Brigadier-General Bushrod K. Johnson were also in command. The troops at the fort consisted mainly of Mississippians, under General Johnson, with Floyd's brigade of regiments from Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas, and Alabama. There was also a considerable body of cavalry.

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* Letter of General A. S. Johnston to Mr. Barksdale, Member of Congress at Richmond. Decatur, Alabama, March 18, 1862.

A two-fold attack upon the position thus powerfully entrenched and supported, was resolved upon. The water batteries were to be bombarded by Commodore Foote's flotilla of gunboats, and the fortifications were to be invested on land by the army of General Grant. The latter was first on the spot. He left Fort Henry early on the morning of the 12th of February, six days after the conquest of that work, with a force of about fifteen thousand men. They were in two divisions, respectively commanded by Brigadier-Generals McClernand and Charles Ferguson Smith. The former we have already seen in action at Belmont. General Smith, an officer of high character and merit, of the regular army, a Pennsylvanian by birth, son of the eminent Dr. Samuel B. Smith of Philadelphia, was a graduate of West Point of the year 1825 ; he had been employed as an instructor in infantry tactics at that institution, and had greatly distinguished himself by his services in the field in the Mexican war. At the breaking out of the rebellion he held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of the 3d Infantry. He was greatly esteemed as a disciplinarian, and for his efficiency in the field. His command was well trained and was confidently relied upon for active duty. A third division, under Brigadier-General Lewis Wallace, whose spirited attack the previous summer upon Romney, as Colonel of the 11th Indiana regiment, will be remembered,* was sent round to the scene of conflict by the Cumberland.

General McClernand's 1st division consisted of two brigades, nine regiments, in all, of Illinois troops, with four batteries, and battalions of cavalry, under the command, respectively, of Colonel Oglesby and Colonel W. H. L. Wallace, acting Brigadiers. General Smith's division, the two brigades of which were commanded by Colonel Cook and Colonel J. G. Lauman, numbered, two Illinois, four Iowa, one Missouri, and three Indiana regiments. The weather on the day of the march from Fort Henry was mild and spring-like, and at noon the advance was reported within two miles of the works at Fort Donelson. As the Union troops came up the enemy's pickets were driven in, and a semi-circular line of investment was formed before the fortifications. General McClernand's division was stationed on the right towards the Dover road ; while General Smith, on the left, extended his line to a hill overlooking the creek, to the north of the fort. Gradual approaches were made to the works with occasional sharp skirmishing along the line, the enemy retiring to their defences beyond the ravine, which separated the two armies. On Thursday, the 13th, no general attack was made, General Grant waiting the arrival of the gunboats, with General Wallace's coöperating force by the Cumberland. The investment, meanwhile, was drawn closer, and there was sharp skirmishing with heavy firing between the enemy's artillery and the Union batteries, which were planted on the hills surrounding the rebel position. Important service was rendered by a corps of experienced riflemen drawn from the northwest, raised by Colonel Berge. These sharpshooters, in wait behind logs and trees, in well selected positions on the wooded ridges, picked off the enemy's gunners and thinned the venturesome combatants who appeared above their breastworks. Early in the afternoon an attempt was made to capture a formidable work of the enemy on the right. The movement, which was characterized by remarkable bravery, is thus narrated in the report of General W. H. L. Wallace: "About noon I was ordered by General McClernand to detach the 48th regiment, (Colonel Hayne,) to operate with the 17th Illinois, (Major Smith commanding,) and the 49th Illinois, (Colonel Morrison,) of the 3d brigade, in making an assault on the enemy's middle redoubt, on the hill west of the valley, supported by the fire of McAllister's guns. This force was under the command of Colonel Hayne, as senior Colonel. They formed in line and advanced in fine order across the intervening ravines, and mounted the steep heights upon which these works are situated, in the most gallant manner, and under a heavy fire of musketry from the enemy, posted in the lines of the earthwork. They advanced up the hill, delivering their fire with coolness and precision. The line not being long enough to envelope the works, by order of General McClernand, I detached the 45th Illinois (Colonel Smith) to their support on the right. This regiment advanced in beautiful order down the slope, across the valley, and up the opposite steep, with skirmishers deployed in front, and were soon warmly engaged. These operations had given the enemy time to reinforce their position with strong bodies of infantry from his reserves in the rear, and field artillery, which opened a destructive fire on the advancing line. The roll of musketry showed the enemy in powerful force behind his earthwork; notwithstanding, our forces charged gallantly up the heights to the very foot of the works, which were rendered impassable by the sharp, strong points of brushwood in which it was built. All the regiments engaged in this daring attempt suffered more or less from the enemy's fire. In the meantime the enemy began to show in strength in his intrenchments in front of Colonel Oglesby's brigade. Schwartz's battery was advanced along the road to within three hundred yards of the works, but being without canister range, they were withdrawn by General McClernand's order, and directed Captain Taylor to throw forward two sections of his battery to that position. The position being beyond the reach of my lines, the infantry support was to be furnished from Colonel Oglesby's brigade, which was immediately in the rear. These sections took their positions under most galling fire of rifles and musketry from the enemy's lines. The ground was covered with brush, and some time was required to put the army in position, and during this time the enemy's fire was very galling, and Taylor's men suffered somewhat from its effects. As soon as his position was gained, however, the rapid and well-directed fire of the sections soon silenced the enemy. The coolness and daring of the officers and men of these sections, directed by Captain Taylor in person, are worthy of high praise. The 48th, 45th, 49th, and 17th regiments having been ordered to retire from the hill where they had so gallantly assaulted the enemy's works, the 45th and 48th resumed their position in my line, and Colonel Morrison, commanding the 17th and 49th, having been wounded in this assault, these regiments were temporarily attached to my brigade, and acted under my orders during the subsequent operations, until the noon of the 15th."

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* Report of Colonel E. D. Webster, Chief of the Engineer Staff of General Grant's army. Fort Donelson, February 22, 1862. General Floyd's Official Report to General Johnston, February 27, 1862.

* Ante vol. i. p. 290.

On the left an advance was also made by a portion of Colonel Lauman's brigade to the ravine at the base of the hill on which were the enemy's fortifications. The 15th, under Colonel Veatch, moved steadily up the hill toward the intrenchments, under a most galling fire of musketry and grape, until their onward progress was obstructed by the fallen timber and brushwood. They succeeded in obtaining an advantageous position, and held it unflinchingly for more than two hours, with severe loss, till they were ordered to fall back out of range of the enemy's fire. The 7th and 14th Iowa with the 25th Indiana coöperated with this movement. At night the troops fell back to the position occupied in the morning.* The occurrences of the first day, in fact, after the rapid and successful movement at Fort Henry, were not the most encouraging. The enemy had a strong position, and were apparently prepared to defend it with resolution. In the evening the gunboats and reinforcements arrived, and there was a prospect of earnest work on the morrow. Meanwhile the fair weather under which the army had set out so gaily from Fort Henry changed to a wintry severity. A heavy rain set in, which turned in the night to a storm of snow and sleet, overtaking the troops in an almost defenceless condition. Many of them, in expectation of an engagement had, in the warmth of the previous day, thrown aside their overcoats and blankets, and being without tents, were exposed to the utmost rigors of the situation; while, if they lighted a fire it became a mark for the guns of the enemy. The sufferings of the troops that night will be remembered among the many sharp trials of the defenders of the Union. "The only demonstration of importance on the part of the rebels," we are told, "during the night, was a formidable attempt, on the right wing, to obtain Taylor's battery. The 20th Indiana, lying in the woods below it, however, after a brief skirmish in the midnight darkness, sent the intruders back to their fortifications again."*

On Friday, the 14th, the gunboats made their demonstration. When Commodore Foote returned from Fort Henry to Cairo, it was with the expectation of taking with him the new mortar boats to the siege of Fort Donelson; but they were not yet quite ready, and it was thought not good generalship to wait for them, however desirable their presence might be, while the enemy was every day providing more formidable means of resistance. General Halleck accordingly hastened the preparations for the attack, and Commodore Foote, with the fleet, was speedily engaged in the ascent of the Cumberland. A company of transports, carrying a large part of General Wallace's division, accompanied him. He arrived towards midnight of the 13th, in the immediate neighborhood of the fort. One of the iron-clad boats, the Carondelet, which had been sent forward by General Grant as a convoy to an advance portion of General Wallace's troops, had preceded him, and been engaged that day in a reconnoissance of the works at the fort. Many shots were fired by this vessel, and one damaging stroke received in return from a ball which entered her port bow and wounded a number of men by the splinters.

The next morning there was a conference on board the flag-ship, St. Louis, between General Grant and Commodore Foote, which ended in a determination to make a joint attack the same day upon the enemy's works. The reinforcements which had followed the gunboats, brought up General Wallace's division to an equality with the others, and the whole military force to some twenty-five thousand men. With such an array, success might be expensive, but could hardly be doubtful. At a quarter to two the signal was given from the St. Louis, and the fleet proceeded up the river in line of battle, the flag-ship on the extreme right, with the other iron-clad vessels, the Louisville, Pittsburg, and Carondelet, abreast. The Conestoga and Tyler, not being iron-clad, were kept in the rear. A correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, an eye witness of the scene from the flag-ship, writing immediately after the bombardment, furnishes an interesting account of the progress of the action : "At twenty-two minutes to three," says he, " the first shot was fired by the rebels from the water battery. We were then a mile and a half from the fort. The ball struck the water about a hundred yards ahead of us. Two minutes later another ball—a 64-pounder from the same battery—was fired at us, but dropped ahead about a hundred and fifty yards. Several shots were directed toward us, but without effect, before we opened fire. At seven minutes to three, the St. Louis opened the battle for our fleet by the discharge of her 8-inch shell gun. The shot fell into the water within a few yards of the lowest battery of the fort. Our fleet fired slowly at first, but with good effect—a great number of our shell bursting within the enemy's fortifications.

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* Report of Colonel Lauman to General Smith. Fort Donelson, February 18, 1862.

* Fort Donelson Correspondent of the *Missouri Democrat*, February 17, 1862.

" We advanced on the fort slowly, but steadily—the four gunboats maintaining their line of battle admirably. At quarter past three the firing increased in rapidity on both sides. Shell after shell was sent from our boats at intervals of less than five seconds. The enemy's fire had by this time become terrific. They were using 32-pound ball principally, and firing more frequently than we, and with great accuracy. Our fleet used twelve guns, each iron-clad boat working its three bow pieces. The Conestoga and Taylor kept about 1,500 yards in our rear, firing shell at long range. The Conestoga fired thirty-six 8-inch shells during the action ; the Taylor sixty-one. Their distance from the fort was too great for effective working, but they kept a couple of the enemy's guns engaged during a greater part of the action, and thus diverted many shots that otherwise would have been aimed at the iron-clad vessels.

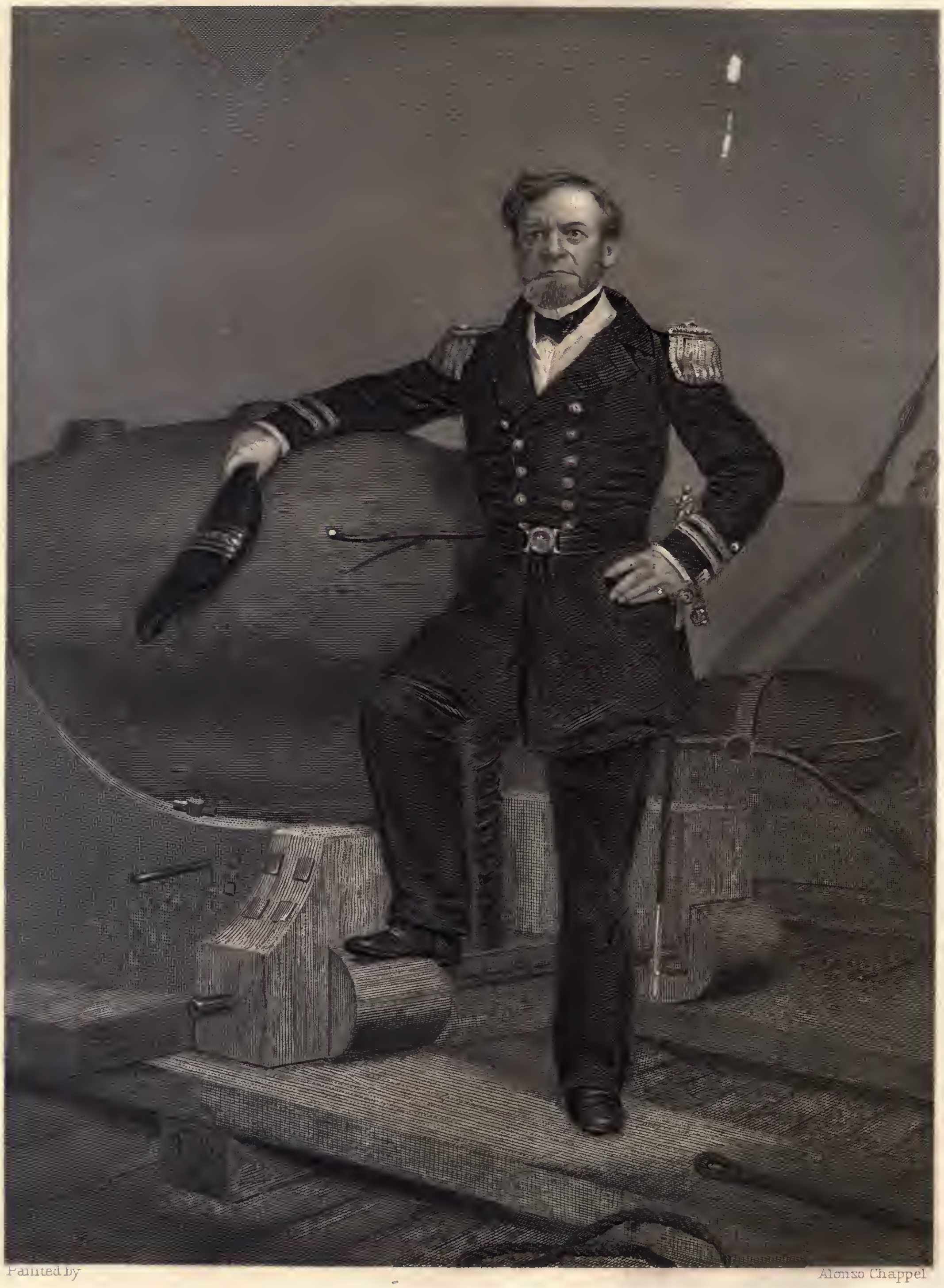
" About three-quarters of an hour after the commencement of the engagement, the boats had steamed within three hundred yards of the fort, and the hottest of the battle took place. Our guns had by this time got the range of the rebel batteries much better than at first, and their shot and shell were made to fall within the breastworks and intrenchments with great effect. The water battery was silenced, and the guns deserted by the enemy. From the deck of the gunboats the rebel soldiers could be seen running up the hill to seek shelter in the intrenchments of the upper batteries. Just as this occurred, an officer was observed to emerge from a redoubt and wave a sword above his head. I could not tell whether he was cheering his men to victory or driving them back to their guns. The only flag we could discover on the fort was one which appeared to us to be plain red. This, however, can be accounted for by the fact that the red predominates so largely in the colors composing the rebel flag. Some of our men thought the enemy desired to signify that he meant ' blood.' Whatever he meant, he displayed considerable foresight in placing the flag at a good distance from his guns, thereby removing what is usually an excellent mark to shoot at. At half-past three a shell from one of our boats struck the rebel flagstaff, breaking it off close to the ground.

An officer of the fort immediately ran out and erected it near its former site. Scarcely had the rebel ensign been displaced, when a 32-pound ball struck the flag-staff of the St. Louis, carrying it away close to the ship's deck. It had no sooner fallen that one of our brave men jumped before the mouth of a cannon just about to be fired, and seizing the spar, placed it in an upright position, and coolly remained a mark for the enemy, while he secured it to the ship's deck with a rope. A few moments after this, the flag-staff of the Louisville was carried off; that of the Carondelet went next, and that of the Pittsburg followed soon after.

"As we neared the fort the enemy commenced pouring 'plunging shot' into us with great rapidity. Their guns were well pointed, and did great execution. A 32-pound ball struck the pilot-house of our vessel, piercing the inch and a half iron and the fifteen-inch oak. In striking the iron plate it was broken. A number of large fragments scattered within the pilot-house, mortally wounding one of the pilots, F. A. Riley of Cincinnati, striking the flag-officer, Commodore Foote, in the ankle, and slightly injuring two other men. Immediately after this, a shot entered our deck in the starboard side, and passing through it, glanced downward to the shell-room, striking the ship's cook, Charles W. Baker, of Philadelphia, in the head, literally tearing the skull off. Several heavy balls now passed over the pilot-house, piercing the chimneys, and carrying away the chimney-guys. These were followed by a couple of shots which struck our vessel just above water mark. It was now discovered that the wheel had been injured by the shot which killed the pilot. Two of the spokes were broken, and the vessel did not respond well to her helm. An attempt was made to steer her by the relieving tackle, but it was found that the current was too strong. The Commodore, fearing lest the ship should turn a broadside to the enemy, ordered her to drop down slowly. The other boats we found were suffering quite as severely as the flag-ship.

"One of the guns of the Carondelet bursted during the latter part of the engagement; the tiller-ropes of the Louisville were cut away, rendering it almost impossible to steer correctly; the Pittsburg received a number of shots below water mark, causing her to leak very rapidly. These two latter accidents happening almost simultaneously with the injury to the flag-ship, rendered a withdrawal absolutely necessary. The order was then given for the entire fleet to drop beyond the range of the fort. Though feeling that the condition of our boats demanded this movement, it was with great reluctance that the Commodore reconciled himself to it. The enemy had almost ceased firing, having been driven from the lower forts and compelled to seek refuge behind guns that bore but poorly upon us. Quick, however, to notice our disabled condition, we had no sooner commenced to retire than they again ran to the lower batteries, and opened a brisk and effective fire. The first of these shots entered the port-bow of the Carondelet, cutting off two men's heads, and wounding two other men.

"The boats retired slowly to the point whence they started for the scene of action, about two miles from the fort. The fire of the enemy kept pouring in upon us from thirteen guns, while our position in the river prevented us from using more than half that number. As we floated slowly down the current, the rebels took courage and boldly sallied forth from their intrenchments. Hitherto the entire space within the fort appeared one sheet of untrodden snow; but fifteen minutes did not elapse, after the stoppage of our engines, when the whole scene was changed, as if a whirlwind had swept over the hill and removed



Painted by Alonzo Chappel

A. H. Foote

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life

Johnson Fry & Co. Publishers, New York

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nearly every trace of the storm of Thursday—the enemy's forces, with wild enthusiasm, had rushed down to the lower batteries in such numbers.

"The battle lasted one hour and seventeen minutes. The last shot was fired by the St. Louis. It fell within a few feet of the river battery, causing earth and water to fly into the fort. At this, about a hundred of the rebels started as if to run up the hill; they soon found, however, that we had withdrawn, and returned to open an ineffectual fire upon our disabled fleet. It took about half an hour for our fleet to retire beyond the range of the guns. The withdrawal was managed with great skill. We permitted our boats to float gently down the stream in the exact line of battle, and, although the steaming apparatus of the St. Louis and the Louisville was powerless, no collision or accident of any kind happened. We dropped anchor in good order. It was found that the Pittsburg was leaking very rapidly, and she was ordered to tie up on the left bank of the river. The St. Louis was struck sixty-one times in the engagement, the Pittsburg forty-seven, the Carondelet fifty-four, and the Louisville about forty. The enemy fired about five hundred shots. Our fleet fired a little more than three hundred, about seventy-five of which were 8-inch shells.

"The Commodore's demeanor during the engagement is the subject of admiration on the part of every man in the fleet. His countenance was as placid and his voice as mild in the heat of the action as if he were engaged in a social conversation. He stood in the pilot-house for a long time, watching the effect of every shot from our ships. When he saw a shell burst inside of the fort he instantly commended the deliberate aim of the marksman, by a message through his speaking tube. When the balls fell short he expressed his dissatisfaction in such words as, 'a little further, man; you are falling too short.' During a part of the action he was on the gun deck superintending the care of the wounded. As I have said before, nothing but the pilot's assurance that our vessel could not be managed with her broken wheel induced him to consent to a withdrawal. The captain of the St. Louis displayed great courage and coolness also, and too much commendation cannot be bestowed on him. The same may be said of every captain in the fleet. On board of the St. Louis were a number of Cincinnati officers, of whose heroic deeds the Queen City may well be proud. First Master, John J. Johnson, and Second Master, Kendrick, both long identified with the steamboat interests of the West, won many laurels by their prompt response to duty's call. Frank A. Riley, the pilot who was killed on the St. Louis, and William Hinton, who met a similar fate on the Carondelet, were well known and highly respected gentlemen." The casualties of the engagement on the four gunboats were eleven killed and forty-three wounded.

The coöperating land attack from the rear, which was expected to be made, was not ordered,—the reinforcements of General Wallace not reaching the main army in season. After the mishaps on the river, General Grant tells us that "he concluded to make the investment of Fort Donelson as perfect as possible, and await repairs to the gunboats." This plan, however, was frustrated by a movement of the enemy, which precipitated the final conflict aad resulted in the immediate capture of the position. The rebel officers saw their force in danger of being surrounded, and determined upon a bold effort at escape. "On the 4th inst.," says General Pillow in his report, "the enemy was busy throwing his forces at every arm around us, extending his line of investment around our position, and completely enveloping us. On the evening of this day we ascertained that the enemy had received additional reinforcements by steamboat. We were now surrounded by immense force, said by persons to amount to fifty-two regiments, and every road and possible avenue of departure were cut off, with the certainty that our sources of supply by the river would soon be cut off by the enemy's batteries placed upon the river above us. At a meeting of the general officers, called by General Floyd, it was unanimously determined to give the enemy battle next day at daylight, so as to cut open a route of exit for our troops to the interior of the country, and thus to save our army."

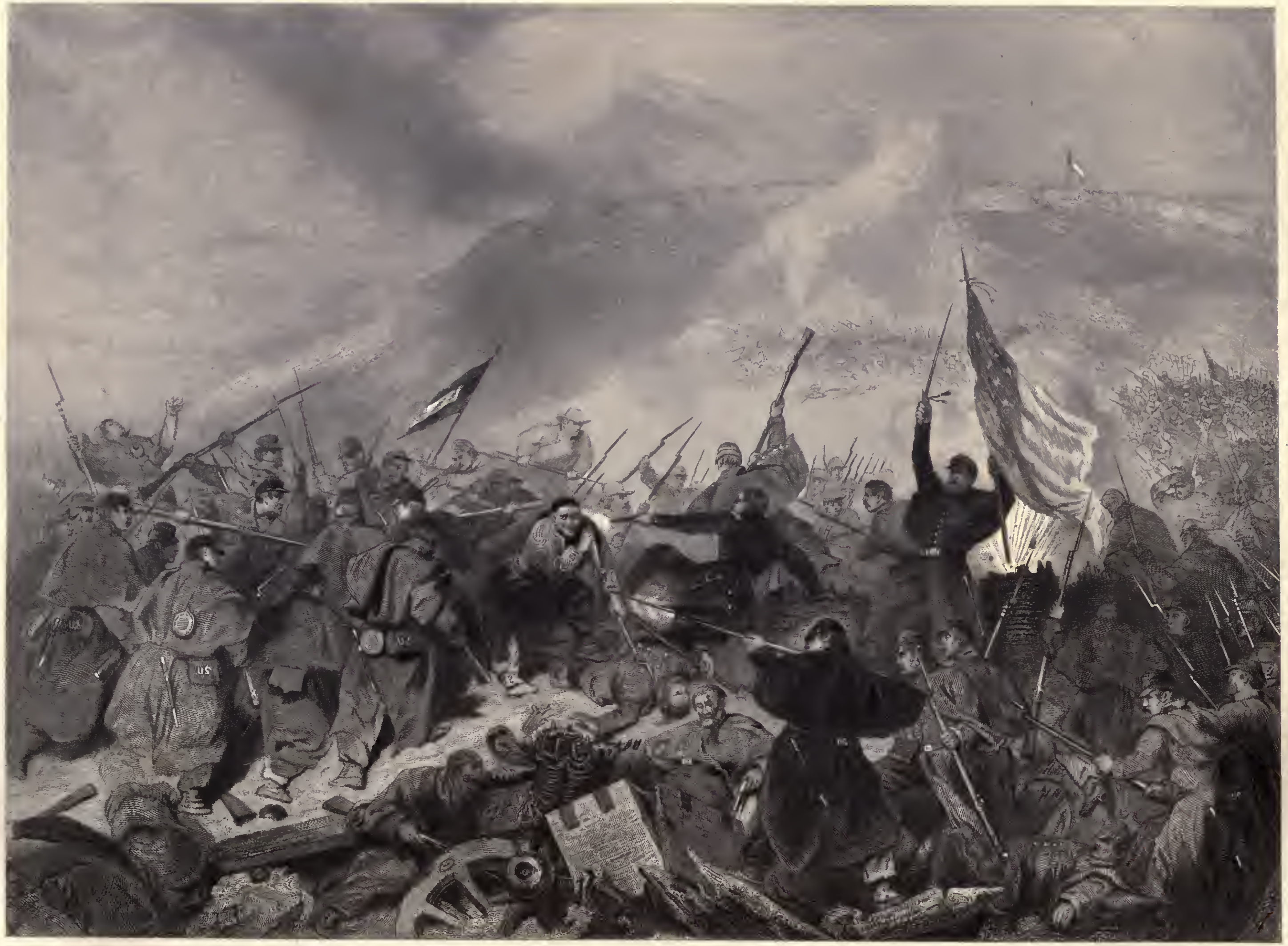
How this movement was made, and how it was met we may learn from the brigade report of General W. H. L. Wallace, whose regiments were early brought into action to reinforce the troops of Colonel Oglesby, which bore the first brunt of the assault. "At daybreak," says he, "on the morning of the 15th, the enemy threw a heavy force of infantry and cavalry, supported by field artillery and his batteries within the work, out of his intrenchments, and commenced a vigorous assault upon the right of the whole line. The attack was commenced and continued with great spirit, and gradually drove back our extreme right. About seven o'clock A. M., the 11th and 20th Illinois, on my right, became engaged with a heavy force of the enemy's infantry. They charged up the hill and gained the road in front of my position, but the moment the rebel flag appeared above the hill, a storm of shot from the 11th and 20th drove them back in confusion. Again a new and fresh line of infantry appeared, and I ordered the whole line, except the 17th and the left wing of the 49th, to advance and occupy the hill. The 49th advanced boldly and in order to the brow of the hill, where they were exposed, uncovered, not only to the fire of the enemy's infantry, but to a raking of the enemy's batteries of artillery across the valley. They opened their fire, supported by Taylor's battery and two of McAllister's guns, (one having been disabled by a shot from the enemy's cannon,) and for some time the conflict was strong and fierce. But at length the strong masses of the enemy's infantry gave way before the steady, well-directed, and continued fire of the right of my line. They fell back, however, only to give place to another line of fresh troops, who advanced to the support, and who were also compelled by the steady, unflinching valor of our men, to give way.

"In the meantime there were indications that the enemy were gaining some advantage on the right of the whole line. Reinforcements, consisting of Kentucky and Indiana troops, had been sent forward past my position to support the right, but notwithstanding this, it became evident to me from the sounds coming from the direction of the enemy's shot, which began to rake my line from the rear of my right, that the right of the line was giving way. My orders being peremptory to hold that position of the line occupied by my brigade, to the last extremity, I sent one of my aids to General McClernand with information of the state of affairs, and to express my fears that my right flank would be completely turned, unless reinforcements should be speedily sent to that quarter. Finding that no reinforcements were within reach, and General McClernand having left me to my discretion if I found my position untenable, and seeing that the enemy steadily advanced on my right flank, and was speedily gaining my rear, many of the corps having exhausted their ammunition, I gave orders to move the whole brigade to the rear up the road, with a view of forming a new line of battle. Before this order was given, all our troops on the right of my brigade had fallen back, except the 31st Illinois, Colonel John A. Logan, who occupied the left of Colonel Oglesby's brigade. Immediately adjoining the 31st, and on the right of my line, was the 11th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel T. E. G. Ransom commanding. When the order to retire was given, it failed to reach Lieutenant-Colonel Ransom, who, with the 11th regiment, was gallantly supporting the 31st against a fierce onslaught on their right. Rapidly as the gaps were opened in the ranks of the enemy, they were as promptly closed to the right, and the shortway point alone showed the destructiveness of that fire. Soon the 31st, their ammunition having failed, retired, and the 11th took their place, changing front to the rear under a most galling fire with all the coolness and precision of veterans. In the meantime the order to retire was being executed in good order by the other regiments of the brigade. The character of the ground rendered it impossible for me to see the whole line at once. When the 11th changed their front, they were exposed to a fire in front and on both flanks, and the enemy's cavalry charging upon their flank, they were thrown into some confusion and retired, but steadily and in comparatively good order. After falling back some half a mile, I halted the brigade, and as rapidly as possible procured a supply of ammunition, and formed a second line of battle. At this point Colonel Ross, of the 19th Illinois, arrived on the field and took command of the 17th and 49th regiments, and we were reinforced by some troops of General Lewis Wallace's division, and with their aid, and with the assistance of Taylor's battery and some pieces of Dresser's and Willard's batteries, the advance of the enemy was checked, and he was driven within his intrenchments, leaving a large number of his dead and wounded on the field."

The casualties in the six regiments and the two batteries of General Wallace's command were 123 killed, 461 wounded, and 103 missing. In his record of the heroism of the day, General Wallace thus mentions the losses of officers: "Lieutenant-Colonel William Erwin, of the 20th regiment, while nobly animating his men, and adding new laurels to those he so nobly won at Buena Vista, was struck down by cannon-shot from the enemy's battery. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas H. Smith, 48th Illinois, had distinguished himself in the gallant attack on the 13th, he being in command of his regiment on that occasion, Colonel Hayne, as senior colonel, being in command of the whole force detached on that service. Early in the engagement of the 15th, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, while leading his men up the hill to meet the enemy, received a mortal wound, of which he died in about one hour. Lieutenant-Colonel Ransom, commanding the 11th Illinois, was struck in the shoulder by a Minié ball. Merely calling Major Nevins to the command, until his wound could be temporarily dressed, he resumed the command, and remained with his regiment throughout the day. Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Maltby, of the 45th regiment, while encouraging and animating his men, was shot through the thigh, and severely, though I trust not fatally wounded."

General Lewis Wallace, who thus opportunely came to the aid of the exhausted troops on the extreme right, in the military dispositions of the day, held the centre with his 3d division, which had been brought up with the fleet. It was composed of two brigades. The 1st commanded by Colonel Charles Cruft, consisted of the 31st Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Osborn commanding; 17th Kentucky, Colonel John H. McHenry; 44th Indiana, Colonel Hugh B. Reed, and the 25th Kentucky, Colonel James M. Shackelford. The 1st Nebraska, Lieutenant-Colonel McCord; the 76th Ohio, Colonel Woods; the 58th Ohio; Colonel Steadman, constituted the Ohio brigade, commanded by Colonel John M. Thayer. Three additional regiments, Colonel Davis's 46th, Colonel Baldwin's 47th, and Colonel Lynch's 58th Illinois, intended for a a third brigade, came up on Saturday during the action, and were attached to Colonel Thayer's command. The division, early aroused by the firing on the right, was formed in line when General McClernand, about eight o'clock, called for its assistance. The message was sent to headquarters; but as General Grant was at that time on board one of the gunboats, arranging, as was understood, an attack from the river side; and as the demand was followed up by a second call, General Wallace promptly ordered Colonel Cruft, to move his brigade to the right and report to General McClernand. The fortunes of the brigade, and the further important movements of the division are thus narrated in the official report of General Wallace: "Imperfectly directed by a guide, the Colonel's command was carried to the extreme right of the engaged lines, where it was attacked by a largely superior force, and, after the retreat or retirement of the division he was sent to support, for a time bore the brunt of the battle. After a varied struggle, charging and receiving charges, the enemy quit him, when he fell back in position nearer to support, his ranks in good order and unbroken, except where soldiers of other regiments plunged through them in hurried retreat. In this way, a portion of Colonel Shackelford's regiment, (25th Kentucky,) and about twenty of the 31st Indiana, with their commanding officers, became separated from their colors.

"Soon fugitives from the battle came crowding up the hill, in rear of my own line, bringing unmistakable signs of disaster. Captain Rawlins was conversing with me at the time, when a mounted officer galloped down the road, shouting: 'We are cut to pieces!' The effect was very perceptible. To prevent a panic among the regiments of my 3d brigade, I ordered Colonel Thayer to move on by the right flank. He promptly obeyed. Going in advance of the movements myself, I met portions of regiments of General McClernand's division coming back in excellent order, conducted by their brigade commanders, Colonels Wallace, Oglesby, and McArther, and all calling for more ammunition, want of which was the cause of their misfortune. Colonel Wallace, whose coolness under the circumstances was astonishing, informed me that the enemy were following, and would shortly attack. The crisis was come; there was no time to await orders; my 3d brigade had to be thrust between our retiring forces and the advancing foe. Accordingly I conducted Colonel Thayer's command up the road where the ridge dips towards the rebel works; directed the Colonel to form a new line of battle at a right angle with the old one; sent for company A, Chicago light artillery, and despatched a messenger to inform General Smith of the state of affairs, and ask him for assistance. The head of Colonel Thayer's column filed right, double-quick. Lieutenant Wood, commanding the artillery company sent for, galloped up with a portion of his battery, and posted his pieces so as to sweep approach by the road in front; a line of reserve was also formed at convenient distance in the rear of the first line, consisting of the 76th Ohio, and 46th and 57th Illinois. The new front thus formed covered the retiring regiments, helpless from lack of ammunition, but which coolly halted not far off, some of them actually within reach of the enemy's musketry, to refill their cartridge-boxes. And, as formed, my new front consisted of Wood's battery across the road; on the right of the battery, the 1st Nebraska and 58th Illinois; left of the battery, a detached company of the 32d Illinois, Captain Davison, and the 58th Ohio, its left obliquely retired. Scarcely had this formation been made when the enemy attacked, coming up the road, and through the shrubs and trees on both sides of it, and making the battery and the 1st Nebraska the principal points of attack. They met this storm, no man flinching, and their fire was terrible. To say they did well, is not enough—their conduct was splendid. They alone repelled the charge. Colonel



CAPTURE OF FORT DONELSON.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers

Cruft, as was afterward ascertained, from his position, saw the enemy retire to their works pell-mell, and in confusion. Too much praise cannot be given Lieutenant Wood and his company, and Lieutenant-Colonel McCord and his sturdy Nebraska regiment. That was the last sally from Fort Donelson.

"This assault on my position was unquestionably a bold attempt to follow up the success gained by the enemy in their attack on our right. Fortunately, it was repelled. Time was thus obtained to look up Colonel Cruft's brigade, which, after considerable trouble, was found in position to the right of my new line, whither it had fallen back. Riding down its front, I found the regiment in perfect order, having done their duty nobly, but with severe loss, and eager for another engagement. The deployment of a line of skirmishers readily united them with Colonel Thayer's brigade, and once more placed my command in readiness for orders.

"About three o'clock, General Grant rode up the hill, and ordered an advance and attack on the enemy's left, while General Smith attacked their right. At General McClernand's request I undertook the proposed assault. Examining the ground forming the position to be assailed, (which was almost exactly the ground lost in the morning,) I quickly arranged my column of attack. At the head were placed the 8th Missouri, Colonel Morgan L. Smith, and the 11th Indiana, Colonel George McGinniss, the two regiments making a brigade, under Colonel Smith. Colonel Cruft's brigade completed the column. As a support, two Ohio regiments, under Colonel Ross, were moved up and well advanced on the left flank of the assailing force, but held in reserve. Well aware of the desperate character of the enterprise, I informed the regiments of it as they moved on, and they answered with cheers, and cries of 'Forward! forward!' and I gave the word. My directions as to the mode of attack were general: merely to form columns of regiments, march up the hill which was the point of assault, and deploy as occasion should require. Colonel Smith observed that form, attacking with the 8th Missouri in front. Colonel Cruft, however, formed line of battle at the foot of the hill, extending his regiment around to the right. And now began the most desperate, yet, in my opinion, the most skillfully executed performance of the battle.

"It is at least three hundred steps from the base to the top of the hill. The ascent is much broken by out-cropping ledges of rocks, and, for the most part, impeded by dense underbrush. Smith's place of attack was clear, but rough and stony. Cruft's was through the trees and brush. The enemy's lines were distinctly visible on the hill-side. Evidently they were ready. Colonel Smith began the fight without waiting for the 1st brigade. A line of skirmishers from the 8th Missouri sprang out and dashed up, taking intervals as they went, until they covered the head of the column. A lively fire opened on them from the rebel pickets, who retired, obstinately contesting the ground. In several instances, assailant and assailed sought cover behind the same tree. Four rebel prisoners were taken in this way, of whom two were killed by a shell from their own battery, while being taken to the rear. Meantime, the regiments slowly followed the skirmishers. About quarter the way up, they received the first volley from the hill-top, around which it ran, a long line of fire, disclosing somewhat of the strength of the enemy. Instantly, under orders of Colonel Smith, both his regiments lay down. The skirmishers were the chief victims. George B. Swarthout, Captain of company H, 8th Missouri, was killed gallantly fighting far in advance. Soon as the fury of the fire abated, both regiments rose and marched on; and in that way they at length closed upon the enemy, falling when the volleys grew hottest, dashing on when they slackened or ceased. Meanwhile, their own firing was constant and deadly. Meanwhile, also, Colonel Cruft's line was marching up in support and to the right of Colonel Smith. The woods through which we moved seemed actually to crackle with musketry. Finally, the 8th and 11th cleared the hill, driving the rebel regiments at least three quarters of a mile before them, and halting within one hundred and fifty yards of the entrenchments, behind which the enemy took refuge. This was about five o'clock, and concluded the day's fighting. In my opinion, it also brought forth the surrender. While the fighting was in progress, an order reached me, through Colonel Webster, to retire my column, as a new plan of operations was in contemplation for the next day. If carried out, the order would have compelled me to give up the hill so hardly recaptured. Satisfied that the General did not know of our success when he issued the direction, I assumed the responsibility of disobeying it, and held the battle-ground that night. Wearied as they were, few slept; for the night was bitter cold, and they had carried the lost field of the morning's action, thickly strewn with the dead and wounded of McClernand's regiments. The number of Illinoisans there found mournfully attested the desperation of their battle, and how firmly they had fought it. All night, and till far in the morning, my soldiers, generous as they were gallant, were engaged ministering to and removing their own wounded and the wounded of the 1st division, not forgetting those of the enemy."

Colonel Cruft reported the casualties of the four regiments of his brigade, thirty-six non-commissioned officers and privates killed; eight officers and one hundred and seventy non-commissioned officers and privates wounded, and twenty-two missing.

While this conflict was going on upon the right, General Smith with his division was ordered to the assault on the left. Both of his brigades were brought into action;—Colonel Cook taking the right of the attack, and Colonel Lauman assailing the heart of the enemy's works on the left. The movement was made by each with determined bravery, and with success. General Smith was in the thick of the fight, aiding and directing the operations, and encouraginging the men by his example. Colonel Lauman thus relates the performances of his brigade. "At about two o'clock," says he, in his report to General Smith, "I received your order to advance with my whole brigade, and assault the heights on the left of the position attacked on the previous Thursday. The brigade was promptly in motion, in the following order: the 2d Iowa, Colonel Tuttle, led the advance followed by the 52d Indiana, (temporarily attached to my brigade), who were ordered to support them. This regiment was followed closely by the 25th Indiana, the 7th Iowa, and the 14th Iowa. The sharpshooters were previously deployed as skirmishers on our extreme right and left. Colonel Tuttle led the left wing of his regiment in line of battle up the hill, supported by the right wing, advancing at a distance of about one hundred and fifty yards in the rear. So soon as he came within range of the enemy's fire, he led his men forward, without firing a gun, up to and charged into the rebel works, driving the enemy before him, and planting his colors on their fortifications. He was closely followed by the other regiments in the order of advance above named. The enemy were closely pursued, and driven behind their inner works. Night coming on, we held the position we had gained, and remained under arms until morning, intending at the dawn of day to recommence the attack. In this engagement the 2d Iowa suffered terribly. Captains Slaymaker and Cloutman fell just as they entered the enemy's fortifications. Cloutman was instantly killed, and Slaymaker died gallantly shouting to his men to go forward and consummate the work." In this successful assault of the Iowa and Indiana volunteers, sixty-one were reported killed, three hundred and twenty-one wounded, and one missing.

The issue of the day was sufficiently dispiriting to the defenders of the fort. They had staked all upon one decided movement, into which their whole available strength had been thrown; the contest had been long and severe, and had ended in their repulse, with the gain of several important positions commanding their works by the besiegers. General Pillow, to whom the main sortie on their left had been assigned, bears witness in his report, to the readiness of the Union troops to meet his fire in advance of their encampment. "The enemy did meet me," says he, "before I had assumed a line of battle, and while I was moving against him, without any formation for the engagement. I was much embarrassed in getting the command in position properly to engage the foe. Having extricated myself from the position, and fairly engaged him, we fought for nearly two hours before I made any decided advance upon him. He contested the field most stubbornly. He did not retreat, but fell back fighting us, contesting every inch of ground." The command of General Buckner, which was expected to gain an important advantage on the right, was found by General Pillow at noon, "massed behind the ridge within the works, taking shelter from the enemy's artillery." Subsequently, General Buckner joined his forces with those of General Pillow, and maintained a stubborn, though, as it proved, fruitless conflict. In this condition of affairs, a consultation of general officers was held within the fort, when General Buckner, as we learn from the report of General Pillow, "gave it as his decided opinion that he could not hold his position one half hour against an assault of the enemy, and said the enemy would attack him next morning at daylight. The proposition was then made by General Pillow to again fight our way out. General Buckner said his command was so worn out and cut to pieces and demoralized, that he could not make another fight; that it would cost the command three quarters of its present number to cut its way through, and it was wrong to sacrifice three quarters of a command to save a quarter; that no officer had a right to cause such a sacrifice. General Floyd and Major Gilmer I understood to concur in this opinion. I then expressed the opinion that we could hold out another day, and in that time we could get steamboats, and set the command over the river, and probably save a large portion of it. To this General Buckner replied that the enemy would certainly attack him at daylight, and that he could not hold his position half an hour. The alternative of these propositions was a surrender of their position and command. General Floyd said that he would neither surrender the command, nor would he surrender himself a prisoner. I had taken the same position. General Buckner said he was satisfied nothing else could be done, and that, therefore, he would surrender if placed in command. General Floyd said he would turn over the command to him if he could be allowed to withdraw his command. To this General Buckner consented. Thereupon General Floyd turned the command over to me. I passed it instantly to General Buckner, saying I would neither surrender the command nor myself a prisoner. I directed Colonel Forrest to cut his way out. Under these circumstances General Buckner accepted the command, and sent a flag of truce to the enemy for an armistice of six hours to negotiate for terms of capitulation. Before this flag and communication were delivered, I retired from the garrison."

It fell to the lot of General Lewis Wallace first to take possession of the town on the surrender. On the morning of Sunday, the 16th, "about daybreak," says he, in his report, continuing the narrative which we have already given from his pen, "Lieutenant Ware, my aid-de-camp, conducted Colonel Thayer's brigade to the foot of the hill. Lieutenant Wood's battery was ordered to the same point, my intention being to storm the entrenchments about breakfast time. While making disposition for that purpose. a white flag made its appearance. The result was, that I rode to General Buckner's quarters, sending Lieutenant Ross with Major Rogers, of the 3d Mississippi (rebel) regiment, to inform General Grant that the place was surrendered, and my troops in possession of the town, and all the works on the right."

The communication on the morning of the 16th, of General Buckner, to General Grant, read as follows:—"Sir: In consideration of all the circumstances governing the present situation of affairs at this station, I propose to the commanding officers of the federal forces, the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of capitulation of the forces and post under my command, and in this view, suggest an armistice until twelve o'clock to-day." To this General Grant replied:—"Yours of this date, proposing an armistice and appointment of commissioners to settle terms of capitulation, is just received. No terms, other than an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." This decided denial called forth the following letter of surrender from General Buckner:—"Sir: The distribution of the forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the confederate arms yesterday, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms which you propose."

Thus on Sunday, the 16th of February, Fort Donelson was surrendered. Agreeably with the prudent resolution of the senior Generals, some five thousand of the garrison had been withdrawn by steamers on the river, leaving about twice that number in the works prisoners of war, with vast quantities of military material. The prisoners were transported to the military camps at Illinois and Indiana, and elsewhere, and held for exchange. A St. Louis journal chronicled the arrival of ten thousand in ten steamers, on their way to their destination. By a table published in the *Nashville Patriot*, the month following the battle, it would appear that the Confederate loss at Donelson, was 237 killed, and 1007 wounded. The Union loss was estimated, 446 killed, 1,745 wounded, and 150 prisoners.*

General McClernand, in an order issued the day after the victory, paid a glowing tribute to the merit of his division, which had so faithfully endured the labors and encountered the hazards of the week.

"Officers and men of the 1st division of the advance forces.—You have continually led the way in the Valley of the Lower Mississippi, the Tennessee and the Cumberland. You have carried the flag of the Union further South than any other land forces marching from the interior towards the seaboard. Being the first division to enter Fort Henry, you also pursued the enemy for miles, capturing from him, in his flight, six field pieces, many of his standards and flags, a number of prisoners, and a great quantity of military stores. Following the enemy to this place, you were the first to encounter him outside of his intrenchments, and to drive him within them. Pursuing your advantage, the next day, in the night, you advanced upon his lines in the face of his works and batteries, and for the time silenced them. The next day, skirmishing all along his left, you daringly charged upon his redoubts, under a deadly fire of grape and canister, and were only prevented from taking them by natural obstacles and the accumulated masses which hurried forward to defend them. The next day, you extended your right in the face of newly erected batteries quite to the Cumberland, thus investing his works for nearly two miles. The next day, after standing under arms for two days and nights, amid driving storms of snow and rain, and pinched by hunger, the enemy advanced in force to open his way to escape. By his own confession, formed in a column of ten successive regiments, he concentrated his attack upon a single point. You repulsed him repeatedly, from seven o'clock, to eleven, A. M., often driving back his formidable odds. Thus, after three days' fighting, when your ammunition was exhausted, you fell back until it came up, and re-formed a second line in his face. Supported by fresh troops, under the lead of a brave and able officer, the enemy was again driven back, and by a combined advance from all sides was finally defeated. His unconditional surrender the next day consummated the victory. Undiverted by any attack for near four hours from any other part of our lines, the enemy was left to concentrate his attack with superior numbers upon yours. Thus, while you were engaged for a longer time than any other of our forces, you were subject to much greater loss. The battlefield testifies to your valor and constancy. Even the magnanimity of the enemy accords to you an unsurpassed heroism, and an enviable and brilliant share in the hardest-fought battle, and the most decisive victory ever fought and won on the American continent. Your trophies speak for themselves. They consist of many thousands of prisoners of war, forty pieces of cannon, and extensive magazines of all kinds of ordnance, quartermaster's and commissary stores. The death knell of the rebellion is sounded. An army has been annihilated, and the way to Nashville and Memphis is opened. This momentous fact should, as it will, encourage you to persevere in the path of duty and of glory. It must alleviate your distress for your brave comrades who have fallen or been wounded. It will mitigate the grief of bereaved wives and mourning parents and kindred. It will be your claim to a place in the affection of your countrymen, and upon a blazoned page of history."

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* *New York Herald*, Record of the Rebellion, for 1862.

General Lewis Wallace, in a congratulatory order to the troops of his division, warmly commemorated their services. "You were last to arrive before the fort; but it will be long before your deeds are forgotten. When your gallant comrades of the 1st division, having fired their last cartridge, fell back upon your support, you did not fail them; you received them as their heroism deserved; you encircled them with your ranks, and drove back the foe that presumed to follow them. And to you, and two gallant regiments from the 2d division, is due the honor of the last fight—the evening battle of Saturday—the reconquest by storm of the bloody hill on the right—the finishing blow to a victory, which has already purged Kentucky of treason, and restored Tennessee to the confederacy of our fathers. All honor to you."

In a general order on the 17th, General Grant congratulated the troops of his command, "for the triumph over rebellion gained by their valor. For four successive nights (he added) without shelter, during the most inclement weather known in this latitude, they faced an enemy in large force in a position chosen by himself. * * The victory achieved is not only great in the effect it will have in breaking down rebellion, but has secured the greatest number of prisoners of war ever taken in any battle on this continent."

A portion of the troops forwarded to General Grant, by General Halleck, from Missouri, were from the forces assigned to Major-General David Hunter, then engaged in mustering an army for the department of Kansas, to which he had recently been assigned. General Hunter cheerfully relinquished the men at the call of his brother officer, and when they had proved their value in the field, the service was handsomely acknowledged. "To you," wrote General Halleck, "more than any other man out of this department, are we indebted for our success at Fort Donelson. In my strait for troops to reinforce General Grant, I applied to you. You responded nobly, placing your forces at my disposition. This enabled me to win the victory. Receive my most heartfelt thanks."* In such a spirit of mutual good will, without rivalry beyond the effort to serve the country best, these honorable gentlemen administered the affairs with which they were entrusted by the nation. For his "gallant and meritorious conduct in the capture of Fort Donelson," Brigadier-General Grant was appointed Major-General of Volunteers.

Nor were the merits of the soldiers, "the unknown demigods," who win the battles which give reputation to their commanders, likely to be forgotten. Governor Yates, of Illinois, visited the camps in Tennessee, after the battle, to look after his brave regiments. "It is sincerely to be hoped," he wrote in his subsequent report *to the people of the State,* "that not a single name of those gallant men, whose prowess has reflected such imperishable lustre upon the state and country, shall remain unrecorded. No battle had been, or can be fought which shall more signally tell upon the rebellion than this; and no historic page can record, or will ever record, more patriotic daring, or brighter achievements. Wherever it is possible, the remains of every Illinoisan, who fell in that terrible conflict, should be brought home to the State, and ever-enduring monuments erected to their memory. Every one of them was a true hero. By their dauntless valor the State of Illinois occupies the proud eminence of having done more to suppress the rebellion, and to preserve the Union, than any other State; and by every consideration of gratitude and patriotism, the State should neglect no means of testifying its grateful remembrance."*

The surrender of Fort Donelson was severely commented upon by President Jefferson Davis. In his message, a few days after the event, to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, he said of this affair: "The hope is still entertained that our reported losses at Fort Donelson have been greatly exaggerated, inasmuch as I am not only unwilling, but unable to believe, that a large army of our people have surrendered without a desperate effort to cut its way through the investing forces, whatever may have been their numbers, and to endeavor to make a junction with other divisions of the army." Subsequently, in transmitting the reports of Generals Floyd and Pillow to the Confederate House of Representatives, in the following month, he pronounced them "incomplete and unsatisfactory. It is not stated that reinforcements were at any time asked for; nor is it demonstrated to have been impossible to have saved the army by evacuating the position; nor is it known by what means it was found practicable to withdraw a part of the garrison, leaving the remainder to surrender; nor upon what authority or principles of action the senior generals abandoned responsibility by transferring the command to a junior officer." As a practical conclusion, from these circumstances, he added, "I have directed, upon the exhibition of the case, as presented by the senior generals, that they should be relieved of command, to await further orders whenever a reliable judgment can be rendered on the merits of the case."*

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* Major-General Halleck, Headquarters Department of Missouri, St. Louis, to Major-General D. Hunter, Commanding Department of Kansas, at Fort Leavenworth. Feb. 19th, 1862.

* Report of Governor Yates, Executive Department, Springfield, March 7th, 1862.

The fleet of Commodore Foote immediately followed up on the Cumberland the advantage gained by the surrender of Donelson. On the evening of the 16th, the gunboat St. Louis ascended the river to the Tennessee Iron Works, six miles above Dover. There was no force to defend the works, and there being abundant evidence of their employment by the Confederate government, the establishment was set fire to and destroyed. Mr. John Bell, the recent candidate for the Presidency of the United States, was one of the owners of this property. On the 19th, Commodore Foote, with the gunboats Cairo and Conestoga, reached Clarksville, where the forts commanding the town were found to be abandoned. The Union flag was hoisted on the works, and numbers of citizens having fled in alarm, at the suggestion of the Hon. Cave Johnson, Judge Wisdom, and the Mayor of the city, Commodore Foote issued a proclamation, announcing "to all peaceably-disposed persons, that neither in their persons nor property shall they suffer molestation by me, or by the naval force under my command, and that they may safely resume their business avocations with assurances of my protection." At the same time, he required that all military stores and army equipments should be surendered, and forbade the exhibition of any "secession flag or manifestation of secession feeling." Brigadier General C. F. Smith was placed in command of the city.

The important city of Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, next fell into the hands of the Union army. The fall of Donelson, on which it had relied for its defence, threw the citizens into a fearful panic. The news of the loss of the fort reached the town in the forenoon of the Sunday on which the surrender took place, while many of the people were on their way to church. The effect of the ill tidings was enhanced by the previous bulletins which had been sent by General Pillow, with assurances of victory. "Instantly every consideration gave place to the thought of personal safety. Every means of transportation at hand was employed to remove furniture and valuables; the depots were thronged with men, women, and children, anxious to leave the city; train after train was put in motion; government stores were thrown open to all who chose to carry them away, and negroes, Irish laborers, and even genteel looking persons, could be seen 'toting' off their pile of hog, clothing, or other property belonging to the army, though, by order of the military authorities, much of this was recovered on the ensuing day. In a single word, the city was crazy with a panic. Governor Harris is said to have ridden through the streets at the top of his speed, on horseback, crying out that the papers in the capitol must be removed; and, subsequently, with the legislature, which had at once assembled, left the city in a special train for Memphis."*

The flight of the broken armies of the Confederacy was well calculated to strengthen these disastrous impressions. On this very terror-stricken Sunday, besides the arrival of the fugitives with Floyd and Pillow, the rebel army of General A. S. Johnston from Bowling Green, in full retreat before the advance of General Buell's forces, worn and harassed by their forced march of eighty miles, passed through the city. General Johnston had abandoned Bowling Green—a post which he had adroitly maintained by ingeniously "magnifying his forces"—with 14,000 effective men; the fatigues of the march had reduced this force on reaching Nashville to less than 10,000.* Unable to hold the city against the forces of the Union advancing by land and water, General Johnston left a rear guard, under General Floyd, to secure the stores and provisions, and proceeded with the remainder of his forces to Murfreesboro. General Floyd having under his command the demoralized wreck of an army, mainly of fugitives, in spite of the remonstrances of the citizens, destroyed the costly railway and wire suspension bridges over the Cumberland. Besides the bridges, two valuable steamboats, in process of conversion into gunboats, were destroyed, lest they should fall into the hands of the Union army, which was hourly expected. The week which ensued was one of utter panic and confusion. Sick and wounded soldiers were dying rapidly in the overcrowded, ill-appointed hospitals ; lawless soldiers were rioting, and plundering private houses ; a mob was contending with the military authorities for the public stores, of which Nashville had been one of the most important depots of the Confederacy, which were at one time given to the people, at another withheld to be removed for the retreating army. Heavy rains meanwhile poured down upon the devoted region and added to the embarrassments and melancholy of the scene.

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* Message of Jefferson Davis, March 11, 1862.

* Nashville Correspondent of the *Richmond Despatch.* Squier's Pictorial History, vol. i. p. 319.

On the 25th, the Union forces were at the city to receive its surrender. The advance of the army which had followed in pursuit of Johnston, after his evacuation of Bowling Green—the defences of which, when General Mitchel's command, after great exertions, reached the place, were found to be far less formidable than had been supposed—had reached the neighborhood of Nashville, two days before, when it was agreed that the formal surrender of the city should be made to General Buell on his arrival. He was now present with General Mitchel, and was waited upon at Edgefield, opposite the city, by a delegation of citizens, headed by Mayor Cheatham, to whom, as at Clarksville, every assurance of safety and protection to the people, in their person and property, was given. In the meanwhile, on the same morning, one of Commodore Foote's gunboats, with a number of transports, arrived, bringing General Nelson, with a considerable body of troops. The interview with the officers was considered satisfactory by the committee, and the mayor, in a proclamation, on the following day, "respectfully requested that business be resumed, and that all our citizens, of every trade and profession, pursue their regular vocations."

The same day, General Buell issued a general order to the army, from his headquarters at Nashville, congratulating his troops, "that it has been their privilege to restore the national banner to the capitol of Tennessee. He believes that thousands of hearts in every part of the State, will swell with joy to see that honored flag reinstated in a position from which it was removed in the excitement and folly of an evil hour ; that the voice of her own people will soon proclaim its welcome, and that their manhood and patriotism will protect and perpetuate it." Various injunctions were added, requiring a strict observance of the rights of property, and the protection of all peaceable citizens. "We are in arms," said he, "not for the purpose of invading the rights of our fellow countrymen anywhere, but to maintain the integrity of the Union, and protect the Constitution under which its people have been prosperous and happy."

Governor Harris, from his executive office at Memphis, whither the legislature had adjourned, issued on the 19th, a violent proclamation deploring the fate of Fort Donelson, and declaring that Tennessee was "now to become the grand theatre, wherein a brave people will show to the world, by their heroism and suffering, that they are worthy to be, what they have solemnly declared them-

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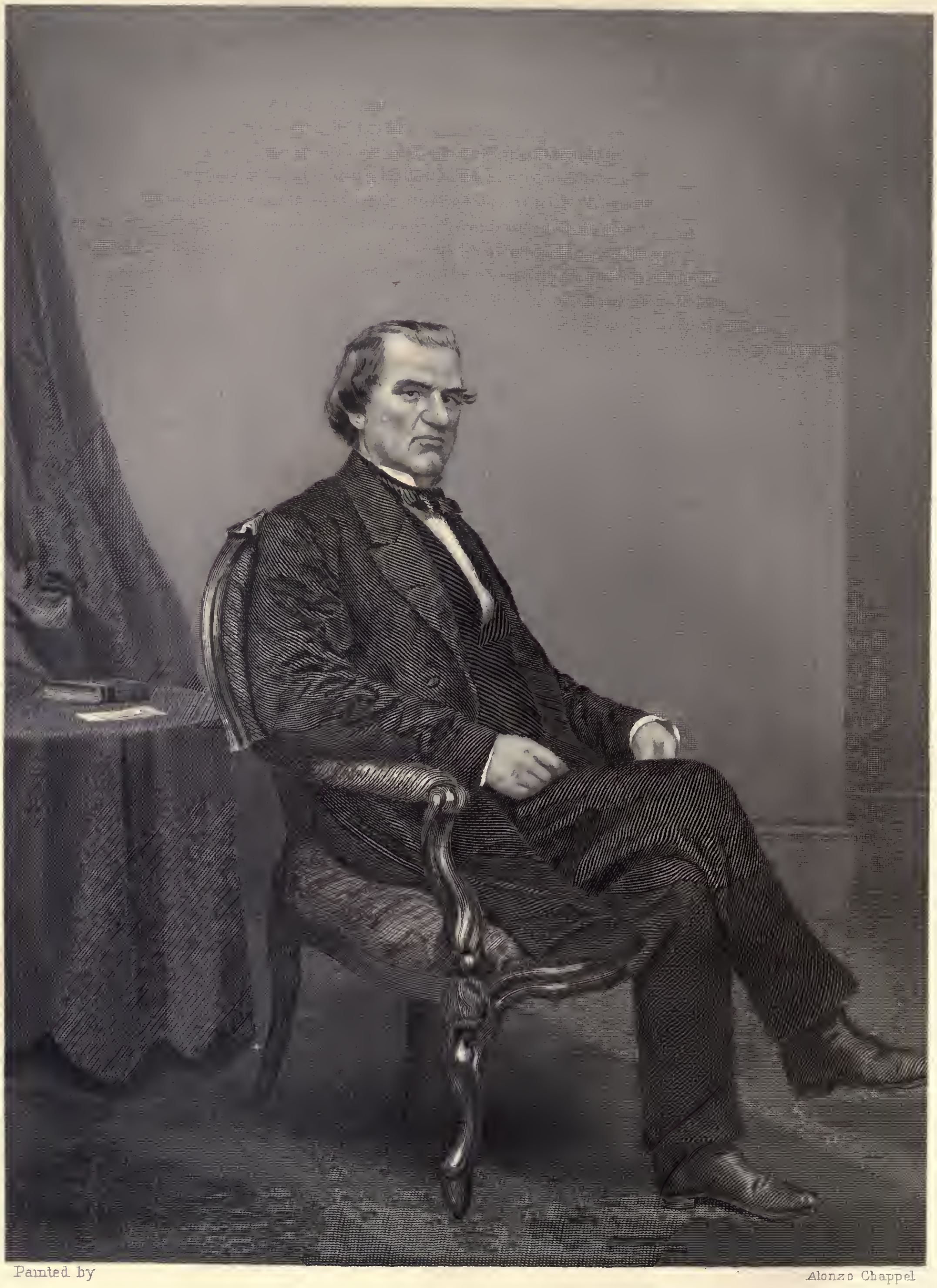
* General Johnston's letter to Mr. Barksdale.



Painted by Alonzo Chappel

Andrew Johnson

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life

Johnson Fry & Co Publishers New York.

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. [illegible] by Johnson Fry & Co. in the clerks office of the district court of the southern district of N.Y.

selves to be, freemen. Announcing that he would himself take the field at their head, as Governor of the State and commander-in-chief of its army, I call "said he, "upon every able-bodied man of the State, without regard to age, to enlist in its service. I command him who can obtain a weapon to march with our armies. I ask him who can repair or forge an arm, to make it ready at once for the soldier. I call upon every citizen to open his purse and his storehouses of provisions to the brave defenders of our soil. I bid the old and the young, wherever they may be, to stand as pickets to our struggling armies. * * * You have done well and nobly, but the work is not yet accomplished. The enemy still flaunts his banner in your face; his foot is upon your native soil; the echo of his drum is heard in your mountains and valleys; hideous desolation will soon mark his felon track unless he is repelled. To you who are armed, and have looked death in the face, who have been tried and are the 'Old Guard,' the State appeals to uphold her standard. Encircle that standard with your valor and your heroism, and abide the fortunes of war so long as an enemy of your State shall dare confront you. The enemy relies upon your forfeiture to reënlist, and makes sure of an easy victory in your want of endurance. Disappoint him!"

In a message to the legislature the following day, Governor Harris stated, that since the passage of the State act of May, 1861,* he had organized and put into the field for the confederate service, fifty-nine regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, eleven cavalry battalions, and over twenty independent companies, mostly artillery. The Confederate government had armed about fifteen thousand of these troops; but to arm the remainder, Governor Harris had "to draw heavily upon the sporting guns of our citizens."

The new duties and responsibilities of a mixed civil and military character thrown upon the government by the occupation of so considerable a portion of a State, in open hostility to the Union, were met by the appointment by President Lincoln, of Senator Andrew Johnson, as military Governor of Tennessee. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate on its presentation, on the 4th of March, and at the same time the rank of Brigadier-General was bestowed upon the new Governor. Fully armed with authority to establish a provisional government in the State, Governor Johnson immediately left Washington, for the seat of his new duties, in company with the Hon. Horace Maynard, member of Congress from the Knoxville district of Tennessee, and the Hon. Emerson Etheridge, a loyal member of the previous Congress from eastern Tennessee, at present clerk of the House of Representatives. The party, accompanied by other prominent Union exiles, reached Nashville on the 12th of March. Governor Johnson set himself at once to prepare the way for the restoration of the State to its legitimate position in the Union—a work which would probably have had a good prospect of success, had not the presence of the confederate armies on its soil, marked it out as the "dark and bloody ground" of desperate and continuous conflict. The capture of Nashville, had, in fact, only transferred the war from Kentucky to Tennessee, and the struggle was not likely to grow less desperate as it was brought nearer the strongholds of the rebel authority.

In a speech to the citizens who had assembled before his hotel, on the evening immediately after his arrival, Governor Johnson reminded his hearers of the nature and progress of the rebellion, and the moderate and reasonable course taken by the government for its suppression. He found, he said, the State without authority, its executive, legislature, and judiciary dissolved, or in abeyance; he was there "to give the protection of law, actively enforced, to her citizens, and, as speedily as may be, to restore her government to the same condition as before the existing rebellion. * * Those who, through the dark and weary night of the rebellion, have maintained their allegiance to the Federal government, will be honored. The erring and misguided, will be welcomed on their return. While it may become necessary, in vindicating the violated majesty of the law, and in reasserting its imperial sway, to punish intelligent and conscious treason in high places, no merely retaliatory or vindictive policy will be adopted. To those, especially, who in a private unofficial capacity have assumed an attitude of hostility to the government, a full and complete amnesty for all past acts and declarations is offered, upon the one condition of their again yielding themselves peaceful citizens, to the just supremacy of the laws." In this spirit, blending a good share of sagacity with his patriotic impulses, Governor Johnson entered upon his task, and secured the peace and good order of this important city, under circumstances of no ordinary embarrassment.

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* Ante. vol. i. p. 192.

CHAPTER LIV.

GENERAL BURNSIDE'S EXPEDITION TO NORTH CAROLINA, AND BATTLE OF ROANOKE ISLAND, FEB. 1862.

During the last months of 1862, there was considerable activity at New York, in the preparation of the material for a combined military and naval expedition, which was understood to be placed directly under the charge of General Ambrose Everett Burnside. This gentleman, a native of Indiana, a graduate of West Point, in 1847, and subsequently an artillery officer, actively engaged in the Mexican war, and on the frontier, resigned his commission in the army, in 1853, and then became engaged in Rhode Island in the manufacture of a breech-loading rifle invented by himself and bearing his name. He was thrown out of this pursuit, with considerable pecuniary embarrassment, by the failure of the Secretary of War, the secessionist Floyd, to provide as had been expected, for the employment of the weapon in the army. He then was employed as President of the Land Office Department, and afterwards as Treasurer of the Illinois Central Railway, the company with which General McClellan was also connected. When the first military measures were taken for the suppression of the rebellion he was summoned by Governor Sprague of Rhode Island, where his merits were well known, to take command of the 1st regiment of volunteers of that State. In the organization of the forces at Washington, previous to the battle at Bull Run, he was assigned a Brigadier's command in the division of General Hunter, and, as we have seen, was foremost in action in that engagement. His personal qualities were such as eminently fitted him for command; active, energetic, and self-reliant, of shrewd military sagacity, united with practical experience, a keen disciplinarian, frank and pleasing in manner, he secured both the respect and the affection of his men.

The entire military force of the expedition, as it was gathered at Annapolis, numbered about sixteen thousand men, comprising 15 regiments of infantry, a battalion of infantry, a battery of artillery, beside a large body of gunners for the armed vessels, capable of rendering service on land, and the sailors of the fleet. There were three army brigades, each including five regiments. To the 1st, commanded by General John G. Foster, whose services in his command at Fort Sumter during the siege will be remembered, were assigned four Massachusetts regiments, the 23d, 24th, 25th, and 27th, and the 10th Connecticut. To the 2d, commanded by General Jesse L. Reno, of Pennsylvania, a graduate of West Point, of 1846, and afterwards employed in active service in the ordnance department, were assigned the 21st Massachusetts, the 51st Pennsylvania, the 51st New York, the 9th New Jersey, and the 6th New Hampshire. To the 3d, commanded by General John G. Parke, of Pennsylvania, a graduate of West Point of 1849, and, previous to the war, engaged in many responsible employments in the Engineer corps, were assigned the 4th, and a battalion of the 5th Rhode Island, the 8th and 11th Connecticut, the 53d and 89th New York, and Belgier's Rhode Island battery of one hundred and six men, one hundred and twenty horses, four 10-pounder Parrott guns, and two 12-pounder field howitzers. For the transportation of this force from the Chesapeake, with its various equipments, horses, arms, and supplies of coal, lumber, water, provisions, etc., there was employed a fleet of side-wheel steamers, armed propellers, and sailing vessels of varying denominations, numbering in all more than a hundred craft.

In addition to this military array, an imposing naval squadron, numbering eighteen light-draught steam gunboats, with an armament of about fifty heavy rifle cannon accompanied the expedition. The command of this force and of the naval operations generally, was assigned to Flag-Officer L. M. Goldsborough, the Commander-in-Chief of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron, and was divided into two columns for active service, to be led by commanders S. F. Hazard, and Stephen C. Rowan, of the United States Navy.

The entire expedition was arranged for peculiar service on the shores of North Carolina, within the waters of Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, and for the most efficient coöperation of its naval and military departments. For this purpose the guns of the fleet were so equipped with ship and field carriages, that they might be used either on the water or the land. There was also a thoroughly organized signal corps—formed of twenty-two lieutenants, and sixty-six picked men of the various regiments—who, by a preconcerted system of waving of flags of different colors and sizes by day, and of torches by night, the movements indicating certain figures or cyphers readily translated, were enabled to communicate intelligence as might be needed either of the fleet or the army. In addition there were two extensive pontoon trains; one, such as is employed by the French, of wooden boats, eight feet wide, and thirty-two feet long, to be placed in two parallel lines connected by a flooring; the other, of the regular India-rubber pattern, familiar to our service. The guns carried by the fleet, were mostly of the newest construction of the steel rifled Wiard and Parrott patterns, with an effective range of from one and a half to two and a half miles. Thus armed and equipped, and laden with her precious freight of picked trained men, and a numerous array of staff officers, attached to the commander-in-chief and the several brigades, the Burnside Expedition, after months of anxious preparation, set sail from the first rendezvous at Annapolis, on the 9th of January, 1862. Owing to dense fogs in the Chesapeake Bay, incident to the season, the next station at Fortress Monroe was not reached till midnight of the 10th. The next day without detention, the order was given to sail, and Sunday, the 11th, saw the fleet at sea. It was now to be seen what fortune so numerous a band of vessels, many of small size, and some of them dependent on the others for their progress and safety, would have upon the broad Atlantic. As it was generally supposed, while the vessels were collecting, that they would be employed inside of the capes of Virginia—every spot having been mentioned, from the Rappahannock to Elizabeth River—but little anxiety had been felt respecting their sea-going qualities. Now, however, the case was different. The unusual inclemency of the season, and the proverbial dangers of Hatteras, whither it was now at once understood that the fleet was sailing, were highly suggestive of alarm for the safety of the frail barks; while the storms which had beset the expeditions to Charleston and Port Royal, were not forgotten. Indeed, when it was understood that the route was seaward, a number of light-draught tug steamers, notwithstanding their charter engagements, much to its detriment, were withdrawn from the expedition. The event proved that there was no little hazard from the elements in the adventure.

Sunday, the first day out, there was considerable embarrassment from the fog on the coast, which greatly impeded progress. Monday was clear, with a heavy wind and rough sea, which caused the vessels to labor very heavily and some were obliged to cut loose from the vessels they were towing. Noon, however, of that day, saw most of them inside of the bar at Hatteras Inlet, their first southern destination, in time to escape the severe gale of Monday night and Tuesday, which set in with extraordinary violence, even for this latitude of storms. The anchorage, however, was not of the best; the vessels were crowded together in a space quite too small for their accommodation, and were jostled with one another and suffered much in consequence. There were quiet waters, indeed, within Pamlico Sound, but they could be reached only by a narrow channel over an inner bar or bulkhead, which except at high tide, when it barely furnished seven and a half feet of water, permitted none but vessels of the lightest draft to pass. Unhappily all were not alike in safety. The Grapeshot, one of the floating batteries towed by the steamer New Brunswick, was compelled to be abandoned before reaching the inlet, the men on board being with difficulty saved by the crew of the steamer. The larger vessels and a number of schooners which had arrived, were compelled to remain at the anchorage outside, where they were exposed to the full fury of the tempest. The steamer City of New York, a propeller of nearly six hundred tons, commanded by Capt. J. W. Nye, reached Hatteras on the afternoon of Monday, only to perish within sight of the shore. As she was endeavoring to enter the inlet, she grounded on the bar, and was immediately exposed to the force of the breakers. Her officers and crew took to the rigging for safety. All that night and the next day, the vessel lay in this condition, at the mercy of the elements, beyond the reach of succor. It was not till Wednesday, that her crew were enabled to reach the shore. The last to leave the vessel, Mr. Shouerman, the second engineer, mounted the mast, cut down the flag and bore it wrapped round his body to the shore. "I meant," said he, "either to die in its folds, or bring it safely to land." The spirited act is enhanced by comparison with the conduct of the first mate, who, with his companions, left the ship in the best boat as soon as she had struck. The loss of the vessel was very freely charged to the treachery of the pilot. Suspicion, in fact, was everywhere an inevitable attendant of this unhappy struggle. The steamer lay a week, fast breaking up upon the sand. She was laden with ammunition and military equipments. Four hundred barrels of gunpowder, fifteen hundred rifles, eight hundred shells, and other stores and supplies, went down with her.

Two days later, on the seventeenth, the steamer Pocahontas, quite unseaworthy and commanded by a drunken captain, laden with horses mostly belonging to the Rhode Island regiment, went ashore twelve miles north of Hatteras, and the horses, except a few which swam ashore, were lost. The Zouave, also, one of the gunboats, was sunk in the inlet, in consequence of an injury to her bottom, caused it is said, by overrunning her anchors. She had been already weakened by sticking on Barnegat Shoals on her way to Annapolis. Her guns were saved. One or two schooners, also, laden with provisions and coal, were wrecked.

None of these disasters, it was remarkable, was attended with any loss of human life. The occasion, however, was not to pass without this melancholy consecration. On Wednesday, the 15th, while the ships were outside, a party set out for the shore from one of them, the Anne E. Thompson, which carried the 9th New Jersey regiment. They reached the land in safety, and were on their return to the ship, when their boat was overturned by a wave, and three of the company, the Colonel of the regiment, Joseph W. Allen, the Surgeon, F. S. Weller, and the second mate of the vessel, were drowned. When relief came the rest were saved, and the lifeless bodies of the two officers were recovered. Colonel Allen was a native of Burlington, who had been a civil engineer before entering the army. He had been engaged in political life, and in the militia service of his State, and his loss, with that of his fellow officer, was much regretted. Much anxiety was felt for the fate of the schooner carrying the Signal Corps, but she at length arrived, to the great joy of the squadron, bringing her passengers in safety, after having been tossed at sea in storm and tempest for more than a fortnight.

With these disasters, which, considering the magnitude of the fleet, and the perils of the place, and season, must be thought no more than the ordinary accidents incident to such a service, the Expedition having overcome its first difficulties on the sea, had now to encounter a series of vexatious embarrassments in its further passage to the destined scene of its operations in the waters within. Many of the vessels on which reliance had been placed for carrying the troops were found to be of too great draft, or too heavily laden, for the transit. A New York regiment, the D'Epineuil Zouaves, was sent back to Fortress Monroe for lack of appropriate means of entering the Sound. The skill of the various commanders was tried to the uttermost in the preservation of the various vessels, and in attempts to secure their passage through the pestilent, narrow, violent channel, which would serve only a few hours at each tide. The work, annoying enough under the most favorable conditions of the strait, was frequently rendered quite impracticable by the continued ill temper of the weather which seemed spitefully to follow up the tempest-tossed flotilla. It was no more, however, than was to be expected at this wintry season in the latitude of Hatteras. At times the anxiety was increased by the want of water in some of the vessels not provided with salt water condensers, and the danger of passing from one to another to procure the needed supply. On one such occasion a purse was made up in gratitude to an adventurous boat's crew which had volunteered for the duty.

The whole month of January was expended in the worrying process of studying the humors, and taking advantage of the kindlier opportunities of what Commodore Goldsborough, in the dispatch announcing the final passage of his gunboats, calls "this perplexing gut." At length, however, by the unwearied exertions and ability of General Burnside and his faithful officers and men, diligently assisting in the unexpected and laborious work, what with temporarily relieving one and another of the vessels of their living freight, and by dint of prudent management, the fleet was fairly embarked on Pamlico Sound, and reported ready for action.

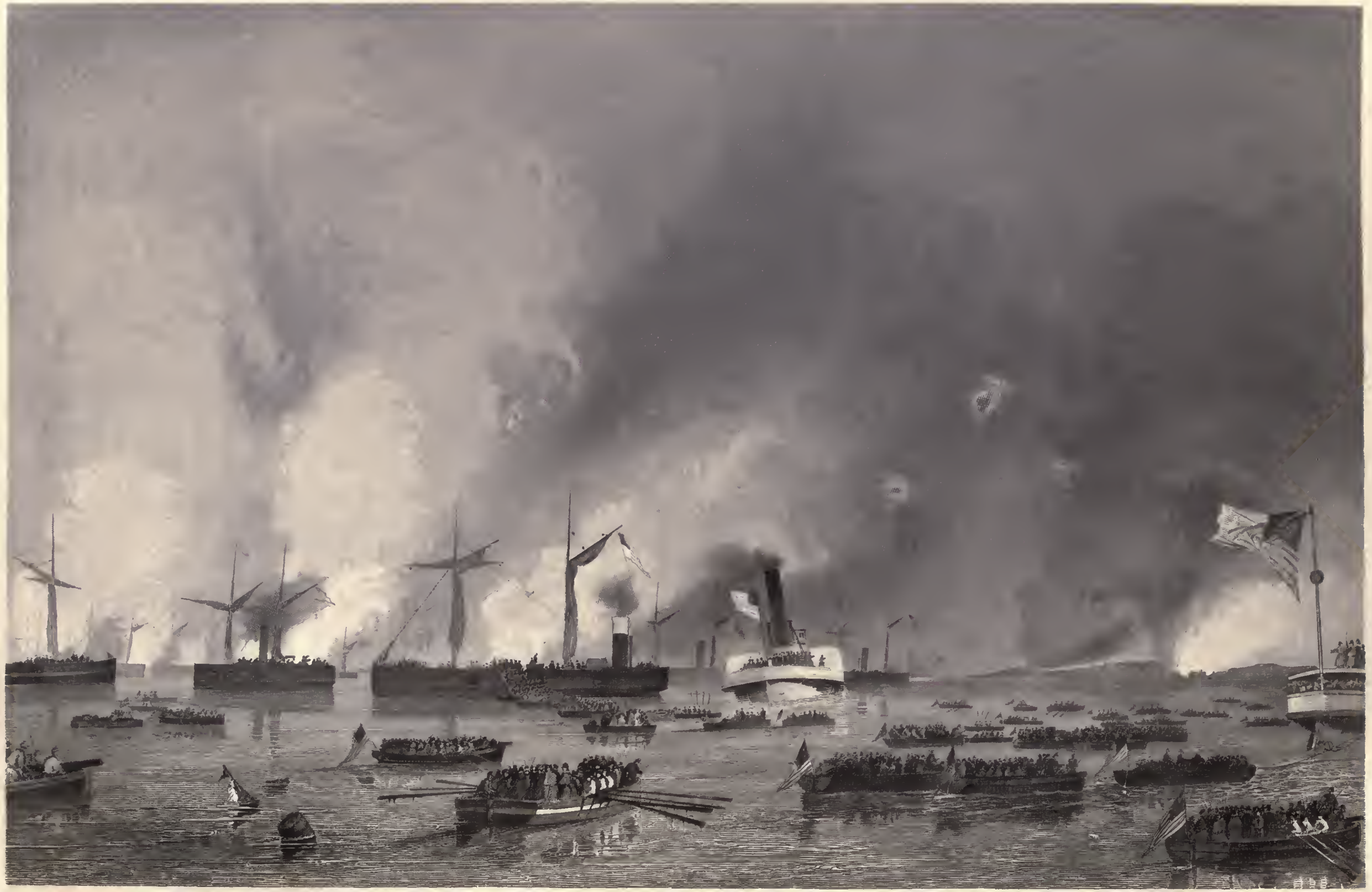
The unavoidable delay in its operations had given the enemy, who had every facility through the newspapers of becoming acquainted with the general character and extent of the Expedition, an opportunity of providing against its attacks; and they had accordingly strengthened the defences, and congregated a large body of North Carolina and Virginia troops at Roanoke Island, a position commanding the channel which separates the waters of Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds. Their exact force was not known, but it was well understood that it was formidable, that it was securely entrenched, with various fortifications along the shore, and had the protection of a fleet of gunboats, with, of course, the means of reinforcement from the north by the open communication beyond. If, as was intimated, it was the intention of General Burnside to gain possession of the coast line of railway, at its most important station, at Weldon, on the border of the State, or cut off the supplies of Norfolk in its rear, it was evident that he must open the way to the upper waters of Albemarle Sound. The enemy in his neighborhood, at any rate, must be dislodged, and an attack upon Roanoke was consequently inevitable.

The military and naval forces having been thoroughly organized and assigned their respective parts in the movement, the Expedition set sail from Hatteras in that direction on the morning of the 5th of February. Fifteen gunboats of Commodore Goldsborough's naval squadron led the way, followed at an interval of a mile by the armed transports, side-wheel steamers, and numerous retinue of the army divisions. The naval vessels, placed by Flag-Officer Goldsborough under the immediate command of Commander Rowan, were formed in three separatecolumns, commanded respectively by Lieutenants Reed Werden, Alexander Murray, and H. K. Davenport. The day was clear, with the wind from the north-west, and there was much animation in the scene, as the entire fleet of seventy vessels slowly traversed the distance, some thirty miles, to Roanoke. At sunset they anchored within sight of the island. The next day was foggy and wet, and nothing was undertaken beyond a reconnoissance of Croatan Sound, as the passage is called which separates Roanoke from the mainland. The channel was reported clear to the upper end of the island, where the rebel gunboats were found to be stationed. Friday, the following day, like its predecessor, was foggy in the morning, but about ten in the forenoon cleared up sufficiently for the advance. Commodore Goldsborough then gave the necessary orders, and hoisted the signal, consecrated by Lord Nelson, "This day our Country expects every man to do his duty." It was received with enthusiam as the fleet went forward. An active and daring bombardment of Fort Bartow, at Pork Point, on the upper part of the island, ensued, doing considerable damage to the work, and setting on fire the barracks beyond, with but little loss or personal injury to either assailants or defenders, while another portion of the gunboats, unable to come to close quarters with the enemy's vessels, in consequence of their shelter behind a blockade of sunken vessels and double row of stakes which had been planted across the Sound, engaged them, with little or no damage, at long range. The rebel squadron of seven vessels was commanded by Flag-Officer W. F. Lynch, late a lieutenant in the United States service, widely known by his published account of an expedition to the Holy Land, which he had conducted under the auspices of the Government, while on duty in the Mediterranean. At the close of this action of the 7th, he reported the Curlew, his largest steamer, sunk, and the Forest, a propeller, disabled. Several of his officers and men were wounded, and his stock of ammunition was quite exhausted. "In all probability," he wrote, "the contest will be renewed to-morrow. I have decided, after receiving the guns from the wreck of the Curlew, to proceed direct with the squadron to Elizabeth City, and send express to Norfolk for ammunition. Should it arrive in time, we will return to aid in the defence ; if not, will there make a final stand, and blow up the vessels rather than they shall fall into the hands of the enemy."

In the afternoon, the army transports came up, and preparations were made for landing the troops on the island. The place chosen for this purpose was situated on the west shore some distance below the first battery, and bore the promising title, Ashly's Harbor. It, however, afforded but little facility for a debarkation. The water was shallow, and the smaller steamers of the transports could approach the shore only at a distance. A boat, commanded by Lieutenant Andrews of the 9th New York, and manned by ten members of the Rhode Island regiment, who had volunteered for the perilous service, was sent forward to sound out a channel of approach. After this work was performed, and when the boat was nearing the land, it was fired into from a party previously concealed by the tall grass on the bank, and one of the men, Charles Vial, of Providence, was desperately wounded. When the troops were about to land there were some indications of a rebel force at hand to contest the passage to the shore, but it was quickly dispersed by a discharge of shrapnel from one of the gunboats into the sheltering woods. The landing was then effected with great precision, but the men were compelled to wade several hundred feet through the water, sinking at every step in the soft ooze. This cheerless process was going on through the afternoon, evening, and a good portion of the night, the usual inclemency of which, at this season, was aggravated by a cold rain storm, till some eleven thousand men were left on the shore utterly unsheltered amidst the discomforts of the weather. This, with an uncounted enemy before them on untried ground, was sufficiently discouraging, but the morning found them ready for battle, as General Foster, the commander of the day, promptly organized the brigades and regiments for the decisive attack. He himself led the way with his brigade supporting a six-howitzer battery, in charge of Midshipman B. F. Porter. The brigades of Generals Reno and Parke followed in order. The road which they pursued, leading toward the centre of the island, was wet and swampy, and closely environed with woods. "After fording a creek," to pursue the narrative in the words of an intelligent observer of the events of the day, "General Foster's force came up with the enemy's pickets, who fired their pieces and ran. Striking the main road the brigade pushed on, and after marching a mile and a half, came in sight of the enemy's position. To properly understand its great strength, in addition to what skillful engineering had done, the reader will bear in mind that the island, which is low and sandy, is cut up and dotted with marshes and lagoons. On the right and left of the enemy a morass, deemed impassable, stretched out nearly the entire width of the island. The upper and lower part of the island being connected by the narrow neck on which the battery was situated, and across which lay the road, the battery of three guns had been located so as to rake every inch of the narrow causeway, which, for some distance was the only approach to the work. General Foster immediately disposed his forces for attack, by placing the 25th Massachusetts, supported by the 23d Massachusetts, in line, and opened with musketry and cannon. The enemy replied hotly with artillery and infantry. While they were thus engaged, the 27th Massachusetts came up, and were ordered by General Foster to the left of the enemy in the woods, where the rebel sharpshooters were stationed. The 10th Connecticut was placed in support of the 25th Massachusetts. General Reno now came up with his brigade, consisting of the 21st Massachusetts, 51st New York, 51st Pennsylvania, and 9th New Jersey, and pushing through the swamps and tangled undergrowth, took up a position on the right, with the view of turning the enemy. This was done with the greatest alacrity. Meanwhile, the contest raged hotly in front, our men behaving gallantly, not wavering for a moment. The Massachusetts men vied with the men of Connecticut; those of New York and New Jersey courageously supporting their brethren of Pennsylvania. Our troops were gradually overcoming the difficulties which impeded their approach, and though fighting at great disadvantage, and suffering severely, were making a steady advance. Regulars were never more steady. General Burnside was near the place of landing, hurrying up the reserves, receiving reports, and, so far as practicable, giving orders.

"General Foster was in active command on the ground. His brave and collected manner, the skillfulness with which he, as well as General Reno and General Parks, manœuvred their forces, their example in front of the line, and their conduct in any aspect, inspired the troops to stand where even older soldiers would have wavered. In this they were seconded nobly by officers of every grade. General Parks, who had come up with the 4th Rhode Island, 8th Connecticut, and 9th New York, gave timely and gallant support to the 23d and 27th Massachusetts. The ammunition of our artillery getting short, and our men having suffered severely, a charge was the only method of dislodging the enemy. At this juncture, Major Kimball, of Hawkins' Zouaves, (New York 9th,) offered to lead the charge, and storm the battery with the bayonet. "You are the man, the 9th the regiment, and this the moment! Zouaves, storm the battery! Forward!" was General Foster's reply. They started on the run, yelling like devils, cheered by our forces on every side. Colonel Hawkins, who was leading two companies in the flank movement, joined his regiment on the way. On they went, with fixed bayonets, shouting "Zou! Zou! Zou!" into the battery, cheered more loudly than ever. The rebels, taking fright, as the Zouaves started, went out when they went in, leaving pretty much everything behind them, not even stopping to spike their guns, or take away their dead and wounded, that had not been removed. General Foster immediately reformed his brigade, while General Reno, with the 21st Massachusetts and 9th New York, went in pursuit. Following in quick time, General Foster overtook General Reno, who had halted to make a movement to cut off the retreat of a body of rebels, numbering between 800 and 1,000, on the left, near Wier's Point, and not far from the upper battery. Taking a part of his force, General Reno pushed on in that direction. It being understood that there was a two-gun battery near Shallowbag Bay, Colonel Hawkins, with his Zouaves, was dispatched in that direction.

"General Foster pushed on at double-quick with the 24th Massachusetts, followed by an adequate force, in the tracks of the rebels, who, panic-stricken, were fleeing at the top of their speed, throwing away, as they went, guns, equipments, everything, so that the road for miles was strewn with whatever the fugitives could disencumber themselves of. Thus was the pursuit kept up for five or six miles, when General Foster, as he was close on the heels of the enemy, was met by a flag of truce, borne by Colonel Pool, of the 8th North Carolina, with a message from Colonel Shaw, of the North Carolina forces, and now senior officer in command, asking what terms of capitulation would be granted. General Foster's answer was, 'Unconditional surrender.'



ATTACK UPON ROANOKE ISLAND — LANDING OF THE TROOPS.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers.

Johnson Fry & Co Publishers New York

Colonel Pool wanted to know how much time would be granted. 'No longer than will enable you to report to your senior.' Colonel Pool retired, and, after waiting for what he supposed was sufficient length of time without a reply, General Foster commenced closing on the enemy, when Major Stevenson, of the 24th Massachusetts, who had gone with Colonel Pool to receive Colonel Shaw's answer, appeared with a message that General Foster's terms were accepted. The usual forms of capitulation were gone through, and about 2,000 rebels laid down their arms. They were variously affected. Some of them had arrived from Norfolk the same morning, and they joked and swore by turns at the way they had been led into the trap. The celebrated Wise Legion, among the captives, were disposed to be considerably uproarious. Some of the officers expressed themselves glad that the result was as it was, and appeared to be well satisfied. As a general thing, utter dismay and astonishment prevailed. Meanwhile, General Reno had pushed on, and came up with a body of about 800 rebels, commanded by Colonel Jordan, who surrendered his entire force unconditionally, and afterward stacked their arms in the presence of the victors. Colonel Hawkins, finding the two-gun battery on Shallowbag Bay deserted, took possession of it, and shortly after came up with a body of rebel fugitives, about 200, whom he took prisoners. Wise here undertook to escape in a boat, and with others had already moved off, when he received three shots, one of them through his lungs, wounding him mortally. The batteries which the rebels had constructed on the island fell with this surrender. Indeed, the surrender to General Foster included all the defences and forces on the island.

"After completing the surrender, General Foster immediately returned to report the result to General Burnside. At the same time, a force was started for the Pork Point battery, to take it by storm, should it hold out. But the rebels had fled: our troops entered the battery unopposed, and at quarter past four the stars and stripes floated from four points of the work. The rebels had already left the two batteries above. The expedition against the barricade had pushed its way through into the waters of Albemarle, and at that moment we had possession of that chain of sounds, whose strategic importance had been recognized and acknowledged on both sides by making it the scene of so important operations. Our forces, as they flung out the Union banner from Pork Point battery, were welcomed by a burst of cheers from the gunboats and transports in the sound. Flag-Officer Goldsborough immediately hoisted the signal "The fort is ours," which called forth long-continued cheers, and were responded to by our brave men in the battery. Simultaneously with these scenes of triumph, another was being enacted on the opposite side of the sound, which is here about five miles across. The rebel steamer Curlew, which in the conflict the afternoon previous had been disabled by a shell exploding in her hold, and which, to prevent her sinking, had been run ashore under the battery on Redstone Point, was at this moment set on fire by the rebels to prevent her falling into our hands. The battery and barracks were also set on fire, and a cloud of smoke and a sheet of flame rose over the scene. It was the rebel sign that all was lost. The other rebel steamers had already disappeared up Albemarle Sound. The schooners, which in the morning had landed on Weir's Point the rebel force from Norfolk, had suddenly left, taking what few men they could snatch from the tide of disaster which was sweeping onward. The fire which had been lit at Redstone Point continued to burn, and illuminated the darkening sky. The magazine of the battery exploded with the noise of thunder, sending up a sheet of flame high in the air, succeeded by a gloom which seemed to render the scene symbolic of the rebellion in its last throes."

Colonel Edward Ferrero, in command of the 51st New York volunteers, which, in company with the Massachusetts 21st, took the rebel battery in flank on its right, claims in his report the honor, for the company of Captain Wright of his regiment, of first planting the American flag in the fort. Lieutenant-Colonel Maggi, in command of the Massachusetts regiment, also commemorates the share of his men in this crowning incident of the day. After describing the passage of the swamp in face of the enemy, he says, in his report to General Reno, "At the edge of the swamp and in front of me, was an exposed ground of one hundred yards. The regiment once in line, I charged that distance and ordered the men to lie down and load, covered by a small natural elevation. During that march we suffered four or five minutes a thick fire, and lost fifteen men. The battery was already flanked. You came and said to me: 'Charge and take it!' We arose and did so. At our left flank, were three companies of the 51st New York. Our State color was the first on the battery, afterward the flag of the 51st, then, immediately after, our regimental flag. One of our men found in the battery a rebel flag, with the motto: '*Aut vincere, aut mori.*'" Thus gallantly was the capture of Roanake effected, with what resolution, may be estimated from the disparity in the numbers killed and wounded, of the assailants and defenders. While the Union loss is stated at 50 killed, and 222 wounded that of the enemy, was 16 killed and 39 wounded.* The rebels, though opposed by superior numbers, had the advantage of fighting from well-guarded positions and behind intrenchments. The opinion was freely expressed at Richmond, that they should have made a more obstinate resistance. "Enough is known," said President Jefferson Davis; in his message to the Confederate Congress at the close of the month, "of the surrender of Roanoke Island to make us feel that it was deeply humiliating, however imperfect may have been the preparation for defence."

Among the Union losses, were two officers, who fell much lamented by their commander and the army. One of these, Lieutenant-Colonel Vigier de Monteil, was a native of France. The son of an officer of the army of Napoleon, he had passed his life from boyhood in the service of his country, in which he had attained the rank of First Lieutenant of Artillery. Compelled to leave France after the revolution of 1848, in consequence of his republican opinions, he sought refuge in the United States, and made his home at New York, where like many of his countrymen in exile in other days, he honorably supported himself by teaching his native language. At the first call of his adopted country, the old soldier sprang to arms and became Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment of volunteers known as the D'Epineuil Zouaves. When this regiment was sent back from Hatteras by General Burnside, De Monteil remained behind, and accompanied the army to Roanoke. On the day of the battle, he had taken a Sharp's rifle, as a volunteer, and joined the ranks of the 9th New York, Hawkins' Zouaves. When the order to charge was given he was found among the foremost cheering the men in the onset, and as he advanced to the assault, he fell, killed on the instant by a ball through the head. "The last I saw of him alive," says Colonel Hawkins, in a letter of condolence to the widow of this gallant man, "he was standing on a fallen tree, urging my men on to the charge. The last words I heard him utter were, 'Charge, *mes enfans*; charge, Zouaves!' No soldier ever more gallantly acted or more nobly fell. He was the bravest of the brave, and truly patriotic, and died in one of the best causes for which man has ever fought." In an order of the day, at Roanoke Island, General Burnside "desiring to express his deep respect for the memory of a gallant soldier," gave the name of De Monteil to one of the batteries captured in the action.

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* *New York Herald*, Record of the Rebellion, for 1862.

Coupled with this officer in gallantry, General Burnside, in his dispatch, records the name of Colonel Charles Lambert Russell, of the 10th Connecticut volunteers. A native of that State, a resident of Birmingham, where he was engaged in business, he had for many years served as an officer of militia, when the rebellion called him to the field as Adjutant of the 2d Connecticut volunteers. He was at the battle of Bull Run, his name appearing in the report of Colonel Keyes, honorably mentioned for his "conspicuous gallantry in defending the regimental colors during the retreat." He subsequently raised a company for the 8th Connecticut volunteers in the new enlistments, from which which he was promoted, to the command of the 10th. He fell in the charge at Roanoke, at the head of his men. No external wound being found upon his body he was supposed to have been killed by the concussion of a cannon ball.

Captain O. Jennings Wise, "the fighting editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*," the most noted of the confederate officers who fell in this engagement, was the son of General Henry A. Wise, former Governor of Virginia. The latter, whose movements we have followed in the western part of the State, was at the time of the action, in command at Nag's Head, on the spit of sand between Roanoke and the ocean, from whence he sent, on the morning of the 7th, a battalion of the "Wise Legion," to the island in command of his son. A severe attack of pleurisy prevented General Wise taking further part in the engagement than to forward troops to the field. On the morning of the 8th, Captain Wise was in command on the left of the fort where the main action occurred. "About ten o'clock," says the narrative of the engagement, published in the *Richmond Enquirer*, "finding his battalion exposed to the galling fire of a regiment, turning to Captain Coles, (of his own regiment, the 46th Virginia) he said, 'This fire is very hot; tell Colonel Anderson we must fall back or be reinforced.' Captain Coles turned to pass the order and was shot through the heart, dying instantly. Captain Wise was wounded, first in the arm and next through the lungs, which latter wound threw him to the ground. He was borne to the hospital in charge of the gallant Surgeon Coles, and received two additional wounds while being borne from the field. That evening Surgeon Coles put him into a boat to send him to Nag's Head, but the enemy fired upon it, and he was obliged to return. The enemy seemed to regret this and treated him him very kindly, taking him out of the boat on a mattress and starting back to the hospital. The next day about eleven o'clock, A. M., he calmly and in his perfect senses, without suffering, softly passed away. Colonel Hawkins, and Lieutenant-Colonel Betts of the 9th New York regiment, were with him when he died, and wept like generous-hearted soldiers. The former said, 'There is a brave man.'"

The dispatches of General Burnside and Flag Officer Goldsborough, announcing the victory to General McClellan and Secretary Welles, celebrate the courage of their respective commands, and especially the fidelity with which their plans, formed before the expedition left Hatteras, had been carried out. "It is enough to say," wrote General Burnside, "that the officers and men of both arms of the service have fought gallantly." "Roanoke Island," wrote Flag Officer Goldsborough on the 9th, "is ours. The military authorities struck to us yesterday. Their means of defence were truly formidable, and they were used with a determination worthy of a better cause. They consisted of two elaborately constructed works, mounting together twenty-two heavy guns, three of them being 100-pounders, rifled. Four other batteries mounting together twenty guns, a large proportion of them being also of large calibre, and some of them rifled; eight steamers, mounting two guns each, and each having a rifled gun with the diameter of a 32-pounder, a prolonged obstruction of sunken vessels and spiles to thwart our advance, and, altogether, a body of men numbering scarcely less than 5,000, of whom 3,000 are now our prisoners."

President Lincoln associating this new victory at Roanoke with the recent success at Fort Henry, commemorated both achievements by a general order. "The President, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, returns thanks to Brigadier-General Burnside, and Flag-Officer Goldsborough, to General Grant, and Flag-Officer Foote, and the land and naval forces under their respective commands, for their gallant achievements in the capture of Fort Henry and Roanoke Island. While it will be no ordinary pleasure for him to acknowledge and reward, in becoming manner, the valor of the living, he also recognizes his duty to pay fitting honor to the memory of the gallant dead. The charge at Roanoke Island, like the bayonet charge at Mill Spring, proves that the close grapple and sharp steel, and loyal and patriotic soldiers, must always put rebels and traitors to flight. The late achievements of the Navy show that the flag of the Union, once borne in proud glory around the world by naval heroes, will soon again float over every rebel city and stronghold, and that it shall forever be honored and respected as the emblem of liberty and union in every land, and upon every sea."*

The victory at Roanoke Island was immediately followed up by an expedition in command of Captain Rowan sent in pursuit of the fleet of the enemy which had fled up the Albemarle Sound, a distance of some thirty or forty miles, into Pasquotank river toward Elizabeth City. The squadron of Captain Rowan, numbering fourteen vessels, sailed from Roanoke on the afternoon of Sunday, the day after the surrender, and arrived at the mouth of the river at night. The following morning, the 10th, the fleet ascended the river and at eight o'clock came in presence of the enemy's gunboats consisting of seven steamers and a schooner armed with two heavy 32-pounders, drawn up in front of the city. On giving chase, it was found, says Lieutenant Quackenbush, the commander of the United States Steamer Delaware, the flag-ship of Captain Rowan, in his spirited report, "that the enemy had a battery of four guns on our left, and one of one gun in the town facing us. At six minutes past nine, A. M., engaged gunboats and battery, and closed in fast upon them, filling the air with shot and shell. At twenty-five minutes past nine, A. M., the schooner struck her colors and was found to be on fire. About the same time, the rebel flag on the battery at Cobb's Point was taken down and waved, apparently as a signal for the rebel gunboats. William F. Lynch, Flag-Officer, was in command of the fort. This signal was afterwards ascertained to be an order for the evacuation of the rebel gunboats. They immediately ran close in shore, and were instantaneously abandoned and set on fire by their crews, some of whom escaped in boats, and others, jumping overboard, swam and waded to the shore. Lieutenant-Commanding Quackenbush, now gave the order to his aid, F. R. Curtis, to man the cutter and bring off a rebel flag for Commander Rowan. J. H. Raymond, acting Master's Mate, together with a part of his division, immediately jumped in the boat with F. R. Curtis, and boarded the rebel steamer Fanny, which was at the time on fire, and hauled down the rebel flag; then proceeded on shore to the battery, and Mr. Raymond then planted the Stars and Stripes, and returned on board the Delaware, which was moored to the wharf at Elizabeth City, at forty-five minutes past nine o'clock, in the forenoon, thus ending one of the shortest and most brilliant engagements which has occurred during this unfortunate civil war."

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* Order Washington, February 15th, 1862.

In this engagement, the enemy were doubtless looking for an encounter at long range, when their guns might have inflicted more serious damage, but Commander Rowan had, as we have just seen, provided another plan of attack. Regardless of the guns of the enemy, he pushed on without returning a shot until within three-quarters of a mile of the fort, when his vessels opened fire and dashed upon the rebel gunboats, driving into them and running them down. One only of the vessels was saved from destruction, the Ellis, whose Commander, Captain Cooke, was wounded and taken prisoner. After the gunboats were abandoned, the rebels commenced setting fire to the principal buildings in Elizabeth City, which had been deserted by most of its inhabitants. The prompt assurances of protection of Commander Rowan, however, checked this insane proceeding. In reference to this matter, in a general order after the action, he expressed his gratification, "at the evidence of the high discipline of the crews, in refraining from trespassing, in the slightest degree, upon the private property of defenceless people in a defenceless town. The generous offer to go on shore and extinguish the flames, applied by the torch of a vandal soldiery upon the houses of its own defenceless women and children, is a striking evidence of the justness of our cause, and must have its effect in teaching our deluded countrymen a lesson in humanity and civilization." The Union loss in this encounter, was, two killed, and several wounded. Of the enemy, says a correspondent, in his description of the scene, "many were killed by the bayonet and revolver in this hand-to-hand fight, and sunk beneath the water. The slaughter was fearful."*

An extraordinary act of bravery is recorded of a gunner's mate in this action. As the Valley City, one of the Union fleet, was engaged with the enemy, a shell from their battery entered the vessel and exploded by the magazine, where John Davis was passing out powder for the guns. Seeing the danger, he protected an open barrel of powder with his body, actually seating himself upon it, and remained in that position till the flames were extinguished. The heroic act was reported by Lieutenant Chaplin, the commander of the Valley City, to Flag-Officer Goldsborough, who brought it to the notice of the Navy Department, recommending "the gallant and noble sailor" to special consideration. Secretary Welles promptly replied to this communication by conferring the appointment on Davis of acting gunner—a substantial promotion, which raised his salary from twenty-five dollars a month to a thousand dollars a year. A popular subscription was also started in New York by W. C. Bryant, Elias Wade, Jr., and others, for "the man who sat on the powder," which resulted in the payment to him of eleven hundred dollars. In the correspondence connected with this matter, Lieutenant Chaplin gave the following account of the brave recipient: "John Davis is a native of Finland, Russia proper; and has been a citizen of the United States for twenty-five years—fifteen of which he has spent in the merchant marine, and ten years in various vessels of the naval service in this country. His age is forty-two years. He has no family. Such is his history. As to his character: he was received on board my vessel while in the Potomac river as coxswain, along with the crew of a launch, to shelter in the exigencies of the service, and I very soon marked

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* Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*, February 15th, 1862.

him as a thorough seaman, and a man who, under all circumstances, was prudentially interested in the general details of duty on board this vessel He is of staid, solid habits."*

Elizabeth City was taken possession of by the Union forces the day after the engagement. On the 12th, Edenton, at the west end of Albemarle Sound, was visited by a portion of the flotilla under command of Lieutenant A. Maury. On the approach of the vessels to the town, part of a flying artillery regiment, variously estimated at from one to three hundred, fled precipitately without firing a shot. "Among the results of the expedition," adds Lieutenant Maury in his report, "are the destruction of eight cannon, and one schooner on the stocks at Edenton. We captured two schooners in the Sound; one loaded with four thousand bushels of corn. We also took six bales of cotton from the custom-house wharf." Lieutenant Jeffers, the next day, with several of the vessels of the fleet, proceeded to the Chesapeake and Albemarle canal, the thoroughfare between Currituck and the upper counties, for the purpose of obstructing its use. A body of rebels were found engaged with the same object. They fled on the arrival of the Union party, who completed their work by sinking two schooners in the mouth of the canal.

A few days after, on the 19th, the flotilla, under Commander Rowan, set out from Edenton for a reconnoissance of the Chowan river as far as Winton and the Roanoke river, on the opposite side of the Sound to Plymouth. On approaching Winton, the United States steamer Perry, having on board Colonel Hawkins with a company of his regiment, was fired into with a volley of musketry from the high bank on the shore. In retaliation, the town was shelled, and, with the exception of the church, which was spared, burnt by the Union troops.

On the 18th of February, Flag-Officer Goldsborough and General Burnside issued the following joint proclamation, in words of earnest entreaty, addressed to the people of North Carolina:—

"The mission of our joint expedition is not to invade any of your rights, but to assert the authority of the United States, and to close with you the desolating war brought upon your state by comparatively a few bad men in your midst. Influenced infinitely more by the worst passions of human nature than by any show of elevated reason, they are still urging you astray, to gratify their unholy purposes. They impose upon your credulity by telling of wicked and even diabolical intentions on our part; of our desire to destroy your freedom, demolish your property, liberate your slaves, injure your women, and such like enormities; all of which, we assure you, is not only ridiculous, but utterly and willfully false. We are Christians as well as yourselves, and we profess to know full well, and to feel profoundly, the sacred obligations of the character. No apprehensions need be entertained that the demands of humanity or justice will be disregarded. We shall inflict no injury, unless forced to do so by your own acts, and upon this you may confidently rely. Those men are your worst enemies. They, in truth, have drawn you into your present condition, and are the real disturbers of your peace and the happiness of your firesides. We invite you, in the name of the Constitution, and in that of virtuous loyalty and civilization, to separate yourselves at once from these malign influences, to return to your allegiance, and not compel us to resort further to the force under our control. The Government asks only that its authority may be recognized; and, we repeat, in no manner or way does it desire to interfere with your laws, constitutionally established, your institutions of any kind whatever, your property of any sort, or your usages in any respect."

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* Correspondence, etc., *Evening Post*, July 5, 1862.

A proclamation of Governor Henry T. Clark, of North Carolina, issued a few days after, was in striking contrast with this generous appeal. Calling upon the citizens to supply the requisition for troops of the president of the Confederate States and to volunteer for the defence of the state, the governor denounced the advance of the Union forces as an attempt "to deprive us of liberty, property, and all that we hold dear as a self-governing and free people. We must resist him at all hazards and by every means in our power. He wages a war for our subjugation—a war forced upon us in wrong and prosecuted without right, and in a spirit of vengeful wickedness without a parallel in the history of warfare among civilized nations. * * * The enemy is redoubling his efforts and straining every nerve to overrun our country and subjugate us to his domination—his avarice and ambition. Already is it proposed in their Congress to establish a territorial government in a portion of our state. Now is the time to prove our zeal and animate by example. I call upon the brave and patriotic men of our state to volunteer, from the mountains to the sea."*

The two proclamations clearly enough indicate the spirit in which the war was fought. Conciliatory, forbearing, delicate, scrupulous, on the one side ; on the other fierce and stubborn in opposition, rousing the passions of the people by the worst misrepresentations of those who would not call themselves their foes. The Union commanders and the Administration at Washington appeared anxious to conduct the contest, as far as possible, on the principle of peace ; the Confederates, from the beginning, urged unmitigated, determined war. Was it to be wondered at, under these circumstances, that, the National Government failing adequately to exert its strength, the contest was protracted by the resolution of the party inferior in numbers and resources ?

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* Governor Clark's Proclamation, Raleigh, February 22, 1862.

CHAPTER LV.

FEBRUARY 22d, 1862.

THE birthday of Washington, 1862, marks an important period in the history of the war. On both sides the occasion was accepted to give renewed vigor and impetus to the struggle. At Richmond, it was memorable as the day of the inauguration of Jefferson Davis, as President of the Confederate States. In accordance with the constitution which had been adopted, the Provisional Government under which he had previously acted, was now to give place to a more formal authority. By the terms of the constitution, the provisional congress was to prescribe the time for holding the election of President and Vice-President, for the meeting of the electoral college, and for counting the votes, and inaugurating the President. The election having been held in the several states, the votes were formally opened in the presence of both houses of the Confederate Congress, on the 19th of February, when 109 votes were received from eleven States, all of which were given to Jefferson Davis for President, and Alexander H. Stevens for Vice-President. Of this number, Alabama cast 11 ; Arkansas, 6 ; Florida, 4 ; Georgia, 12 ; Louisiana, 8 ; Mississippi, 9 ; North Carolina, 12 ; South Carolina, 8 ; Tennessee, 15 ; Texas, 8 : and Virginia, 18 electoral votes. The inauguration was fixed for the 22d. The ceremonies, on the appointed day, generally followed the old order of proceeding at Washington. The Senate and House of Representatives met in the forenoon, in the hall of the House of Delegates of Virginia, where, with the Governor of the State and the officials, they received the President-elect. The whole company then moved in procession to the statue of Washington, on the public square, where a platform was erected for the services of the day. A prayer was offered by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Johns, Episcopal Bishop of Virginia, when an Inaugural Address was delivered by the President-elect, after which the oath of office was administered by the President of the Senate, and Jefferson Davis was proclaimed President of the Confederate States for the ensuing six years.

The inaugural address was well written, politic, with an air of calmness and dignity and assurance of ultimate success. The speaker commenced with a graceful allusion to the day. "Fellow Citizens—On this the birthday of the man most identified with the establishment of American Independence, and beneath the monument erected to commemorate his heroic virtues, and those of his compatriots, we have assembled to usher into existence the permanent government of the Confederate States. Through this instrumentality, under the favor of Divine Providence, we hope to perpetuate the principles of our revolutionary fathers. The day, the memory, and the purpose seem fitly associated."

"It is with mingled feelings of humility and pride," he continued, "that I appear, to take, in the presence of the people and before high Heaven, the oath prescribed as a qualification for the exalted station to which the unanimous voice of the people has called me. Deeply sensible of all that is implied by this manifestation of the people's confidence, I am yet more profoundly impressed by the vast responsibility of the office, and humbly feel my own unworthiness. In return for their kindness, I can only offer assurances of the gratitude with which it is received, and can but pledge a zealous devotion of every faculty to the service of those who have chosen me as their Chief Magistrate."

After these brief preliminaries, the speaker passed to a denunciation of the United States, professing to find in certain measures of the government in Maryland, and elsewhere, growing out of the war, a justification of the alleged policy of the South, in withdrawing from what he was pleased to consider an assured despotism. How far his comparison of the freedom of the North and South was likely to be borne out by the realities of the case may be judged by the necessities, arising from their position, of the two portions of the country. The ample resources, and generally undisturbed loyalty of the North, required but little effort on the part of the administration to sustain the war; indeed, the government fell short of the demands of the people in pressing it on. In the South, with inferior means and resources, however prompt the public might be to submit, the war necessarily demanded a despotic exercise of authority.

"When a long course of class legislation," said President Davis, "directed not to the general welfare, but to the aggrandizement of the northern section of the Union, culminated in a warfare on the domestic institutions of the Southern States—when the dogmas of a sectional party, substituted for the provisions of the constitutional compact, threatened to destroy the sovereign rights of the States, six of those States, withdrawing from the Union, confederated together, to exercise the right and perform the duty of instituting a government which would better secure the liberties for the preservation of which that Union was established. Whatever of hope some may have entertained, that a returning sense of justice would remove the danger with which our rights were threatened, and render it possible to preserve the Union of the constitution, must have been dispelled by the malignity and barbarity of the Northern States, in the prosecution of the existing war. The confidence of the most hopeful among us, must have been destroyed by the disregard they have recently exhibited for all the time-honored bulwarks of civil and religious liberty. Bastiles filled with prisoners, arrested without civil process or indictment duly found; the writ of *habeas corpus* suspended by Executive mandate; a State Legislature controlled by the imprisonment of members whose avowed principles suggested to the federal Executive, that there might be another added to the list of the seceded States; elections held under threats of a military power; civil officers, peaceful citizens, and gentle women incarcerated for opinion's sake, proclaimed the incapacity of our late associates to administer a government as free, liberal, and humane, as that established for our common use. For proof of the sincerity of our purpose, to maintain our ancient institutions, we may point to the constitution of the confederacy, and the laws enacted under it, as well as to the fact, that, through all the necessities of an unequal struggle, there has been no act on our part to impair personal liberty or the freedom of speech, of thought, or of the press. The courts have been open, the judicial functions fully executed, and every right of the peaceful citizen maintained, as securely as if a war of invasion had not disturbed the land.

"The people of the States now confederated, became convinced that the government of the United States had fallen into the hands of a sectional majority, who would pervert that most sacred of all trusts, to the destruction of the rights which it was pledged to protect. They believed, that to remain longer in the Union, would subject them to a continuance of a disparaging discrimination, submission to which would be inconsistent with their welfare, and intolerable to a proud people. They therefore determined to sever its bonds and establish a new confederacy for themselves. The experiment instituted by our Revolutionary fathers, of a voluntary union of sovereign States for purposes specified in a solemn compact, had been perverted by those who, feeling power and forgetting right, were determined to respect no law but their own will. The government had ceased to answer the ends for which it was ordained and established. To save ourselves from a revolution, which, in its silent but rapid progress, was about to place us under the despotism of numbers, and to preserve in spirit, as well as in form, a system of government we believed to be peculiarly fitted to our condition, and full of promise for mankind, we determined to make a new association, composed of States homogeneous in interest, in policy, and in feeling. True to our traditions of peace and our love of justice, we sent commissioners to the United States to propose a fair and amicable settlement of all questions of public debt or property, which might be in dispute. But the government at Washington, denying our right to self-government, refused even to listen to any proposals for a peaceful separation. Nothing was then left to us but to prepare for war."

From this defence or apology of the course of the Confederates, the President passed to a brief review of the events of the year; in which, impressed with the recent surrender of Fort Henry, Donelson, and Roanoke, he did not disguise the difficulties and perils which had been encountered and which yet were in prospect, adroitly mingling with these admissions the hope to be derived from the financial embarrassments of the North, the growth of industry, and encouragement from heroism at home, and suggesting to foreign nations the value of Southern commercial products, with other appeals to transatlantic sympathy, the address thus proceeded:—

"The first year in our history has been the most eventful in the annals of the continent. A new government has been established, and its machinery put in operation over an area exceeding seven hundred thousand square miles. The great principles upon which we have been willing to hazard everything that is dear to man have made conquests for us which could never have been achieved by the sword. Our confederacy has grown from six to thirteen states; and Maryland, already united to us by hallowed memories and material interests, will, I believe, when able to speak with unstifled voice, connect her destiny with the South. Our people have rallied with unexampled unanimity to the support of the great principles of constitutional government, with firm resolve to perpetuate by arms the rights which they could not peacefully secure. A million of men, it is estimated, are now standing in hostile array, and waging war along a frontier of thousands of miles. Battles have been fought, sieges have been conducted, and, although the contest is not ended, and the tide for the moment is against us, the final result in our favor is not doubtful. The period is near at hand when our foes must sink under the immense load of debt which they have incurred; a debt which, in their effort to subjugate us, has already attained such fearful dimensions as will subject them to burthens which must continue to oppress them for generations to come.

"We, too, have had our trials and difficulties. That we are to escape them in future is not to be hoped. It was to be expected when we entered upon this war that it would expose our people to sacrifices and cost them much, both of money and blood. But we knew the value of the object for which we struggled, and understood the nature of the war in which we were engaged. Nothing could be so bad as failure, and any sacrifice would be cheap as the price of success in such a contest. But the picture has its lights as well as its shadows. This great strife has awakened in the people the highest emotions and qualities of the human soul. It is cultivating feelings of patriotism, virtue, and courage. Instances of self-sacrifice and of generous devotion to the noble cause for which we are contending are rife throughout the land. Never has a people evinced a more determined spirit than that now animating men, women, and children in every part of our country. Upon the first call the men fly to arms, and wives and mothers send their husbands and sons to battle without a murmur of regret. It was, perhaps, in the ordination of Providence that we were to be taught the value of our liberties by the price which we pay for them. The recollections of this great contest, with all its common traditions of glory, of sacrifice, and of blood, will be the bond of harmony and enduring affection amongst the people, producing unity in policy, fraternity in sentiment, and joint effort in war. Nor have the material sacrifices of the past year been made without some corresponding benefits. If the acquiescence of foreign nations in a pretended blockade has deprived us of our commerce with them, it is fast making us a self-supporting and an independent people. The blockade, if effectual and permanent, could only serve to divert our industry from the production of articles for export, and employ it in supplying commodities for domestic use. It is a satisfaction that we have maintained the war by our unaided exertions. We have neither asked nor received assistance from any quarter. Yet the interest involved is not wholly our own. The world at large is concerned in opening our markets to its commerce. When the independence of the Confederate States is recognized by the nations of the earth, and we are free to follow our interests and inclinations by cultivating foreign trade, the Southern

States will offer to manufacturing nations the most favorable markets which ever invited their commerce. Cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, provisions, timber, and naval stores will furnish attractive exchanges. Nor would the constancy of these supplies be likely to be disturbed by war. Our confederate strength will be too great to tempt aggression, and never was there a people whose interests and principles committed them so fully to a peaceful policy as those of the Confederate States. By the character of their productions, they are too deeply interested in foreign commerce wantonly to disturb it. War of conquest they can not wage, because the constitution of their confederacy admits of no coerced association. Civil war there can not be between states held together by their volition only. This rule of voluntary association, which can not fail to be conservative, by securing just and impartial government at home, does not diminish the security of the obligations by which the Confederate States may be bound to foreign nations. In proof of this, it is to be remembered, that, at the first moment of asserting their right of secession, these states proposed a settlement on the basis of a common liability for the obligations of the general government."

Returning to the recent disasters, the President appealed to the people to exhibit renewed energy in support of the cause which they had undertaken, and closed his address with an earnest religious invocation.

"Fellow-citizens, after the struggles of ages had consecrated the right of the Englishman to constitutional representative government, our colonial ancestors were forced to vindicate that birth-right by an appeal to arms. Success crowned their efforts, and they provided for their posterity a peaceful remedy against future aggression. The tyranny of an unbridled majority, the most odious and least responsible form of despotism, has denied us both the right and the remedy. Therefore we are in arms to renew such sacrifices as our fathers made to the holy cause of constitutional liberty. At the darkest hour of our struggle the provisional gives place to the permanent government. After a series of successes and victories, which covered our arms with glory, we have recently met with serious disasters. But, in the heart of a people resolved to be free, these disasters tend but to stimulate to increased resistance. To show ourselves worthy of the inheritance bequeathed to us by the patriots of the Revolution, we must emulate that heroic devotion which made reverse to them but the crucible in which their patriotism was refined. With confidence in the wisdom and virtue of those who will share with me the responsibility and aid me in the conduct of public affairs; securely relying on the patriotism and courage of the people, of which the present war has furnished so many examples, I deeply feel the weight of the responsibilities I now, with unaffected diffidence, am about to assume; and, fully realizing the inadequacy of human power to guide and to sustain, my hope is reverently fixed on Him whose favor is ever vouchsafed to the cause which is just. With humble gratitude and adoration, acknowledging the Providence which has so visibly protected the confederacy during its brief but eventful career, to Thee, O God, I trustingly commit myself, and prayerfully invoke Thy blessing on my country and its cause."

A further appeal to the religious emotions of the people, seeking to identify the cause with the most sacred feelings, was made by the President in his proclamation setting apart the 28th of February as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer throughout the Confederate States. "The termination of the Provisional Government," was the language of this document, "offers a fitting occasion again to present ourselves in humiliation, prayer, and thanksgiving, before that God who has safely conducted us through our first year of national existence. We have been enabled to lay anew the foundations of free government and to repel the efforts of our enemies to destroy us. Law has everywhere reigned supreme, and throughout our wide-spread limits personal liberty and private right have been duly honored. A tone of earnest piety has pervaded our people, and the victories which we have obtained over our enemies have been justly ascribed to Him who ruleth the universe. We had hoped that the year would have closed upon a scene of continued prosperity; but it has pleased the Supreme Disposer of events to order it otherwise. We are not permitted to furnish an exception to the rule of divine government, which has prescribed affliction as the discipline of nations as well as of individuals. Our faith and perseverance must be tested, and the chastening which seemeth grievous will, if rightly received, bring forth its appropriate fruits. It is meet and right, therefore, that we should repair to the only Giver of all victory, and, humbling ourselves before Him, should pray that He may strengthen our confidence in His mighty power and righteous judgment. Then we may surely trust in Him that He will perform His promise and encompass us as with a shield."

In a message to the Confederate Congress, a few days after the inaugural address, President Davis frankly admitted the difficulties of the war. "I have to communicate," he said, "that since the message at the last session of the Provisional Congress events have demonstrated that the Government had attempted more than it had power successfully to achieve. Hence, in the effort to protect, by our arms, the whole territory of the Confederate States, seaboard and inland, we have been so exposed as recently to encounter serious disasters." In reference to the short enlistments—for twelve months—of the volunteers, he said: "When the war first broke out, many of our people could with difficulty be persuaded that it could be long or serious. It was not deemed possible that anything so insane as a persistent attempt to subjugate these states could be made, still less that the delusion could so far prevail as to give to the war the vast proportions which it has assumed." He added, "It has now become probable that the war will be continued through a series of years." In general terms he stated the number of the Confederate forces in the field at four hundred regiments of infantry, with proportionate forces of cavalry and artillery. The financial system which had been adopted, he said, had proved adequate to supplying all the wants of the Government. "The report of the Secretary of the Treasury will exhibit the gratifying fact that we have no floating debt, that the credit of the Government is unimpaired, and that the total expenditure of the Government for the year has been, in round numbers, $170,000,000—less than one-third of the sum wasted by the enemy in his vain effort to conquer us—less than the value of a single article of export, the cotton crop of the year."

In the loyal States, there was a general desire for the celebration, in some appropriate manner, of the birthday of Washington. Of late years there had been a growing disposition to make it a national holiday, and it was now felt that its observance might, in a particular manner, cheer and encourage the patriotic devotion of the people. To give additional importance to the sentiment, the subject of a proper commemoration of the day, was brought before Congress, where it promptly received the sanction of that body. Early in February, a petition of the citizens of Philadelphia, was presented to the Senate by Mr. Crittenden, suggesting as an appropriate observance, that the Farewell Address of Washington be read aloud on that day, before both Houses of Congress, that the President and Cabinet, and other high officers of the government be invited to attend, and that "the proceedings of the day, including the Farewell Address, be published in a pamphlet form, in a manner suited to the dignity of the occasion, and widely circulated among the American people;" and further, "that the Farewell Address, or suitable parts of it, be read aloud on that day, wherever practicable; at the head of the armies, and on board of the ships-of-war of the United States, in the field and in camp, at sea and in port, by the officers of each, as the highest incentive with our brave defenders to continued devotion to our glorious Constitution and Union." The petition was well received, and its suggestions were incorporated in a joint resolution which was unanimously passed. At noon, accordingly, on the 22d, both Houses of Congress assembled in the chamber of the House of Representatives, in company with the officers of the government and invited guests, when, after an appropriate prayer by the Chaplain of the House, the Rev. Thomas H. Stockton, the Farewell Address was read by Mr. John W. Forney, the Secretary of the Senate. President Lincoln, in consequence of the recent death of a son, was not present. After these simple proceedings, both Houses resumed their usual business.

In addition to the action of Congress, a proclamation was issued by President Lincoln, on the 19th, "recommending to the people of the United States, that they assemble in their customary places, for public solemnities, on the 22d day of February, instant, and celebrate the anniversary of the birthday of the Father of his Country, by causing to be read to them his 'Immortal Farewell Address.'" The recommendation to which such emphasis was thus given, was generally followed throughout the loyal States. Beside the reading of the address, public orations were delivered in many of the large cities, and civic banquets were held with military displays, ringings of bells, illuminations, and other festival observances. The day, indeed, was happily observed, while the popular enthusiasm was, doubtless, stimulated by the recent brilliant success of the Union arms; the calm image of Washington, everywhere unveiled, and the prudent and firm counsels of his parting Address, infused moderation and imparted a simple dignity to the proceedings of the day.

In no part of the country was more importance given to the occasion, in the number and variety of the ceremonies, than in the city of New York. The civic oration, delivered by the Hon. George Bancroft, was especially significant of the time. Profoundly acquainted with the principles of the government as upheld by its founders, he traced with unfaltering hand, the departure from the spirit of justice and humanity, which had brought about the rebellion. "If," said he, "the opinions of Washington on Slavery, and on the slave trade, had been steadily respected, the country would have escaped all the calamity of the present civil war. The famous Fairfax meeting at which Washington presided, on the 18th of July, 1774, led public opinion in declaring, that it was 'the most earnest wish of America to see an entire stop forever put to the wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade in slaves.' The traffic was then condemned as an immorality and a crime. The sentiment was thoroughly American, and became the tradition—the living faith of the people. The centuries clasp hands and repeat it one to another! Yesterday the sentiment of Jefferson, that the slave-trade is a piratical warfare upon mankind, was reaffirmed by carrying into effect the sentence of a high tribunal of justice; and to save the lives and protect the happiness of thousands, a slave trader* was executed as a pirate and an

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* Nathaniel Gordon, the Captain of the slave ship Erie, captured by the United States steamer Mohican, on the coast of Africa, in August, 1860. The case was a most revolting one. It was the first execution under a law which had been in existence for forty years.

enemy of the human race." "This day," added the orator, "furnishes a spectacle of still more retributive justice. The President of the pretended Confederate States of America, is compelled to do public penance in his robes of office, for foolishly and wickedly aspiring to power, that does not and cannot exist, that dissolves and disappears as he draws near to grasp it. Missouri, which he has invaded, rises against him; Kentucky, where he desired to usurp authority, throws him off with indignant scorn; Eastern Tennessee, where Andrew Johnson must now be speaking for Union with clarion notes of patriotism, starts to its feet in time to protest against the usurper; the people of Virginia, in their hearts, are against him; perhaps even the majority of the inhabitants of Richmond, may be weary of his aspirations; and as he goes forth to-day to array himself in the unreal state for which he panted, his consideration drops away from him in the presence of his worshippers, irretrievably and forever—his conscience stings him with remorse for his crime; and the course of events convicts him of arrogance and folly. His elevation is but to a pillory, where he stands the derision of the world."

"I should be glad to be with you," wrote Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, from the Department at Washington, to the Aldermen of New York, in reply to an invitation to the civic banquet. "I wish that I could be in the old capital at Albany, on my own door sill at Auburn, with the army in Kentucky, with the navy at Charleston, in London to thank the grateful Queen, and in Paris to ask a presentation to the sagacious Emperor; at Vienna, at St. Petersburg, at Turin, and at Constantinople, to bear testimony to all these places at once, before thrones, principalities, and powers, that the children of Washington, are yet equally loyal to his memory and faithful to his precepts."

The day was celebrated in London by a breakfast at the Freemason's London Tavern, in which some two hundred ladies and gentlemen participated. The chair was taken by the Right Rev. Dr. McIlvaine, the venerable Episcopal Bishop of Ohio, who, with the Roman Catholic Bishop Hughes and Thurlow Weed of New York, was understood to be employed on a special mission as a semi-official agent of the United States Government, in furthering its interests in influential circles of society abroad. Mr. Adams, the American minister, was present at the celebration, and made the speech of the day in proposing the memory of Washington. "Our country," said he, is passing through the trial so long foreseen and feared—the greatest that has happened since the days of Washington at Valley Forge. It is engaged in throwing off the burden of a malign power which aspires to rule or to ruin. The struggle is a fearful one, but there is no alternative. The assault upon the Government of the United States carries with it an aggressive principle, which, if not defeated, must in the end be fatal to freedom. It involves the acknowledgment of a prescriptive right of some men to rule over their fellows—a proposition which has ever been steadily combated by American patriotism. We must then fully reëstablish our fundamental doctrine at every hazard. It will doubtless cost us a severe effort—men, money, time, disorder, perhaps confusion. Amid such reflections let us go back and remember the trials which Washington endured, and how nobly he surmounted them. Let us on this his natal day look to his example as the bright flower of our faith, in which sign we shall conquer."

Nor was the celebration of the day confined to the utterance of words of resolution and the expression of hopeful thoughts of the future, encouraging the nation in the midst of its unprecedented disasters. It was made the starting point of a new series of military movements, calling into action the various armies organized during the last few months throughout the country. On the 27th of January, in the exercise of his authority as commander-in-chief, President Lincoln issued from the Executive Mansion the following General War Order, No. 1 : " It is ordered that on the 22d day of February, 1862, there be a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces ; that especially the army at and about Fortress Monroe, the army of the Potomac, the army of Western Virginia, the army near Mumfordsville, Kentucky, the army and flotilla at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, be ready for a movement on that day ; that all the other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey the existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given, that the heads of departments, and especially the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, with all their subordinates, and the general-in-chief, with all other commanders and subordinates of the land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for the prompt execution of this order."

In less than a month, as we have seen, before the arrival of the time indicated, several of the more important of the movements ordered had been made, and with brilliant success. The army near Mumfordsville, at the end of January, was on the 22d of February on the eve of taking formal possession of the city of Nashville, one of the most valuable cities of the enemy in the Confederacy. General Johnston, one of the most efficient of the rebel officers, had been compelled to evacuate his well chosen posisition at Bowling Green, and had rapidly retreated from Kentucky to the southern border of Tennessee before the triumphant pursuit of the advance of Buell's forces under General Mitchell. Flag-Officer Foote, setting in motion his squadron of gunboats, had ascended the Tennessee river, and, coöperating with the land forces of General Grant, had captured Fort Henry. Donelson had fallen, surrendering its thousands after a most heroic assault of the Union forces, opening the heart of Tennessee to their advance. In the department of the Gulf, General Phelps and the fleet were in possession of Ship Island, securing the approaches to Mobile and New Orleans ; collecting and preparing the force which, under Butler and Farragut, was to consummate, on the Mississippi, one of the most brilliant achievements in military history. On the Atlantic coast the victory of Dupont at Port Royal had ripened into possession of probably the most valuable district, in its productive capacity, of the South ; and Burnside and Goldsborough, on the waters of Albemarle, had taken firm hold of the coast of North Carolina. Everywhere, as the great armies of the Republic gathered strength, there was promise of brilliant success. Well might the nation be congratulated on these achievements of its defenders. Is it to be wondered that the expectation was generally entertained that a few months' more of vigor and resolution would bring the war for the Union to a triumphant close ?

The popular enthusiasm was doubtless much encouraged by the cheering and impulsive bulletins of the new Secretary of War, who entered upon office, at a happy moment for his reputation, just at the time when the doubt and impatience of the public were to be dispelled by the brilliant series of achievements of the army. On the 15th of January, Edwin M. Stanton was confirmed by the Senate Secretary of War, as the successor of Simon Cameron, who resigned to accept the appointment of Minister to Russia, in place of Mr. Clay, who retired from the office. Born at Steubenville, Ohio, a graduate of Kenyon College in that state, he had adopted the legal profession, and become known in its ranks as one of the authors of the Reports of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and by his engagement in important cases in Ohio, Pennsylvania, California, and before the Supreme Court at Washington. He removed in 1848 to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, where he was called from the active pursuit of his profession to succeed Attorney-General Black in the Cabinet of President Buchanan. His services, in the preservation of the Government in the last months of that memorable administration, will be remembered by the reader; when by the side of Holt and Dix he aided in rescuing the fortunes of the falling State. In those dark days, when people were trembling for the fate of the Capital, he wrote to an old friend, who had given his advice as to the measures to be pursued: "You are right in supposing it to be my determination to do everything in my power to preserve and maintain this Government, and the Constitution under which the United States have been so prosperous. I have an undoubting faith that this Government cannot be overthrown—that it was ordained of God, and that the powers of hell connot prevail against it. We have trouble; the city of Washington may be captured; but every effort will be made to prevent that catastrophe, and even if it does happen, the revolutionists will be as far as ever from accomplishing the destruction of the Government—but much nearer to their own destruction."*

The new Secretary who had thus recorded his faith in the life of the Republic in its hour of greatest peril was not the man to shrink, when he was placed, in the prime of his manhood and maturity of his powers, at the head of the military department of the Government, from the exertions necessary to make his prophecy a reality. He promptly availed himself of every occasion to infuse a spirit of loyalty and determination in the conduct of the war. Immediately on his appointment as Secretary, at a reception at his house in Washington, he is reported to have said to a group of Brigadier-Generals, "You must fight. If we are defeated, it can not be helped: if victorious, so much the better. But you must fight." The battle of Mill Spring, occurring immediately upon his occupancy of his office, afforded him an opportunity to give *éclat* to his opening administration by the cheering, animated proclamation recorded on a previous page, in the relation of that engagement.* The invitation to the use of the bayonet in storming intrenchments indicated a development of the aggressive policy in the conduct of the war. Vigor, energy, were his watchwords. To General Lander, who wrote to him from Virginia for instructions respecting the misconduct of an officer under his command, he replied: "If General Lander is satisfied that Colonel Anstanzel was guilty of cowardice or misbehavior before the enemy, he may be tried on the spot, and, if found guilty, the sentence of death may be executed on the spot, or he may be cashiered by his commanding General at the head of his regiment. The former course is recommended as the preferable one. Cowardice in an officer, exhibited on the field of battle, should receive the swift punishment of death."† When an article—"a special tribute of affectionate admiration"—appeared about this time in the *New York Tribune*, speaking of him as the chief promoter of the recent victories, Secretary Stanton took occasion, in a letter to the editor, while modestly thrusting aside the panegyric, still further to animate the invigorated spirit of the people and infuse into their minds the earnestness of a religious conviction. "Sir," he wrote, "I can not suffer undue merit to be ascribed to my official action. The glory of our recent victories belongs to the gallant officers and soldiers that fought the battles. No share of it be-

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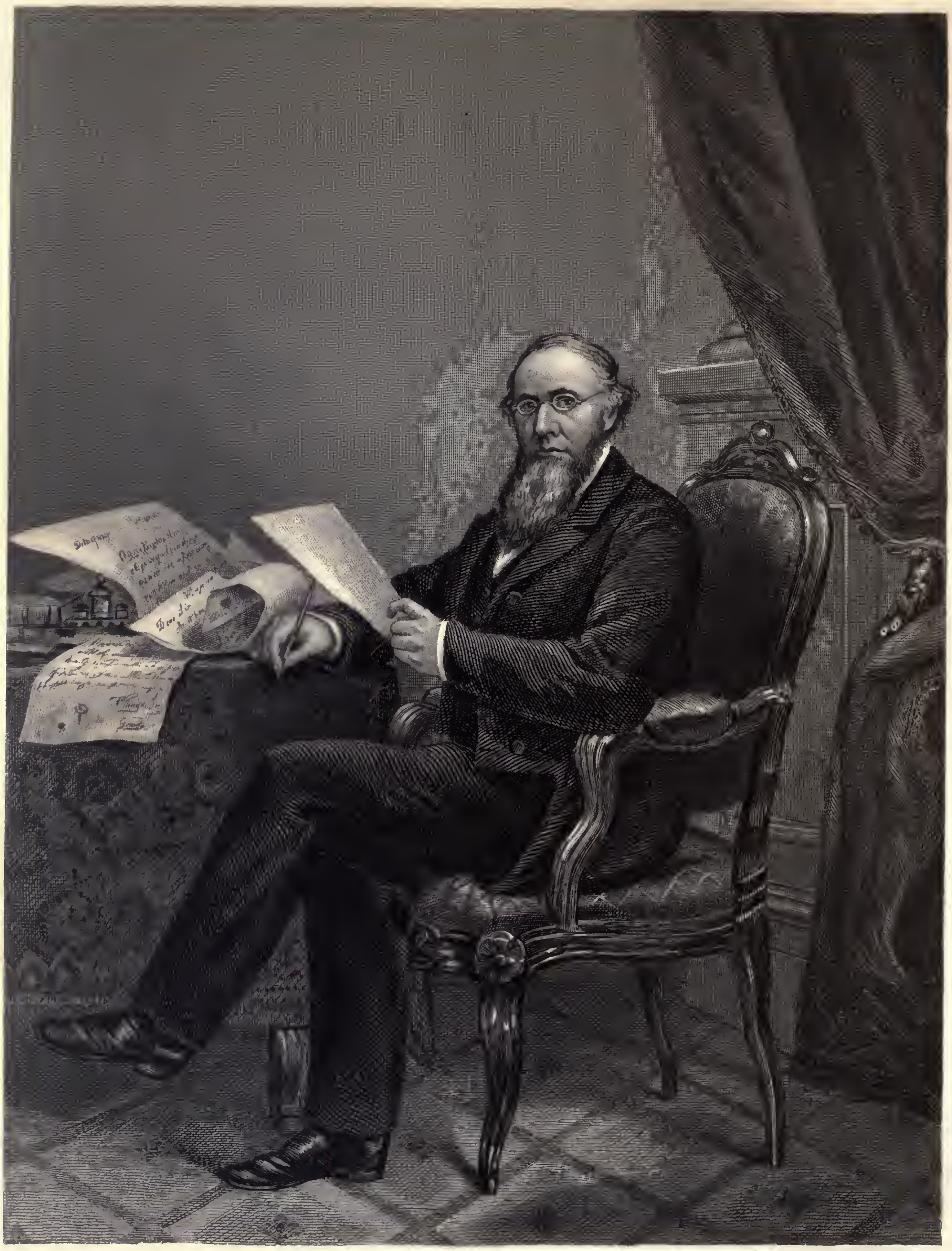
* E. M. Stanton to General William Robinson, Washington, January 16, 1861.

* Ante vol. ii. p. 209.

† Letter dated War Department, February 16, 1862.



Edwin M Stanton

From the original painting by Nast in the possession of the publishers.

Johnson Fry & Co. Publishers, New York

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longs to me. Much has recently been said of military combinations and organizing victory. I hear such phrases with apprehension. They commenced in infidel France with the Italian campaign, and resulted in Waterloo. Who can organize victory? Who can combine the elements of success on the battle-field? We owe our recent victories to the Spirit of the Lord, that moved our soldiers to rush into battle, and filled the hearts of our enemies with terror and dismay. The inspiration that conquered in battle was in the hearts of the soldiers and from on high; and wherever there is the same inspiration there will be the same results. Patriotic spirit with resolute courage in officers and men is a military combination that never failed. We may well rejoice at the recent victories, for they teach us that battles are to be won now and by us in the same and only manner that they were ever won by any people, or in any age, since the days of Joshua, by boldly pursuing and striking the foe. What, under the blessing of Providence, I conceive to be the true organization of victory and military combination to end this war, was declared in a few words by General Grant's message to General Buckner—'I propose to move immediately on your works!'"*

Among the orders issued by Secretary Stanton regulating the business of his office, appeared one in relation to the system of contracts which had recently become the subject of much animadversion. In an order dated January 29, he recalled and annulled "all outstanding orders, agencies, authorities, and licenses for the purchase of arms, clothing, or anything else in foreign countries, or of foreign manufacture." It was subsequently, however, found that a regulated supply of arms from abroad was convenient to the due prosecution of the war, as it assumed larger proportions.

One of the foremost subjects which engaged the attention of the new Secretary was the welfare of the Union prisoners of war in the Confederate States. A limited system of exchange was already in operation, under which several hundred captives, taken at Bull Run and elsewhere, had been received from Richmond at Fortress Monroe. Numbers remained, scattered through the South. In an order issued January 21st, Secretary Stanton, declaring that "this department recognizes as the first of its duties to take measures for the relief of the brave men who, having imperiled their lives in the military service of the Government, are now prisoners and captives," announced that two commissioners would be appointed "to visit the city of Richmond, in Virginia, and wherever else prisoners belonging to the army of the United States may be held, and there take such measures as may be needful to provide for the wants and contribute to the comfort of such prisoners at the expense of the United States, and to such extent as may be permitted by the authorities under whom such prisoners are held." A few days after, two persons, of elevated position, of the highest integrity, and of excellent discretion—the Rev. Bishop Ames, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Hon. Hamilton Fish, ex-governor of New York—were elected for this delicate mission. In a patriotic spirit they accepted the charge, and, presenting themselves at Fortress Monroe, on their errand, opened correspondence with the Confederate authorities at Richmond. On motives of policy, doubtless with a distrust of the influence or powers of observation of two such influential supporters of the Union, they were refused admittance to the Confederate territory; but negotiations were effected for a general release of prisoners. This included even the excess of prisoners—three hundred—held by the Confederates. These were liberated on agreement that a like number were to be released in case of future captures by the Government at Washington.

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* *New York Tribune*, February 18th and 20th, 1862.

By another executive order from the War Department, dated February 14th, the political prisoners held under arrest at Fort Lafayette, and elsewhere, were generally directed to be released on their simple parole. The order set forth the position in which the rebellion had found the nation, and the circumstances under which the arrests had been made. "Every department of the government was paralyzed by treason;" when "the Capitol was beleagured and its connection with all the States cut off;" when, "even in the portions of the country which were most loyal, political combinations and secret societies were found furthering the work of disunion; while from motives of disloyalty or cupidity, or from excited passions or perverted sympathies, individuals were found furnishing men, money, materials of war, and supplies to the insurgents' military and naval force. Armies, ships, fortifications, navy-yards, arsenals, military posts, and garrisons, one after another, were betrayed or abandoned to the insurgents."

The situation was unprecedented, and little or no provision had been made, or was in working operation for its requirements. "Congress had not anticipated, and so had not provided for the emergency. The municipal authorities were powerless and inactive. The judiciary machinery seemed as if it had been designed not to sustain the government, but to embarrass and betray it. Foreign intervention was openly invited, and industriously instigated by the abettors of the insurrection, and it became imminent, and has only been prevented by the practice of strict and impartial justice, with the most perfect moderation in our intercourse with other nations. The public mind was alarmed and apprehensive, though, fortunately, not distracted or disheartened. It seemed to be doubtful, whether the National Government, which one year ago had been thought a model worthy of universal acceptance, had indeed the ability to defend and maintain itself. Some reverses, which perhaps were unavoidable, suffered by newly-levied and insufficient forces, discouraged the loyal, and gave new hope to the insurgents. Voluntary enlistment seemed to cease, and desertions commenced. Parties speculated upon the question, whether the conscription had not become necessary to fill up the armies of the United States. In this emergency, the President felt it his duty to employ with energy the extraordinary powers which the constitution confides to him in cases of insurrection. He called into the field such military and naval forces authorized by existing laws as seemed necessary. He directed measures to prevent the use of the post-office for treasonable correspondence. He subjected passengers to and from foreign countries to new passport regulations; and he instituted a blockade; suspended the *habeas corpus* in various places, and caused persons who were represented to him as being engaged, or about to engage in disloyal and treasonable practices, to be arrested by special civil, as well as military agencies, and detained in military custody, when necessary, to prevent them, and deter others from such practices. Examinations of such cases were instituted, and some of the persons so arrested have been discharged from time to time, under circumstances or upon conditions compatible, as was thought, with the public safety."

From this explanation of the course which had been pursued, the Secretary, turning to the indications of safety at the present time, proceeded to set forth the motives for the relaxation of the previous rigor, and the terms proposed by the government for the opening of the prison doors. "Meantime, a favorable change of public opinion has occurred. The line between loyalty and disloyolty is plainly defined. The whole structure of the government is firm and stable. Apprehensions of public danger, and facilities for treasonable practices, have diminished with the passions which prompted the heedless persons to adopt them. The insurrection is believed to have culminated, and to be declining. The President, in view of these facts, and anxious to favor a return to the normal course of the administration, as far as a regard to faith and the public welfare will allow, directs that all political prisoners, or State's prisoners, now held in military custody, be released on their subscribing a parole engaging them to render no aid or comfort to enemies in hostility to the United States. The Secretary of War will, however, in his discretion, except from the effect of this order, any persons detained as spies in the service of the insurgents, or others whose release at the present moment may be deemed incompatible with the public safety. To all persons who shall be so released, and shall keep their parole, the President grants an amnesty for any past offences of treason or disloyalty, which they may have committed. Extraordinary arrests will, hereafter, be made under the direction of the military authorities alone."

To carry this order into effect a special commission was appointed, consisting of Major-General John A. Dix, commanding in Baltimore, and the Hon. Edwards Pierrepont of New York, who were authorized to examine the cases of the state prisoners, and summarily determine whether "they should be discharged, or remain in military custody, or be remitted to the civil tribunals for trial."

By the side of this order appeared another, announcing that, "on and after the 26th of February, the President, by virtue of the act of Congress, takes military possession of all the telegraph lines in the United States. All telegraphic communications in regard to military operations, not expressly authorized by the War Department, or the proper officers, were absolutely forbidden, and newspapers publishing intelligence in violation of the regulation, were excluded thereafter from receiving information by telegraph, or from transmitting their papers by railroad."

Military operations in January and February were chiefly confined to the navy and the forces in the West. The great army on the Potomac, under the command of General McClellan, remained in the vicinity of the forts before Washington, exercised in drills and parade, gathering its enormous equipments, waiting the signal for an advance upon the enemy, who were in force at Manassas, with their outposts extending to within a few miles of Washington. While they held this advanced position their batteries were erected at commanding points below, along the Potomac, seriously interfering with the navigation of the river. So adroitly were their counsels kept that little was known of the actual numbers of the army confronting Washington. The greatest exaggeration prevailed on the subject, raising the estimate to two or three hundred thousand, when eighty thousand, at any time, would probably have been a very liberal calculation. Schooled in hardships, and encouraged by the memories of Bull Run, they would doubtless, however, acting on the defensive, have proved themselves formidable antagonists to superior numbers of assailants. The farewell address of General Beauregard, from his camp near Centreville, on taking leave of his command, on the 30th of January, previous to his departure to the Southwest, was confident and spirited :—"Soldiers of the First Corps, Army of the Potomac,—My duty calls me away, and to a temporary separation from you. I hope, however, to be with you again, to share your labors and your perils, and in defence of your homes and our rights, to lead you to new battles, to be crowned with signal victories. You are now undergoing the severest trial of a soldier's life: the one by which his discipline and capacity for endurance are thoroughly tested. My faith in your patriotism, your devotion and determination, and in your high soldierly qualities, is so great that I shall rest assured you will pass through the ordeal resolutely, triumphantly. Still, I cannot quit you without deep emotion, without even deep anxiety, in the moment of our country's trials and dangers. Above all, I am anxious that my brave countrymen, here in arms, fronting the haughty array and muster of Northern mercenaries, should thoroughly appreciate the exigency, and hence comprehend that this is no time for the Army of the Potomac—the men of Manassas—to stack their arms and quit, even for a brief period, the standards they have made glorious by their manhood. All must understand this, and feel the magnitude of the conflict impending, the universal personal sacrifices this war has entailed, and our duty to meet them as promptly and unblenchingly as you have met the enemy in line of battle."

The opening of the new year found General McClellan recovering from an attack of fever, which, though it kept him from the field, was not suffered to interfere with his direction of the army. There were some slight movements in Western Virginia. An expedition, consisting of portions of an Ohio and Virginia regiment, with a detachment of Indiana cavalry, in all about seven hundred and fifty men, under command of Major Webster, of the 25th Ohio, was sent by General Milroy from his camp at Huttonsville, in Randolph county, to attack the enemy in Huntersville, the capital of the neighboring county of Pocahontas, where there was a depot of supplies. Starting the last day of December, the force braving the wintry severity of the mountain region, traversed the intervening fifty miles, passing over Elk Mountain, and coming, on the 4th of January, upon the outposts of the enemy at Greenbrier river, near the point of attack. The pickets of the Confederates were driven in, and a number of their cavalry pursued to the town, which the Union troops entered by a spirited movement, putting its defenders to rapid flight. One rebel was killed and seven wounded, including a captain. One only of the attacking party was wounded. Four hundred cavalry and two companies of infantry abandoned the town. Having set fire to several large buildings filled with ample stores of provisions, Major Webster brought his force off in safety before the enemy could bring up reinforcements to interrupt their return.*

The same day an attack, a counterpart of the affair just described, was made in force by the Confederate General "Stonewall" Jackson upon the Union outposts in Morgan county, Virginia, guarding the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The party left Winchester on the 1st of January, and after a march of universal hardships in the severe cold, without protection of tents or blankets, encountering a storm of snow, rain, and hail, on the night of the 3d, reached Bath the next day, and prepared to attack the small body of Union troops at Bath, which, with some sharp skirmishing, retreated before them, crossing the Potomac six miles distant at Hancock. This town was then approached by the rebels, and its surrender was demanded on the 5th, by General Jackson, with a threat of bombardment. This General Lander, who was in command, met by opening fire on the enemy's position on the opposite hill. Firing was kept up for an hour, without loss of life on either side, when the assault was abandoned. The rebels contented themselves with burning a bridge on the Potomac and breaking up a portion of the railroad track.

On the 8th, a detachment of General Kelley's command, led by Colonel Dunning of the 5th Ohio, advancing from Romney some thirty miles, surprised an inferior force of the enemy at Blue Gap. The attack was made with spirit, and resulted in the rapid dispersion of the rebels. Two pieces of artillery were taken with a few prisoners. A number of killed were found. No loss was suffered by the Unionists, who returned after destroying several houses of the rebel officer Colonel Blue, and others, used for quarters, bringing off considerable booty of cattle and stores.

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* Correspondence of the *Cincinnati Commercial,* Huttonsville, January 7, 1862.

The most important of these operations in this region of Western Virginia, was a forced reconnoissance, led by General Lander, on the night of the 13th of February and following morning, against the rebel position at Blooming Gap, on the eastern border of Hampshire county. "We ran down and captured," says he, in his dispatch to General McClellan, "seventeen commissioned officers, among them colonels, lieutenant-colonels, captains, etc. We engaged them with four hundred cavalry. Our infantry was not near enough to support the cavalry, and the enemy were retiring. We have in all seventy-five prisoners, and killed thirteen of the enemy, and lost two men and six horses at their first fire. I led the charge in person, and it was a complete surprise. Colonel Carroll, commanding the 5th or 8th Ohio, made a very daring and successful reconnoissance immediately afterwards to Unger's Store. Major Frothingham is entitled to great credit for building, under my direction, in four hours, in the dead of night, a complete bridge across the Great Cacapon at an unfrequented mountain road. Two columns of two thousand men each marched thirty-two miles, and one column forty-three miles, since four P. M. yesterday, besides bridging the river. The papers taken and my own reconnoissance to the south prove the country clear, and that Jackson and Loring are at Winchester. We made a move and occupied the Blooming Gap and Point Hill, on the belief, by information obtained from deserters, that General Casson's brigade was there. General Dunning has just arrived at New Creek from Moorfield, forty miles south of Romney. He has captured two hundred and twenty-five beef cattle, and he broke up the guerrilla haunt there. Two of his men were badly wounded, but several of the rebels were killed. The enemy has thus been driven out of this department. I respectfully commend Colonel S. S. Carroll to your notice. He is a most efficient and gallant officer. Lieutenants H. G. Armstrong, A. A. G., and Fitz James O'Brien, Aid-de-Camp, joined me in the charge, by which the rebel officers were captured and confidence restored, after the cavalry had been checked. O'Brien was shot through the breast by a rebel whilst out scouting."

The officer last mentioned will be remembered by our readers as the spirited volunteer, at the opening of the war, whose animated account of the march to the relief of Washington has been given on a previous page of this work.* On the return of the militia regiment in which he then served, he endeavored to raise a company for a volunteer regiment; and failing in this undertaking, sought employment on some general's staff. General Lander, in January, met this wish by appointing him one of his aids. He then entered on active service in Virginia. Daring to a fault, he was foremost with the gallant Lander in encountering the foe. "I have not space," says the writer of a genial tribute to his memory, "to detail the events in O'Brien's brief but glorious career as a soldier; how, in the brilliant skirmish at Blooming Gap, Lander, O'Brien, and two soldiers dashed upon an ambuscade and captured three officers and eight men:—how O'Brien retained the sword and accoutrements of the rebel captain as trophies—the same trophies which were so soon to be borne upon his own coffin:—how, two days later, February 16th, O'Brien headed a body of cavalry which encountered a superior force of the enemy; how he met the rebel leader, when

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* Ante vol. i. p. 168

two simultaneous shots were heard; the one fired by O'Brien carried instant death; that which he received pierced his shoulder; but he still rallied his men, and brought off all, save himself, unharmed."* The wound, which was not at first thought dangerous, grew worse; amputation became necessary; the operation was performed, and was succeeded by lock-jaw, which terminated in death, April 6th. The remains of the deceased were brought to the city of New York, and interred at Greenwood, with military honors, by his old comrades of the 7th regiment.

The brilliant affair at Blooming Gap was made the text of a special bulletin from the War Department. It was felt that the brilliant services of General Lander, who had shown so much spirit in his command, though suffering from the effects of a wound received in a reconnoissance at Ball's Bluff the day after the unfortunate engagement at that place, made some particular tribute to his gallantry appropriate; while any evidence of energy in Virginia was eagerly accepted in earnest of the future. "The President," wrote Secretary Stanton, on the 17th of February, in this official bulletin to General Lander, "directs me to say that he has observed with pleasure the activity and enterprise manifested by yourself and the officers and soldiers of your command. You have shown how much may be done in the worst weather and worst roads by a spirited officer at the head of a small force of brave men, unwilling to waste life in camp when the enemies of their country are within reach. Your brilliant success is a happy presage of what may be expected when the army of the Potomac shall be led to the field by their gallant general." Having cleared his department of the enemy, General Lander, unable, from his ill health, to perform active service, asked to be relieved from duty. The request, from such a man, was ominous. In about a fortnight after the action just described he died in the camp at Paw Paw, whence he dated his last dispatch of victory. A generous tribute was paid to his memory by his friend and companion in arms, General McClellan, in the following General Order, of the 6th of March: "The Major-General commanding, with deep regret, announces to the army of the Potomac the loss of Brigadier-General Frederick W. Lander, the commander of one of its divisions, who died at Camp Chase, on the Upper Potomac, on the afternoon of the 2d instant, from the effects of a wound received in the affair with the rebels at Edwards' Ferry on the 22d of October, 1861. The public services of the deceased, then known as Colonel Lander, in connection with the overland route to the Pacific, had made his name familiar to the American people. At the commencement of this unhappy rebellion, he was among the first who volunteered to support with his life the Constitution and laws of his country. From the beginning of the military operations which have restored Western Virginia to the Union—from the original movement upon Phillippa, where his qualities as a leader of troops were strikingly displayed—to the complete expulsion of the rebels from his department, in which he exhausted his failing energies, his conduct has elicited the admiration of his countrymen. His invaluable services at Rich Mountain were recognized by the Government in his appointment as a Brigadier-General, and his last efforts were rewarded by the official approval and thanks of the President. Tall of stature, and of great strength and activity, with a countenance expressive of intelligence, courage and sensibility, General Lander's presence was commanding and attractive. As a military leader, he combined a spirit of the most daring enterprise with clearness of judgment in the adaptation of means to results. As a man, his devotion to his country, his loyalty to affection and friendship, his sympathy with suffering, and his indignation at cruelty and wrong, constituted him a representative of true chivalry. He has died in the flower of his manly prime, and in the full bloom of his heroic virtues, but history will preserve the record of his life and character, and romance will delight in portraying a figure so striking, a nature so noble, and a career so gallant. While paying this public tribute of respect, the General commanding feels most deeply that, in the death of this brave and distinguished soldier, he has personally lost one of the truest and dearest of friends."

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* Obituary notice, *Harper's Weekly*. April 26, 1862.

CHAPTER LVI.

EVACUATION OF COLUMBUS, KY., AND CAPTURE OF ISLAND No. 10.—MARCH—APRIL, 1862.

Commodore Foote, with his flotilla, having rendered to his country the effective services, which we have described, at Forts Henry and Donelson, in opening the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers to the victorious progress of the army of the Union, lost no time in entering upon operations on the Mississippi, where the enemy, at the most important points, had from the commencement of the war been engaged in erecting the most formidable defences. Along a distance of over nine hundred miles, from the mouth of the Ohio to the waters of the Gulf, the river, at the great strategic points, bristled with fortifications. Beginning with Columbus in Kentucky, at Island No. 10, dividing the stream at the northern border of Tennessee, at Memphis and its vicinity, at Vicksburg, and elsewhere, to New Orleans, above and below that city, whereever there was a line of railway communication to be guarded, where there was the greatest necessity for protection or the best opportunity of resisting an enemy, the confederates had been at work, excavating the hill-sides for batteries, throwing up trenches, mounting cannon on the heights, preparing mines on the banks and torpedoes for the channel, equipping gunboats for annoyance or defence: in fine, employing every means which ingenuity could suggest and the ample resources of the country supply, to obstruct the advance of the armies of the Union. To open the Mississippi was a prime necessity of the war; it was demanded by the interests of the great West, dependent upon its commerce for support, and its value in a strategic point of view to the belligerents, was obvious at a glance. To gain control of its navigation would be to divide the confederacy, to deprive it of a most important immediate means of subsistence for its armies in the resources of Arkansas and Texas, and to cut it off effectually from its great hopes of future advancement and the extension of its "peculiar institution" in the vast territory of the Southwest.

The first step in this great work of opening the Mississippi, was in reality made in the movement which resulted in the possession of Nashville. When General Mitchel, on the 19th of February, congratulated the soldiers of his division on their triumphant entrance of Bowling Green, in sight of a retreating enemy, the fate of Columbus, "the northern key to the Mississippi delta," was sealed. Outflanked, it was open on all sides to attack, its communications by land and river could readily be cut off; as an isolated position in Kentucky, when the whole of that State and a large portion of Tennessee were under the authority of the Union, it was of little value if it could be maintained, and its continued maintenance, beset as it was by assailants, was no longer possible. Its military occupants, strongly as the place was fortified, did not wait for the attack. The fall of Nashville was a hint not to be mistaken. Immediately upon that event the evacuation of Columbus was ordered by General Polk. Nashville was abandoned on the 27th of February. On the 1st of March, Lieutenant-Commanding Phelps, sent by flag-officer Foote from Cairo with a flag of truce to Columbus, returned with the report that the enemy were about leaving the place. "He saw the rebels burning their winter quarters, and removing their heavy guns on the bluffs, but the guns in the water batteries remained intact. He also saw a large force of cavalry drawn up ostentatiously on the bluffs, but no infantry were to be seen as heretofore, and the encampment seen in an armed reconnoissance, a few days before, had been removed. Large fires were visible in the town of Columbus, and upon the river banks below, indicating the destruction of the town, military stores and equipments."*

Thus informed of the situation of affairs, Commodore Foote immediately prepared to gain possession of the town. A flotilla, under his command, of six gunboats, commanded by Captains Dove, Walke, Stemble, Paulding, Thompson, and Shirk, and four mortar-boats, in charge of Captain Phelps, U. S. N., with three transports, carrying General Sherman's brigade, composed of Colonel Buford's 27th Illinois regiment, and a battalion of Ohio and Illinois troops, on the 4th of March advanced cautiously to the long contemplated enterprise of planting the stars and stripes on the rebel works. On approaching Columbus a flag was discovered on the summit of the bluffs, the true character of which it was difficult to determine, whether national or confederate. The question was soon decided, however, by a dashing reconnoissance of General Sherman and Captain Phelps with thirty soldiers, steaming directly under the water batteries. The party, satisfied that their friends were in possession, landed, scaled the heights, and raised the federal flag "amid the heartiest cheers of our brave tars and soldiers." A body of four hundred of the 2d Illinois cavalry, sent out by General Sherman from Paducah, had reached the place the day before, and occupied a portion of the works on the retreat of the enemy, and it was their flag which had been descried by the flotilla. General Cullum, leaving a sick bed to go ashore, discovered what appeared a large magazine smoking from both extremities, which he saved from explosion by ordering the train to be cut. He found the works "of immense strength, consisting of tiers upon tiers of batteries on the river front, and a strong parapet and ditch, crossed by a thick abatis, on the land side. The fortifications appeared to have been evacuated hastily, considering the quantities of ordnance and ordnance stores, and number of anchors and the remnant of the chain which was once stretched over the river, and a large supply of torpedoes remaining. Desolation was visible everywhere, huts, tents, and barricades, presenting but their blackened remains, though the town was spared." The result to the Union arms was thus announced in the same dispatch of General Cullum to Major-General McClellan at Washington: "Columbus, the Gibraltar of the West, is ours, and Kentucky is free, thanks to the brilliant strategy of the campaign, by which the enemy's centre was pierced at Forts Henry and Donelson, his wings isolated from each other, and turned, compelling thus the evacuation of his stronghold of Bowling Green first, and now Columbus."*

If the abandonment of Columbus by

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* Flag-Officer Foote to the Hon. Gideon Welles. Cairo, March 1, 1862.

* General Cullum to Major-General McClellan. Columbus, Kentucky, March 4, 1862.

General Polk and his forces freed Kentucky from the presence of the confederates, the advantage gained by the Union army was but a step in its onward progress on the Mississippi. As one "Gibraltar" was silenced another stronger rose in the way. To the threatened obstacles of Columbus in the way of the flotilla, Commodore Foote and the coöperating army on land, succeeded the formidable obstacles at Island No. 10, and its vicinity, on the Tennessee shore, whither the rebels had transported their forces and artillery. Island No. 10—the numbering of the islands of the river beginning at its junction with the Ohio—is situated some forty miles below Cairo, at the bottom of a great bend of the Mississippi, where the stream, in a sharp curve, sweeps around a tongue of land projecting from the Missouri shore, and pursuing thence a north-westerly course to New Madrid, on the western bank, descends past a similar narrow promontory of Tennessee soil, on its great southerly track. An enemy therefore in command of the river would have the opportunity, not only of making a direct attack by water, but of landing troops above or below the island, on the outer side of the two narrow promontories which enclosed it, and attacking it from the opposite shores. The distance across the upper end of the first promontory, four miles above the island, to New Madrid is six miles, and by the river is fifteen. The passage across the second promontory from Tiptonville, the first station on the left bank of the river below, is five miles, while by water it is twenty-seven. On the Tennessee shore a great swamp extended, cutting of communication with the interior, so that the garrison at the island had to depend mainly, if not altogether, for its supplies, reinforcements, and way of escape, if necessary, upon the river. The Missouri shore might have afforded a refuge had it not been promptly occupied and firmly held by the national forces under General Pope. Indeed the movement of the latter was an essential preliminary to the attack by the river fleet upon Island No. 10.

On the 3d of March, the very day the national flag was raised on the deserted rebel works at Columbus, General Pope, who had been moving down the right bank of the Mississippi with his command, chiefly of Ohio and Illinois troops, with an efficient artillery and engineering force, presented himself before New Madrid, the key to Island No. 10 on that side of the river. Once in possession of that point, he could effectually cut off the retreat of the rebels. His overland march from Commerce, above Cairo on the right bank of the Mississippi, which he left on the 22d of February, to New Madrid, at this season, a distance in a straight line of some forty miles, was one of extraordinary difficulty. The roads, as usual in the spring in this region, were deep and heavy. Artillery and wagons were drawn through the mud and sloughs; the men "waded in mud, ate in it, slept in it, were surrounded by it, as St. Helena is by the ocean."* For days the column could advance, and that in imperfect order, but five miles from morning to night.

On approaching New Madrid, General Pope found the place occupied by five regiments of rebel infantry and several companies of artillery. One bastioned earthwork, mounting fourteen heavy guns, about half a mile below the town, and another irregular work at the upper end of the town, mounting seven pieces of heavy artillery, together with lines of entrenchment between them, constituted the defensive works. Six gunboats, carrying from four to eight heavy guns each, were anchored along the shore, between the upper and lower redoubts. The country was perfectly level for miles around, and as the river was so high, that the guns of the gunboats looked directly over the banks, the approaches to the town for seven miles were commanded by direct and cross fire from at least sixty guns of heavy calibre. "It would not have been difficult," continues General Pope in his official report, "to carry the intrenchments, but it would have been attended with heavy loss, and we should not have been able to hold the place half an hour, exposed to the destructive fire of the gunboats." As the enemy were not disposed to come out of their entrenchments, it was necessary to reduce the place by siege, and heavy guns were ordered for the purpose from Cairo. In the meantime, General Pope sent Colonel Plummer, of the 11th Missouri, with three regiments of infantry, three companies of cavalry, and a field battery of 10-pound Parrot and rifled guns, to Point Pleasant, on the river, twelve miles below, with orders to make a lodgment on the river bank, to line the bank with rifle pits for a thousand men, and to establish his artillery in sunk batteries of single pieces between the rifle pits. The position was taken and held in spite of the cannonading of the enemy's gunboats, thus maintaining an effective blockade of the river to transports from below. As the possession of New Madrid would involve the loss of Island No. 10, the enemy made every effort to strengthen the position. They sent reinforcements from the island until, on the 12th, when the siege guns, sent for by General Pope, arrived, they had nine thousand infantry, besides their artillery force and nine gunboats, to resist the assailants at New Madrid.

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* Cairo correspondent of the *New York Times*, March 13, 1862.

General Pope moved vigorously to the attack. The four siege guns, which had been forwarded with extraordinary effort and alacrity, were received in the evening; before the next morning they were placed in battery, well protected, within eight hundred yards of the enemy's main work, so as to command that and the river above it, and at daylight opened fire. The enemy replied in front and on the flanks with the whole of their heavy artillery on land and water. General Pope ordered his fire concentrated on the gunboats, and in a few hours several of them were disabled, while three of the heavy guns in the enemy's main work were dismounted. "The cannonading," says General Pope, in the report from which we condense this narrative, "was continued furiously all day by the gunboats and land-batteries of the enemy, but without producing any impression upon us. Meantime, during the whole day, our trenches were being extended and advanced, as it was my purpose to push forward our heavy batteries in the course of the night to the bank of the river. Whilst the cannonading was thus going on on our right, I instructed General Paine to make demonstrations against intrenchments on our left, and supported his movements by Palmer's division. The enemy's pickets and grand guards were driven into his intrenchments, and the skirmishers forced their way close to the main ditch. A furious thunder-storm began to rage about eleven o'clock that night, and continued almost without interruption until morning. Just before daylight, General Stanley was relieved in his trenches, with his division, by General Hamilton. A few minutes after daylight, a flag of truce approached our batteries, with information that the enemy had evacuated his works. Small parties were at once advanced by General Hamilton to ascertain whether such was the fact, and Captain Mower, 1st United States infantry, with companies A and H of that regiment was sent forward to plant the United States flag over the abandoned works. A brief examination of them showed how hasty and precipitate had been the flight of the enemy. Their dead were found unburied, their suppers untouched, standing on the tables, candles burning in the tents, and every other evidence of a disgraceful panic. Private baggage of officers and knapsacks of men were left behind. Neither provisions nor ammunition were carried off. Some attempt was made to carry ammunition, as boxes without number were found on the bank of the river where the steamers had been landed. It is almost impossible to give any exact account of the immense quantities of property and supplies left in our hands. All their artillery, field-batteries, and siege guns, amounting to thirty-three pieces, magazines full of fixed ammunition of the best character, several thousand stand of inferior small arms, with hundreds of boxes of musket cartridges, tents for an army of ten thousand men, horses, mules, wagons, intrenching tools, etc., are among the spoils. Nothing except the men escaped, and they with only what they wore. They landed on the opposite side of the river, and are scattered in the wide bottoms. I immediately advanced Hamilton's division into the place, and had the guns of the enemy turned upon the river, which they completely command. The flight of the enemy was so hasty that they abandoned their pickets, and gave no intimation to the forces at Island No. 10. The consequence is, that one gunboat and ten large steamers which were there, are cut off from below, and must either be destroyed or fall into our hands. Island No. 10 must necessarily be evacuated, as it can neither be reinforced nor supplied from below."*

The entire Union loss during this operation was fifty-one killed and wounded. The enemy's loss could not be ascertained, but a number of his dead left unburied and over one hundred new graves showed that he must have suffered severely.

The same day that New Madrid surrendered to General Pope, Commodore Foote left Cairo with a fleet, including seven iron-clads and ten mortar boats, and having been joined by Colonel Buford, of the 27th Illinois, with his regiment and other troops to the number of fifteen hundred in all, at Columbus, moved down the river and took possession of Hickman on the Kentucky shore. The next day, the 15th, the expedition approached Island No. 10; reconnoissances were made along the shores; the mortar vessels were placed in position, and every preparation made for the attack. The siege commenced on the morning of Sunday the 16th, with a bombardment from the rifle guns of the Benton. The mortar-boats followed, and kept up the firing during the day, the enemy replying in the afternoon; but little was effected beyond trying the range of the guns upon the upper battery of the rebels on the Tennessee shore, two miles above their island fortifications, and upon the island itself. In the midst of this bombardment a touching incident occurred—a message was brought to Commodore Foote, by a tug from Cairo, acquainting him with the death of his second son at New Haven—a promising youth of thirteen. "He received the sad intelligence on the deck," writes a correspondent on board the Benton, the flag-ship, "amid the smoke of our guns and the booming of the great mortars, and though quite overwhelmed for the time, with the sudden sorrow, was soon recalled from it, by his imperative duties, to the exciting scenes around him."*

A battery of the 2d Illinois artillery was landed on the Missouri shore, and opened fire upon the rebel fleet near the island, suffering a loss of three men wounded by a shot from the enemy—the only Union casualties of the day. "The rebels are very strong," said a dispatch from the squadron to Cairo, "and it is hard for us to get at them." It was satisfactory, at the same time, to add, that "General Pope's guns at New Madrid command the river, preventing the passage of the rebel gunboats and transports, which are between New Madrid and Island No. 10." It was on the news of this success of General Pope, doubtless, that General Halleck, on the evening of the 17th, announced at St. Louis, to a gathering of serenaders, that Island No. 10 had been taken, with all the ammunition and transports the enemy had there. There was some disappointment when the declaration was found to be premature. Fortunately, it was prophetic of the result. There were three weeks, however, of novel and arduous labor before the end was attained.

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* John Pope, Brigadier-General commanding, to Brigadier-General G. W. Cullum, Chief of Staff, etc. Headquarters District of the Mississippi, New Madrid, March 14, 1862

* *New York Tribune*, March 24, 1862.

A more serious trial of the enemy's works was made on the second day. The forenoon was spent in manœuvring of the gunboats, with firing from the mortar vessels. At mid-day the gunboats Cincinnati, Benton, and St. Louis, lashed side by side, a floating battery of ten guns, proceeded with the Carondelet, Pittsburg, and Mound City in the rear, toward the rebel works. Fire was opened from the Benton upon the upper battery of the enemy at a distance of a mile and a half, and soon became general on both sides, between the gun and mortar-boats of the assailants and the various island and water batteries of the confederates. The Benton was struck three times during the bombardment, without injury to its defenders. "An 8-inch solid shot," writes the correspondent just cited, "fell upon our upper deck, cut through the half-inch iron plating and five-inch timbers as if they had been paper, buried itself in the gun-deck, rebounded to the roof, then fell again, upon the Commodore's writing desk, smashing the lid and lodging upon the table." The floor in the vicinity was spread with fragments of timber, and several men standing by were covered with the splinters, yet no one was injured. Another shot entered the Cincinnati in a similar manner, with no further ill result. In fact, though the bombardment was kept up vigorously during the afternoon, the only casualty was from an accident on board the St. Louis, where two men were killed directly, two mortally wounded, and several injured, by the explosion of an old 42-pounder, which had been rifled. The result of the day's bombardment, when night closed in, and the gunboats returned to their stations above, was less satisfactory than had been anticipated. Though some damage had been inflicted upon the enemy's works, the gunners still held their ground, and threatened serious injury to the gunboats on a nearer approach. It was evident, in fact, that Island No 10, and its outworks, could not be readily taken by assault from the inadequately protected gunboats. Occasional firing was kept up tending to the reduction of the place; but the conquest of the position required additional aid. "Island No. 10," telegraphs Commodore Foote to the Secretary of the Navy, on the 19th, "is harder to conquer than Columbus, as the island shores are lined with forts, each fort commanding the one above it. We are firing day and night on the rebels, and we gain on them. We are having some of the most beautiful rifle practice ever witnessed. The mortar shells have done fine execution. One shell was landed on their floating battery and cleared the concern in short metre. I am gradually approaching the island, but still do not hope for much until the occurrence of certain events, which promise success."

The "events" alluded to were to be the result of various projected operations carried on with the assistance of General Pope's forces in the rear of the enemy's position. It would be of comparatively little advantage to drive the rebels out of their works, if they were left the opportunity of an easy retreat to some point below. The object was to cut off their escape by the single route left them, that, namely, across the Tennessee peninsula, a distance of but a few miles to Tiptonville, below New Madrid, whence they might descend the river with ease to other points of defence in the vicinity of Memphis. To accomplish this, General Pope, firmly in possession of the Missouri shore, needed only the means of crossing the river, and bringing his forces face to face with the enemy from below. How should this coöperation of General Pope's forces be most advantageously secured. The first project was to employ them in constructing a road through the swamps to a point on the Missouri shore opposite Island No. 10, and station there an artillery force to assist the gunboats in the reduction of the enemy's batteries. An examination of the country for this purpose was made by Colonel Bissell's Engineer regiment, and the route was found to be impracticable. At the suggestion of General Schuyler Hamilton, he was also at the same time directed by General Pope to ascertain if the swamps, which were so serious an obstacle to road making, could be turned to account in the formation of a canal by which steam transports could be brought from above across the Missouri peninsula to New Madrid below. Another mode of securing the means of crossing the river was early suggested by General Pope. On the 17th of March he wrote to Commodore Foote, advising that he should run the enemy's batteries with one of his gunboats—an attempt which the latter then declined on the ground of impracticability.

Colonel Bissell, meanwhile, reported favorably of the capability of the swampy peninsula for the construction of the canal, and was ordered by General Pope to proceed at once with the work. He was authorized to employ his whole engineer regiment upon it, and to call upon Colonel Buford, who commanded the land forces temporarily on duty with the flotilla, which had been placed under General Pope's command, for any assistance in men or material necessary for the work. "Supplies of such articles as were needed," continues General Pope in his report, "and four steamers of light draught were sent for to Cairo, and the work begun. It was my purpose to make the canal deep enough for the gunboats; but it was not found practicable to do so within any reasonable period. The work performed by Colonel Bissel and his regiment of engineers was, beyond measure, difficult; and its completion was delayed much beyond my expectations. The canal is twelve miles long, six miles of which are through very heavy timber. An avenue fifty feet wide was made through it, by sawing off trees of large size four and a half feet under water. For nineteen days the work was prosecuted with untiring energy and determination, under exposures and privations very unusual, even in the history of warfare. It was completed on the 4th of April, and will long remain a monument of enterprise and skill."

Commodore Foote, while this work was being accomplished, was not idle. He kept the attention of the enemy alive by occasional firing from the fleet, directing his attention particularly to the upper battery, No. 1, of the six forts of the enemy, which kept guard around the island on the Tennessee shore. Heavy firing was maintained during the last days of March, and on the night of the 1st of April, in the midst of a furious storm and hurricane, the battered fort, which had caused so much annoyance to the gunboats, was finally carried by an adventurous assault. An armed boat expedition was fitted out from the squadron and land forces, consisting of five boats manned by picked crews of ten men from the gunboats Benton, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, and Mound City, carrying some forty men from the 42d Illinois regiment of Colonel Roberts, to whom the command was entrusted. Stirring work was to be expected, and the party—a hundred in all, officers and men—were prepared for it. The achievement, however, was easily performed. In the simple recital of Commodore Foote, "At midnight the boats reached the fort, and pulling directly to its face, carried it, receiving only the harmless fire of two sentinels, who ran, after discharging their muskets, while the rebel troops in the vicinity rapidly retreated. Thereupon Colonel Roberts spiked the six guns mounted in the fort, and retired with boats uninjured. The commanding officer represents all the men under his command, from their coolness and deliberation, as being ready to perform even more hazardous service, had it been required to fulfill the object of the expedition."*

While these operations, preparatory to the final assault, were going on in the neighborhood of the island, a diversion was made in a reconnoissance sent from Hickman, above on the river, to Union City, the junction of the Columbus and Nashville railroads, some ten miles distant, in Tennessee. Much annoyance had been experienced from the inhabitants of this "pestiferous entrepot of treason," who had, up to the time of the Union occupation of Hickman, harassed its citizens, and who still threatened to reoccupy the town. They were taken at their word, and Colonel Buford, with the 27th Illinois, Colonel Hogg's 15th Missouri, with a battery of artillery, and detachment of cavalry, set out on the 30th March to sound their intentions. On reaching the place they fell in with the rebel pickets, and presently with the rebels themselves, a Tennessee regiment, drawn up in line of battle across the road. Active preparations were at once made for an encounter; but the policy of the enemy was retreat, and they rapidly carried it into effect. A few prisoners and some tents and equipage were taken, when the expedition returned to assure the people of Hickman that their town was in no present danger of disturbance from the Tennessee secessionists.

The next incident in Commodore Foote's squadron, was the passage, on the night of the 3d, in a furious storm of thunder and lightning, of the entire series of rebel batteries, by the gunboat Carondelet, which, without returning a shot, passed unharmed through a heavy fire from the enemy's works. The only sound heard from the adventurous vessel was the firing of three minute guns, the signal agreed upon by Captain Walke with Commodore Foote, as an indication of her having passed the batteries in safety. "The scene," says a correspondent from the fleet, "upon her arrival at New Madrid is represented as most exciting. The soldiers were out upon the banks, and fairly howled with delight. Cheer after cheer went up for Commodore Foote, Captain Walke, the Navy, the Carondelet, the tars, and even for the colored cabin boy; and when the Captain's gig went ashore to report, the soldiers caught the sailors up in their arms and passed them from one to another, with accompanying embraces more heartfelt than agreeable."*

Another success was reported by Commodore Foote on the 4th. On that morning, "the Benton, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh, with three boats, opened and continued for more than an hour to fire on the rebel heavy floating battery at Island No. 10, when the latter, having received several shells from the rifles and mortars, cut loose from her moorings and drifted two or three miles down the river. The shells were thrown from the flotilla into different parts of the island, and into the rebel batteries lining the Tennessee shore. The return fire produced no effect on the squadron."

We now turn to General Pope to see how he employed his new resources on the river below. His official report presents the best account we have seen of the final, decisive operations of the siege. "During all the time," says he, while the engineer force was constructing the military canal across the peninsula, "the flotilla had kept up its fire upon the batteries of the enemy, but without making any progress toward their reduction. It had by this time become very apparent that the capture of Island No. 10 could not be made unless the land forces could be thrown across the river, and their works carried from the rear; but during this long delay the enemy, anticipating such a movement, had erected batteries along the shore from Island No. 10 entirely round to Tiptonville, at every point where troops could be landed. The difficulty of crossing the river in force had, therefore, been greatly increased; and what would have been a comparatively safe undertaking three weeks before, had become one full of peril. It is not necessary to state, that the passage of a great river lined with batteries, and in the face of the enemy, is one of the most difficult and hazardous operations of war, and cannot be justified except in a case of urgent necessity. Such a case seemed presented for my action. Without this movement operations against Island No. 10 must have been abandoned, and the land forces, at least, withdrawn. It is but bare justice to say, that although the full peril of the moment was thoroughly understood by my whole command, there was not an officer or a man who was not anxious to be placed in the advance.

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* Flag-Officer Foote to the Hon. Gideon Welles. U. S. Steamer Benton, April 2, 1862.

* Correspondence of the *New York Herald.* Squier's *Pictorial History,* vol. i. p. 375.

"There seemed little hope of any assistance from the gunboats. I therefore had several heavy coal-barges brought into the upper end of the canal, which, during the progress of the work, were made into floating batteries. Each battery consisted of three heavy barges lashed together, and bolted with iron. The middle barge was bulkheaded all around, so as to give four feet of thickness of solid timber both at the sides and on the ends. The heavy guns, three in number, were mounted on it, and protected by traverses of sand-bags. It also carried eighty sharpshooters. The barges outside of it had a first layer in the bottom of empty water-tight barrels, securely lashed, then layers of dry cotton-wood rails and cotton bales packed close. They were then floored over at the top, to keep everything in its place, so that a shot penetrating the outer barges must pass through twenty feet of rails and cotton before reaching the middle one, which carried the men and the guns. The arrangement of water-barrels and cotton-bales was made in order that even if penetrated frequently by the enemy's shot, and filled with water, the outer barges could not sink. It was my purpose when all was ready, to tow one or two of these batteries over the river to a point opposite New Madrid, where swamps prevented any access to the river, and where the enemy, therefore, had been unable to establish his batteries. When near the shore, the floating batteries with their crews were to be cut loose from the steamer, and allowed to float down the river to the point selected for landing the troops. As soon as they arrived within a short range of it they were to cast out their anchors so as to hold the barges firmly, and open fire upon the enemy's batteries. I think that these batteries would have accomplished their purpose, and my whole force volunteered to man them. They were well provided with small boats, to keep out of danger, and even if the worst happened, and the batteries were sunk by the enemy's fire, the men would meet with no worse fate than capture.

"On the 5th of April, the steamers and barges were brought near the mouth of the bayou which discharges into the Mississippi at New Madrid, but were kept carefully out of sight of the river, whilst our floating batteries were being completed. The enemy, as we afterwards learned, had received positive advices of the construction of the canal, but were unable to believe that such a work was practicable. The first assurance they had of its completion was the appearance of the four steamers loaded with troops, on the morning of the 7th of April. On the 4th, Commodore Foote allowed one of the gunboats to run the batteries at Island No. 10, and Captain Walke, U. S. N., who had volunteered—as appears from the Commodore's order to him—came through that night with the gunboat Carondelet. Although many shots were fired at him as he passed the batteries, his boat was not once struck. He informed me of his arrival early on the 5th. On the morning of the 6th, I sent General Granger, Colonel Smith of the 43d Ohio, and Captain L. B. Marshall of my staff, to make a reconnoissance of the river below, and requested Captain Walke to take them on board the Carondelet, and run down the river to ascertain precisely the character of the banks and the position and number of the enemy's batteries. The whole day was spent in this reconnoissance, the Carondelet steaming down the river in the midst of a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries along the shore. The whole bank, for fifteen miles, was lined with heavy guns at intervals; in no case, I think, exceeding one mile. Entrenchments for infantry were also thrown up along the shore, between the batteries.

"On his return up the river, Captain Walke silenced the enemy's battery opposite Point Pleasant, and a small infantry force, under Captain L. H. Marshall, landed and spiked the guns. On the night of the 6th, at my urgent request, Commodore Foote ordered the Pittsburg also to run down to New Madrid. She arrived at daylight, having, like the Carondelet, come through without being touched. I directed Captain Walke to proceed down the river at daylight on the 7th, with the two gunboats, and, if possible, silence the batteries near Watson's Landing, the point which had been selected to land the troops, and at the same time, I brought the four steamers into the river and embarked Paine's division, which consisted of the 10th, 16th, 22d, and 51st Illinois regiments, with Houghtaling's battery of artillery. The land batteries of 32-pounders, under Captain Williams, 1st United States infantry, which I had established some days before, opposite the point where the troops were to land, were ordered to open their fire upon the enemy's batteries opposite as soon as it was possible to see them. A heavy rain storm commenced on the night of the 6th, and continued, with short intermissions, for several days. The morning of the 7th was very dark, and the rain fell heavily until midday. As soon as it was fairly light, our heavy batteries on the land opened their fire vigorously upon the batteries of the enemy, and the two gunboats ran down the river and joined in the action. I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of Captain Walke during the whole of these operations. Prompt, gallant, and cheerful, he performed the hazardous service assigned him with signal skill and success. About twelve o'clock M. he signalled me that the batteries near our place of landing were silenced, and the steamers containing Paine's division moved out from the landing and began to cross the river, preceded by the gunboats.

"The whole force designed to cross had been drawn up along the river bank, and saluted the passing steamers with shouts of exultation. As soon as we began to cross the river, the enemy commenced to vacate his positions along the banks and the batteries on the Tennessee shore, opposite Island No. 10. His whole force was in motion toward Tiptonville, with the exception of the few artillerists on the island, who, in the haste of the retreat, had been abandoned. As Paine's division was passing opposite the point I occupied on the shore, one of my spies, who had crossed on the gunboats from the silenced battery, informed me of this hurried retreat of the enemy. I signalled General Paine to stop his boats, and sent him the information, with orders to land as rapidly as possible on the opposite shore and push forward to Tiptonville, to which point the enemy's forces were tending from every direction. I sent no force to occupy the deserted batteries opposite Island No. 10, as it was my first purpose to capture the whole army of the enemy. At eight or nine o'clock that night (the 7th), the small party abandoned on the island, finding themselves deserted, and fearing an attack in the rear from our land forces, which they knew had crossed the river in the morning, sent a message to Commodore Foote, surrendering to him. The divisions were pushed forward to Tiptonville as fast as they were landed, Paine leading. The enemy attempted to make a stand several times near that place, but Paine did not once deploy his columns. By midnight all our forces were across the river and pushing forward rapidly to Tiptonville. The enemy retreating before Paine, and from Island No. 10, met at Tiptonville during the night in great confusion, and were driven back into the swamps by the advance of our forces, until at four o'clock A. M. on the 8th, finding themselves completely cut off, and being apparently unable to resist, they laid down their arms and surrendered at discretion. They were so scattered and confused that it was several days before anything like an accurate account of their number could be made. Meantime I had directed Colonel W. L. Elliott, of the 2d Iowa cavalry, who had crossed the river after dark, to proceed as soon as day dawned to take possession of the enemy's abandoned works on the Tennessee shore, opposite Island No. 10, and to save the steamers if he possibly could. He reached there before sunrise that morning (the 8th), and took possession of the encampments, the immense quantity of stores and supplies, and of all the enemy's batteries on the main land. He also brought in almost two hundred prisoners. After posting his guards and taking possession of the steamers not sunk or injured, he remained until the forces landed. As Colonel Buford was in command of these forces, Colonel Elliott turned over to his infantry force the prisoners, batteries, and captured property for safe keeping, and proceeded to cross the country in the direction of Tiptonville, along Reelfoot Lake, as directed.

"It is almost impossible to give a correct account of the immense quantity of artillery, ammunition, and supplies of every description which fell into our hands. Three generals, two hundred and seventy-three field and company officers, six thousand seven hundred prisoners, one hundred and twenty-three pieces of heavy artillery, all of the very best character and of the latest patterns, seven thousand stand of small arms, several wharf-boat loads of provisions, an immense quantity of ammunition of all kinds, many hundred horses and mules, with wagons and harness, etc., etc., are among the spoils. Very few if any of the enemy escaped, and only by wading and swimming through the swamps. The conduct of the troops was splendid throughout, as the results of this operation and its whole progress very plainly exhibit. We have crossed the great river, the banks of which were lined with batteries and defended by seven thousand men; we have pursued and captured the whole force of the enemy and all his supplies and material of war, and have again recrossed and occupied the camp at New Madrid, without losing a man or meeting with an accident. Such results bespeak efficiency, good conduct, high discipline, and soldierly deportment of the best character, far better than they can be exhibited in pitched battles or the storming of fortified places. Patience, willing labor, endurance of hardship and privation for long periods, cheerful and prompt obedience, order and discipline, bravery and spirit, are the qualities which these operations have developed in the forces under my command, and which assure for them a brilliant and successful career in arms. It is difficult to express the feeling which such conduct has occasioned me, fortunate enough to be the commander of such troops. There are few material obstacles within the range of warfare which a man of courage and spirit would hesitate to encounter with such a force."

The final dispatches of Commodore Foote to the Department at Washington complete the history of this memorable siege. At dawn on the morning of the 7th, when General Pope was about to cross the river with his forces, for the decisive attack on their rear, two officers of the rebel navy boarded the flag-ship, stating that, by order of their commanding officer, they were ordered to surrender Island No. 10 to the commander of the fleet. Captain Phelps was thereupon sent to ascertain the position of the batteries on the Tennessee shore, and returned with the information that they had been hastily evacuated. General Buford, commanding the troops, was then ordered by Commodore Foote to proceed immediately, in company with two of the gunboats, and take possession of the island. Communication was then had with General Pope; and, in place of the combined attack of the naval and land forces, for which all was prepared, the two commanders had the less onerous duty to perform of receiving rebel officers, calculating the number of men surrendered, and investigating the extent of the military preparations of the enemy, the forts and batteries, which it had required twenty-three days of courageous and most ingenious effort, on land and water, to gain possession of.

As a trophy of the occupation, Commodore Foote had the satisfaction of enclosing, in his official report to Secretary Welles, a copy of the order of Brigadier-General W. D. McCall, the rebel commander of the forces to which he had been opposed. It was issued on taking command, a few days before the surrender. "Soldiers: We are strangers, commander and commanded, each to the other. Let me tell you who I am. I am a general made by Beauregard—a general selected by Beauregard and Bragg for this command, when they knew it was in peril. They have known me for twenty years; together we have stood on the fields of Mexico. Give them your confidence now; give it to me when I have earned it. Soldiers: The Mississippi valley is entrusted to your courage, to your discipline, to your patience. Exhibit the vigilance and coolness of last night, and hold it." "I regret," Commodore Foote added, referring to his wound received in the naval attack on Fort Donelson, "that the painful condition of my feet, still requiring me to use crutches, prevented me from making a formal examination of the works."*

To this welcome dispatch, announcing a conclusion so satisfactory of a siege watched with no little interest by the public, and over the inevitable delays of which they had shown some impatience, Secretary Welles responded in a cheering bulletin. "*Flag-Officer A. H. Foote, Commanding Gunboats on Western Waters, Sir:* A nation's thanks are due you and the brave officers and men of the flotilla on the Mississippi, whose labors and gallantry at Island No. 10, which surrendered to you yesterday, have for weeks been watched with intense interest. Your triumph is not the less appreciated because it was protracted and finally bloodless. To that Being who has protected you through so many perils, and carried you onward to successive victories, be the praises for his continued goodness to our country, and especially for this last great success of our arms. Let the congratulations to yourself and your command be also extended to the officers and soldiers who coöperated with you."

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* Flag-Officer Foote to the Hon. Gideon Welles. Flag-ship Benton, Island No. 10, April 8, 1862.

CHAPTER LVII.

BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE, ARKANSAS, MARCH 6TH AND 7TH, 1862.

In a recent chapter on the military affairs of General Halleck's Department of Missouri, we traced the brief and brilliant campaign of General Pope in his defeat of the rebel forces gathering to the command of the Confederate General Price, on the central portion of the State. This successful movement threw the insurgents back upon their old resting place in the southwesterly region, whence they were presently driven into Arkansas by the rapid pursuit of the Union forces from Rolla, under the command of General Samuel R. Curtis.

This officer, born in Ohio, of a Connecticut family, in 1807, was a graduate of West Point of the year 1831. He resigned his commission the following year for the study of the law, practiced for a while, then turned his attention to engineering, and was employed as chief engineer of the Muskingum Works. When the Mexican war broke out, he volunteered for duty in the field, and accompanied General Taylor in his campaign, with the rank of Colonel. He was for a time governor of Monterey, and filled other positions of the kind requiring administrative ability. At the close of the war he returned home, was engaged in his professions of law and engineering, particularly in reference to the western railroads. He settled at Keokuk, Iowa, and was elected from that state to Congress in 1858, and again in 1860. He resigned his seat to enter the army, his name occurring in the first list of appointments of Brigadier-Generals of the 17th of May, 1861.

Early in February, General Curtis' army in Missouri, formed in divisions under acting Brigadier-Generals Colonel Jefferson C. Davis and Colonel E. A. Carr and Generals Sigel and Asboth, was pushing on rapidly from Rolla, the termination of the railway communication with St. Louis, by way of Lebanon, toward Springfield, where the rebel General Price had, since his retreat from the Osage, established his headquarters, in his own language, "for the purpose of being within reach of supplies, protecting that portion of our State from both Home Guard depredations and Federal invasion, as well as to secure a most valuable point for military movements." He had received from Grand Glaze supplies of clothing, camp and garrison equipage, built huts, and congratulated himself on the comfortable condition of the army of four thousand men, which, "Missouri having been admitted as an equal member of the Confederate States," he had been enabled to raise and equip for the Confederate service.* From this state of security, General Price was roused by reports of the gathering army of General Curtis. He called upon the commanders of the confederate troops in Arkansas for reinforcements, with the expectation of holding his position; but the Union force descended too rapidly upon him, and after some sharp skirmishing on the 12th of February between his pickets and the advance of General Curtis' troops, fearing to be outnumbered and defeated, he prudently avoided the impending engagement by a sudden retreat during the night. At daylight the Union advance entered the town, found there six hundred sick who had been left behind, captured a large amount of stores and equipage, and, to the delight of the loyal inhabitants, raised the flag of the Union once more over the court house. The retreating army was immediately pursued by the whole Union force, and driven by forced marches beyond the border of the State. They took the route by Cassville to Benton county, the extreme north-westerly corner of Arkansas, the troops of General Curtis pressing closely upon their rear with frequent skirmishing. At the old battle-ground at Wilson's Creek, where there was some expectation the rebels might make a stand, the Union troops found only the deserted camp-fires of the enemy, who had left but a few hours before. The chase was very exciting. After reaching Cassville, for four days there was a continual series of attacks. The whole march into Arkansas of over two hundred miles from Rolla, was, in the words of the tribute of General Curtis to his troops, "attended with continual exhibitions of toil, privation, conflict, and gallantry." The report of General Price, already cited, bears equal testimony to the ardor of the pursuit. "Retreating and fighting," says he, "all the way to the Cross Hollows in this State (Arkansas). I am rejoiced to say, my command, under the most exhausting fatigue, with but little rest for either man or horse, and no sleep, sustained themselves and came through, repulsing the enemy upon every occasion with great determination and gallantry." The Federal troops crossed the Missouri line into Arkansas on the 18th, with cheers for the restoration of the Union. On the 23d of February, General Curtis entered and took possession of Fayetteville, capturing a number of prisoners, stores, and baggage. The enemy burnt part of the town before leaving on their flight over the Boston Mountains. A barbarous incident of the war is thus recorded by General Halleck in his dispatch to General McClellan, informing him of the capture. "Forty-two officers and men of the 5th Missouri cavalry were poisoned at Mud Town by eating poisoned food which the rebels left behind them. The gallant Captain Dolfert died, and Lieutenant-Colonel Van Deutzh and Captain Schwan have suffered much, but are now recovering. The indignation of our soldiers is very great, but they have been restrained from retaliation upon the prisoners of war."

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* General Price to C. F. Jackson, Governor of Missouri. Arkansas, February 25, 1862.

On the 1st of March, General Curtis was led, by the misrepresentations which had been made by the enemy of the purposes and conduct of his army, to issue an "Address to the People of the Southwest." In it he set forth the difficulties of the situation, and his desire that the burdens of war should fall as lightly as possible upon the innocent. The only legitimate object of the war, said he, was peace, and peaceable citizens should be protected. The flight of the citizens from their homes, however, "leaving their effects abandoned, as it were, for their victors," he admitted, "had much embarrassed him in his efforts to preserve discipline in his command, as these circumstances offered extraordinary temptations. The burning of farms and fields of grain in Missouri, and extensive barracks and valuable mills in Arkansas by the enemy, has induced some resentments on the part of my troops, which I have severely punished. Necessary supplies for my command could not keep up with my rapid movements, and peaceable citizens not being at home to sell them to my quartermasters, I am compelled to take them without purchase, making settlement difficult and doubtful; occasioning irregularities which I have always labored to counteract. If peaceably disposed citizens will stay at home, or return home, and check the clandestine, stealthy warfare that is carried on under the cover and cloak of peaceable citizens, much of the havoc of war will be avoided, and many poor families can be protected from distress and misery. I have followed the war-path through the entire State of Missouri, have seen the havoc and devastation surrounding it, and I deplore the prospect of these disasters in the virgin soil of Arkansas.

"We have restored," he added, in an earnest appeal, "the Stars and Stripes to Northwestern Arkansas, where I am glad to find many who rejoice to see the emblem of their former glory, and hope for a restoration of the peace and happiness they have enjoyed under its folds. A surrender to such a flag is only a return to your natural allegiance, and is more honorable than to persist in a rebellion that surrendered to the National power at Forts Henry and Donelson, at Nashville and at Roanoke, and throughout the most powerful Southern States. Why then shall the West be devastated to prolong a struggle which the States of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee cannot successfully maintain? Disband your companies; surrender your arms; for in all instances where men in arms have voluntarily surrendered and taken the oath of allegiance to our common country, they have been discharged. No prisoners have, to my knowledge, been shot or hung, or cruelly treated by us. I know of no instance where my troops have treated females with violence, and I have not heard of a complaint of any kind. I enjoin on the troops kindness, protection and support for women and children. I shall, to the best of my ability, maintain our country's flag in Arkansas, and continue to make relentless war on its foes, but shall rejoice to see the restoration of peace in all the States and Territories of our country—that peace which we formerly enjoyed and earnestly desire; and I implore for each and all of us that ultimate, eternal peace 'which the world cannot give or take away.'"

The services rendered by the Union troops in the long and arduous pursuit of the rebels was handsomely acknowledged in a bulletin issued by command of General Halleck, from his headquarters at St. Louis:—"Soldiers of the Army of the South-west! You have nobly performed the duties assigned to you. You have made a long and fatiguing march in mid-winter, over almost impassable roads, through snow, deep mud, and swollen streams. You have driven the enemy from Missouri into the barren mountains of Arkansas. It was not your fault that he did not stay to give you battle. Fighting, however, is but a small part of a soldier's duty. It is discipline, endurance, activity, obedience to orders, as much as steadiness and courage on the battle-field, that distinguishes the veteran from the recruit. Let not the honor you have won in this campaign be tarnished by any excesses or improprieties. All officers must maintain order and enforce discipline in their commands. You have an active foe before you. Be vigilant and ready to take advantage of the first opportunity to fight him."*

Though he had thus freed Missouri from the presence of a confederate army, General Curtis was well aware that he could hold the advantage which he had gained for the State only by an obstinate further contest with the foe, whose haunts he had invaded. General Price, though sorely pressed, had carried off his army with comparatively little loss in his flight; and, indeed, had greatly recruited his ranks, by gathering in by the way a considerable portion of the population whom his misrepresentations of the Union army had induced to abandon their homes. He was now within easy reach of the regiments in Arkansas whom he had vainly called to his aid at Springfield. A new Confederate army, in fact, was rapidly assembling, with the hope of destroying the Union forces and regaining the lost ground in Missouri. It was the calculation of General Curtis at this time that General Price was reinforced by at least eleven regiments, brought to the field by General McCulloch, and five commanded by General Albert Pike. In addition, also, to these regularly organized troops there were many companies and regiments of Arkansas volunteers—most of the country people being required to take up arms. From these data and the general opinion of the country General Curtis estimated the force of the enemy to have been at least 30,000 to 40,000. "This," he adds, "was the force in and near Boston Mountains, rallying to drive us from Arkansas and Missouri." His own force in the face of the enemy in these early days of March, deducting the troops required for garrison duty at Marshfield, Springfield, Cassville, and Keitsville, along his extended line of communications, besides a constant moving force to guard his train, left him ready for the field, surrounding or in the vicinity of his headquarters at Sugar Creek, not more than ten thousand five hundred cavalry and infantry, with forty-nine pieces of artillery, including a mountain howitzer. Owing to the scarcity of forage and other supplies, it was necessary to spread out this force over a considerable distance of country. The troops, General Curtis informs us, though weary and somewhat exhausted in their long forced marches and frequent conflicts, the cavalry in especial having suffered in the breaking down and loss of horses, were, upon the whole, "well armed, drilled, and anxious to encounter the enemy at any reasonable hazard. They were all intelligent, ardent, flushed with our repeated successes on our way, and all conscious of the righteousness of their country's cause."

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* Bulletin of Gen. Halleck, St. Louis, March 5, 1862.

On the 4th of March, immediately before the battle of Pea Ridge, General Curtis' force was located as follows:—The First and Second Divisions, under Generals Sigel and Asboth, were four miles south-west of Bentonville, at Cooper's Farm, under general orders to move round to Sugar Creek, about fourteen miles east. The Third Division, under Colonel Jefferson C. Davis, Acting Brigadier-General, had moved and taken position at Sugar Creek, under orders to make some preparatory arrangements and examinations for a stand against the enemy. The Fourth Division was at Cross Hollows, under command of Colonel E. A. Carr, Acting Brigadier-General. General Curtis' headquarters were also at this place, within about twelve miles from Sugar Creek, on the main telegraph road from Springfield to Fayetteville. Large detachments had been sent out from those several camps for forage and information—one from Cross Hollows to Huntsville, under command of Colonel Vandever, and three from Cooper's Farm to Maysville and Pinesville. One of these, under Major Conrad, with a piece of artillery and two hundred and fifty men, did not reach the main army till after the battle. All the others came in safe, and joined in the engagement. The two armies were within hearing of each other's cannon, about thirty miles apart.

"The arrival of Major-General Van Dorn, on the 2d of March, in the camp of the enemy," continues General Curtis, in his second official report of the engagement which ensued, "was the occasion of great rejoicing, and the firing of forty guns. The rebel force was harangued by their chiefs with boastful and passionate appeals, assuring them of their superior numbers and the certainty of an easy victory. Dispatches were published, falsely announcing a great battle at Columbus, Kentucky, in which we had lost three gunboats and twenty thousand men. And thus the rebel hordes were assembled: the occasion was now open to drive the invaders from the soil of Arkansas, and give a final and successful blow for a Southern Confederacy.

"The 5th of March was cold and blustering. The snow fell so as to cover the ground. No immediate attack was apprehended, and I was engaged writing. About 2 o'clock P. M. scouts and fugitive citizens came, informing me of the rapid approach of the enemy to give battle.

His cavalry would be at Elm Springs, some twelve miles distant, that night, and his artillery had already passed Fayetteville. Satisfied of the truth of this report, I immediately sent couriers to General Sigel and Colonel Vandever, and ordered them to move immediately to Sugar Creek, where I also ordered Colonel Carr to move with his division. All my messengers were successful in delivering their orders. Colonel Carr's division moved about 6 o'clock P. M. Colonel Vandever had intelligence of the movement of the enemy before my messenger reached him, and made immediate change in his march, so that with great exertion he arrived on the 6th. General Sigel deferred his march from Cooper's Farm till 2 o'clock in the morning of the 6th, and at Bentonville tarried himself, with a regiment and battery, till he was attacked about 9 o'clock A. M. I arrived at Sugar Creek at 2 o'clock A. M. on the 6th, and immediately detailed parties for early morning work in felling timber to obstruct certain roads, to prevent the enemy having too many approaches, and to erect field-works to increase the strength of my forces. Colonel Davis and Colonel Carr, early in the day, took their positions on the high projecting hills commanding the valley of the creek, leaving the right of the line to be occupied by the First and Second Divisions, which were anxiously expected. The valley of the creek is low, and from a quarter to a half-mile wide. The hills are high on both sides, and the main road from Fayetteville, by Cross Hollows to Keitsville, intercepts the valley nearly at right angles. The road from Fayetteville by Bentonville to Keitsville is quite a detour, but it also comes up the Sugar Creek valley; a branch, however, takes off and runs nearly parallel to the main or telegraph road, some three miles from it. The Sugar Creek valley, therefore, intercepts all these roads.

"The Third and Fourth Divisions had, before noon of the 6th, deployed their lines, cut down a great number of trees, which thoroughly blockaded the roads on the left. Later in the day I directed some of the same work to be done on the right. This work was in charge of Colonel Dodge, who felled trees on the road which run parallel to the main road, to which I have before referred. This proved of great advantage, as it retarded the enemy some two hours in their flank movement. Breastworks of considerable length were erected by the troops on the headlands of Sugar Creek as if by magic, and a battery near the road-crossing was completely shielded by an extensive earthwork erected under the direction of Colonel Davis, by a pioneer company commanded by Captain Snyder. About 2 o'clock P. M., General Asboth and Colonel Osterhaus reported the arrival of the First and Second Divisions. This good news was followed immediately by another report that General Sigel, who had remained behind with a detachment, had been attacked near Bentonville, and was quite surrounded by the enemy's advance forces. I immediately directed some of the troops to return to his relief. In the meantime, he had advanced with his gallant little band, fighting its way within three or four miles of our main forces. The two divisions turned back in double quick, and a large cavalry force also started, all being anxious to join in a rescue of their comrades in peril. Part of the First Division, under Colonel Osterhaus, soon met the retreating detachment and immediately opened with artillery and infantry, which checked the further advance and terminated the action for the day. In the retreat and final repulse, which occupied several hours, our loss was some twenty-five killed and wounded. The enemy must have suffered more, as our artillery had telling effect along the road, and the rebel graves in considerable numbers bear witness of the enemy's loss. The firing having ceased, I sent back other troops that had joined the movement, and designated the positions on the right, which were promptly occupied by the First and Second Divisions. Our men rested on their arms, confident of hard work before them on the coming day.

"On my front was the deep, broad valley of Sugar Creek, forming the probable approaches of the enemy—our troops extending for miles, and generally occupying the summits of headlands on Sugar Creek. In my rear was a broken plateau, called Pea Ridge, and still further in my rear the deep valley of Big Sugar Creek, or Cross Timbers. My own headquarters and those of Generals Sigel, Asboth, and other commanders of divisions, were near Pratt's House. The approach by Bentonville brought the enemy to my extreme right, and during the night of the 5th and 6th he began a movement round my flank by the road above mentioned, which crosses Pea Ridge some three miles north-west of the main telegraph road. I ascertained in the morning this flank movement of the enemy, which I perceived was to attack my right flank and rear. I therefore called my commanders of divisions together at General Asboth's tent, and directed a change of front to the rear, so as to face the road, upon which the enemy was still moving. At the same time, I directed the organization of a detachment of cavalry and light artillery, supported by infantry, to open the battle by an attack from my new center on the probable center of the enemy before he could fully form. I selected Colonel Osterhaus to lead this central column—an officer who displayed great skill, energy, and gallantry each day of the battle. The change of front thus directed reversed the order of the troops, placing the First and Second Divisions on the left, their left still resting on Sugar Creek; Colonel Osterhaus and the Third Division in the center, and the Fourth Division became the extreme right. While I was explaining the proposed movement to commanders, and Colonel Osterhaus was beginning to rally and move forward his attacking column, a messenger brought me intelligence that my pickets, commanded by Major Weston, of the 24th Missouri, had been attacked by infantry. This was at Elkhorn Tavern, where the new right was to rest. Colonel Carr being present, he was ordered to move into position and support the Major as soon as possible.

"This was the commencement of the second day's fight. It was about half past ten o'clock, and the officers separated to direct their respective commands. The fire increased rapidly on the right, and very soon opened in the center. After visiting the right, where I perceived the enemy was making a vigorous attack, and finding Colonel Carr under a brisk fire of shot and shell, coolly locating and directing the deployment, I returned to my central position, near Pratt's house, and sent orders to Colonel Davis to move near to Colonel Carr, to support him. In the meantime, Colonel Osterhaus had attacked the enemy and divided his forces, but he was soon pressed with greatly superior numbers, that drove back our cavalry and took our flying battery, which had advanced with it. The Colonel, however, was well supported by his infantry, and soon checked a movement that threatened to intercept the deployment of other forces. I considered the affair so imminent I changed my order to Colonel Davis, and directed him to move to the support of the center, which was his proper place according to my order for the change of front. My new line was thus formed under the enemy's fire, the troops generally moving in good order and gallant bearing. Thus formed, the line was not continuous, but extended entirely across Pea Ridge, the divisions in numerical order, from left to right, Colonel Osterhaus remaining in command of a detachment, and operating with Colonel Davis in resisting McCulloch and McIntosh, who commanded the enemy's forces in the center. I did not err in sending Colonel Davis to this point, although Colonel Carr on the right needed reinforcements. The battle raged in the center with terrible fury. Colonel Davis held the position against fearful numbers, and our brave troops nobly stood or charged in steady lines. The fate of the battle depended on success against the flank movement of the enemy, and here near Leetown was the place to break it down. The fall of Generals McCulloch, McIntosh, and other officers of the enemy, who fell early in the day, aided us in our final success, at this most critical point; and the steady courage of officers and men in our lines chilled and broke down the hordes of Indian cavalry and infantry that were arrayed against us. While the battle thus raged in the center, the right wing was sorely pressed, and the dead and wounded were scattered over the field. Colonel Carr sent for reinforcements, and I sent him a few cavalry and my body-guard, with the little mountain howitzers, under Major Bowen. These did good service at a most critical period. I urged Colonel Carr to stand firm, that more forces could be expected soon. Subsequently Colonel Carr sent me word that he could not hold his position much longer. I could then only reply by sending him the order to 'persevere.' He did persevere, and the sad havoc in the 9th and 4th Iowa, and Phelps' Missouri, and Major Weston's 24th Missouri, and all the troops in that division, will show how earnest and continuous was their perseverance. Seeing no signs of approaching foes by the telegraph road, I sent him three pieces of artillery and a battalion of infantry, of Colonel Benton's command, (part of the Third Division,) which had been located at Sugar Creek, to guard the approaches. Each small accession to the Fourth Division seemed to compensate an overpowering force. As to the left, I was repeatedly informed it stood safe and firm, although threatened by the foe. About 2 o'clock P. M. my aid, Captain Adams, who had communicated with that wing, informed me that he had just seen Generals Sigel and Asbot, on Sugar Creek, and there was no attack in that quarter, and no appearance of an enemy. About this time the enemy's forces melted away in the brushy center, and the fire gradually ceased. Believing the left and center no longer menaced, and the enemy was concentrating on the right, I again sent word to Colonel Carr that he would soon be reinforced. I had now resolved to bring up the left and center to meet the gathering hordes near Elkhorn Tavern. To inform myself of the condition of the extreme left, I went in person to that point. On my way I ordered forward the remainder of Colonel Benton's command, three pieces and a battalion, which had remained guarding the crossing of the main telegraph road.

"I found Generals Sigel and Asboth with the troops on the hill near the extreme left, where all was quiet, and the men, not having been under fire, fresh and anxious to participate in the fight. It was was now safe to make a new change of front, so as to face Sugar Creek. I therefore ordered this force forward. General Asboth moved by the direct road to Elkhorn Tavern, and General Sigel went by Leetown to reinforce Colonel Davis, if need be, but to press on to reinforce Colonel Carr, if not needed in the center. Both generals moved promptly. I accompanied General Asboth, collecting and moving forward some straggling commands that I found by the way. It must have been nearly 5 o'clock when I brought the force to the aid of Colonel Carr. He had received three or four shots—one a severe wound in the arm. Many of his field officers had fallen, and the dead and wounded had greatly reduced his force. He had been slowly forced back near half a mile, and had been seven hours under constant fire. His troops were still fiercely contesting every inch of ground. As I came up, the 4th Iowa was falling back for cartridges, in line, dressing on their colors in perfect order. Supposing, with my reinforcements, I could easily recover my lost ground, I ordered the regiment to face about. Colonel Dodge came up, explaining the want of cartridges; but, informed of my purpose, I ordered a bayonet charge, and they moved again, with steady nerve, to their former position, where the gallant 9th was ready to support them. These two regiments won imperishable honors. General Asboth had planted his artillery in the road and opened a tremendous fire on the enemy at short range. The 2d Missouri Infantry also deployed, and earnestly engaged the enemy. About this time the shades of night began to gather around us, but the fire on both sides seemed to grow fierce and more deadly. One of my body-guard fell dead, my Orderly received a shot, and General Asboth was severely wounded in the arm. A messenger came from General Sigel, saying he was close on the left, and would soon open fire. The battery of General Asboth ran out of ammunition, and fell back. This caused another battery, that I had located on the other side of the road, to follow—this latter fearing a want of support. The infantry, however, stood firm, or fell back in good order, and the batteries were soon restored, but the caissons got quite out of reach. The artillery firing was renewed, however, and kept up till dark—the enemy firing the last shot, for I could not find another cartridge to give them a final round; even the little howitzer responded 'No cartridges!' The enemy ceased firing, and I hurried men after the caissons and more ammunition; meantime I arranged the infantry in the edge of the timber, with fields in front, where they lay on their arms and held the position for the night. I directed a detail from each company to bring water and provisions, and thus, without a murmur, these weary soldiers lay, and many of them slept within a few yards of the foe, with their dead and wounded comrades scattered around them. Darkness, silence, and fatigue soon secured for the weary broken slumbers and gloomy repose. The day had closed on some reverses on the right, but the left had been unassailed, and the center had driven the foe from the field. My only anxiety for the fate of the next day was the new front which it was necessary to form by my weary troops. I directed Colonel Davis to withdraw all the remainder of his reserve from the center, and move forward so as to occupy the ground on Colonel Carr's immediate left. Although his troops had been fighting hard most of the day, and displayed great energy and courage, at twelve o'clock at night they commenced their movement to the new position on the battle-field, and they too soon rested on their arms. Nothing further had been heard from General Sigel's command after the message at dark that he was on or near the left. His detour carried him around a bushy portion of the battle-field that could not be explored in the night. About two o'clock he reported at my headquarters with his troops, who, he said, were going to their former camps for provisions. The distance to his camp, some two miles further, was so great that I apprehended tardiness in the morning, and urged the General to rest the troops where they then were, at my headquarters, and send for provisions, as the other troops were doing. This was readily concurred in, and these troops bivouaced also for the night. The arrangement thus completed to bring all four of my divisions to face a position which had been held in check all the previous day by one, I rested, confident of final success on the coming day.

"The sun rose above the horizon before our troops were all in position, and yet the enemy had not renewed the attack. I was hardly ready to open fire on him, as the First and Second Divisions had not yet moved into position.

Our troops that night rested on their arms in the face of the enemy. Seeing him in motion, I could not brook delay, and the center, under Colonel Davis, opened fire. The enemy replied with terrible energy from new batteries and lines which had been prepared for us during the night. To avoid raking batteries, the right wing fell back in good order, but kept up a continuous fire from the new position immediately taken. The First and Second Divisions soon got under way, and moved with great celerity to their position on the left. This completed the formation of the line of battle. It was directly to the rear of the first, and was quite continuous, much of it on open ground. We then had our foe before us, where we well knew the ground. The broken defiles occupied by him would not admit of easy evolutions to repel such as could be made by us on the open plain. Victory was inevitable. As soon as the left wing extended so as to command the mountain, and rest safely upon it, I ordered the right wing to move forward, so as to take position where I placed it the night previous. I repaired myself to the extreme right, and found an elevated position considerably in advance, which commanded the enemy's center and left. Here I located the Dubuque Battery, and directed the right wing to move its right forward, so as to support it, and give directions to the advance of the entire right wing. Captain Hayden soon opened a fire which proved most galling to the foe, and a marker for our line to move upon. Returning to the center, I directed the 1st Iowa Battery, under Captain David, to take position in an open field, when he could also direct a fire on the central point of the enemy. Meantime, the powerful battery of Captain Whelfley, and many more were bearing on the cliff pouring heavy balls through the timber near the center, splintering great trees, and scattering death and destruction with tempestuous fury.

"At one time a battery was opened in front of Hayden's battery, on the extreme right, so near I could not tell whether it was the enemy or an advance of Hayden's, but riding nearer, I soon perceived its true character, and directed the 1st Iowa and the Peoria battery, Captain Davidson, to cross fire on it, which soon drove it back to the common hiding-place, the deep ravines of Cross Timber Hollow. While the artillery was thus taking position and advancing upon the enemy, the infantry moved steadily forward. The left wing advancing rapidly, soon began to ascend the mountain cliff, from which the artillery had driven most of the rebel force. The upward movement of the gallant 36th Illinois, with its dark-blue line of men and its gleaming bayonets, steadily rose from base to summit, when it dashed forward into the forest, driving and scattering the rebels from these commanding heights. The 12th Missouri, far in advance of others, rushed into the enemy's lines, bearing off a flag and two pieces of artillery. Everywhere our line moved forward, and the foe as gradually withdrew. The roar of cannon and small arms was continuous, and no force could then withstand the converging line and concentrated cross-fire of our gallant troops. Our guns continued some time after the rebel fire ceased, and the rebels had gone down into the deep caverns through which they had begun their precipitate flight. Finally, our firing ceased. The enemy suddenly vanished. Following down the main road which enters a deep canon, I saw some straggling teams and men running in great trepidation through the gorges of the mountain. I directed a battery to move forward which threw a few shots at them, followed by a pursuit of cavalry, comprised of the Benton Hussars and my escort from Bowen's battalion, which was all the cavalry convenient at the time. General Sigel also followed in this pursuit toward Keitsville, while I returned, trying to check a movement which led my forces north, where I was confident a frightened foe was not likely to go. I soon found the rebel forces had divided and gone in every direction, but it was several hours before I learned that the main force, after entering the canon, had turned short to the right, following ravines which led into the Huntsville road in a due south direction. General Sigel followed some miles north toward Keitsville, firing on the retreating force that ran away. Colonel Bussy, with cavalry and the little howitzers, followed beyond Bentonville. I camped on the field and made provision for burying the dead and care of the wounded. The loss in the several divisions was as follows: 1st division, General Sigel, four commissioned officers wounded, two missing, eleven privates killed, eighty-nine wounded, thirty-eight missing; 2d division, General Asboth, three commissioned officers killed, and three wounded, seventeen privates killed, sixty wounded, and thirty-six missing; of Colonel Davis' 3d division, four commissioned officers killed, and eighteen wounded, forty-two privates killed, two hundred and fifty-six wounded, and nine missing; of Colonel Carr's 4th division, six commissioned officers killed, twenty-nine wounded, and two missing, ninety-five privates killed, four hundred and ninety-one wounded, and seventy-eight missing. The 3d Iowa cavalry had one officer wounded, and lost twenty-four men killed, eighteen wounded, and nine missing; Major Bowen's battery lost one officer wounded, one man killed, two wounded, and two missing. The aggregate loss of killed, wounded, and missing, of all ranks, was 1,351. This sad reckoning shows where the long-continued fire was borne, and where the public sympathy should be most directed. The loss of the enemy was much greater, but their scattered battalions can never furnish a correct report of their killed and wounded."

The rebel General Van Dorn in his official report says: "So far as I can ascertain, our losses amount to about 600 killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners, and one cannon, which, having become disabled, I ordered to be thrown into a ravine. The force with which I went into action was less than 14,000 men; that of the enemy is variously estimated at from 17,000 to 24,000." In his report of the second day's fight, he says: "About three P. M. I received by aids-de-camp the information that Generals McCulloch and McIntosh, and Colonel Herbert, were killed, and that the division was without any head." He accounts for "withdrawing his army" as follows: "In the course of the night I ascertained that the ammunition was almost exhausted, and that the officer in charge of the ordnance supplies could not find his wagons, which, with the subsistence train, had been sent to Booneville. Most of the troops had been without any food since the morning of the 6th, and the artillery horses were beaten out. It was, therefore, with no little anxiety that I awaited the dawn of day. When it came, it revealed to me the enemy in a new and strong position, offering battle. I made my dispositions at once to accept the gage, and by seven o'clock the cannonading was as heavy as that of the previous day. On the side of the enemy the fire was much better sustained, for, being freed from the attack of my right wing, he could now concentrate his whole artillery. Finding that my right wing was much disorganized, and that the batteries were, one after another, retiring from the field, with every shot expended, I resolved to withdraw the army." Of the loss of officers, he adds: "General Price received a severe wound early in the action, but would neither retire from the field nor cease to expose himself to danger. No successes can repair the losses of the gallant dead, who fell on the well-fought field. McCulloch was the first to fall. I had found him, in the frequent conferences I had with him, a sagacious, prudent counsellor, and a bolder soldier never died for his country. McIntosh had been very much distinguished all through the operations which have taken place in this region; and during my advance from Boston Mountain I placed him in command of the cavalry brigade, and in charge of the pickets. He was alert, daring, and devoted to his duty. His kindness of disposition, with his reckless bravery, had attached the troops strongly to him; so that after McCulloch fell, had he remained to lead them, all would have been well with my right wing; but, after leading a brilliant charge of cavalry, and carrying the enemy's battery, he rushed into the thickest of the fight again, at the head of his old regiment, and was shot through the heart. The value of these two officers was but proven by the effect of their fall upon the troops. So long as brave deeds are admired by our people the names of McCulloch and McIntosh will be remembered and loved. General Slack, after gallantly maintaining a continued and unsuccessful attack, was shot through the body. But I hope his distinguished services will be restored to his country. A noble boy, Churchill Clarke, commanded a battery of artillery, and during the fierce artillery actions of the 7th and 8th, was conspicuous for the daring and skill which he exhibited. He fell at the very close of the action. Colonel Rives fell mortally wounded about the same time, and was a great loss to us. On the field where were many gallant gentlemen, I remember him as one of the most energetic and devoted of them all."

General Earl Van Dorn, the Confederate commander in the battle, a native of Mississippi, had acquired a distinguished reputation by his gallantry as an officer of the United States army. He was educated at West Point, having graduated in 1842, in the same class with Gustavus W. Smith and Mansfield Lovell, who, like himself, had abandoned the cause of the Union, and been raised to eminence in the rebel service. He had fought in the Mexican war with his infantry regiment in the column of General Scott, and been brevetted captain and major for his services at Cerro Gordo, Contreras, and Cherubusco. He was among the honorable list of officers wounded before the city of Mexico. Subsequently, with the full rank of captain of the 2d United States cavalry, he had acquired an enviable reputation by his command of several expeditions against the Camanche Indians in Northern Texas. When he resigned his commission in the national service, at the end of January, 1861, he held the rank of major in the 2d cavalry.

In an animated address to the officers and soldiers of the 1st and 2d divisions, on the 15th of March, General Sigel thus reviewed the part taken by his command in the several days' fighting, included under the general designation of the battle of Pea Ridge:—"After so many hardships and sufferings of this war in the West, a great and decisive victory has, for the first time, been attained, and the army of the enemy overwhelmed and perfectly routed. The rebellious flag of the Confederate States lies in the dust, and the same men who had organized armed rebellion at Camp Jackson, Maysville, and Fayetteville—who have fought against us at Booneville, Carthage, and Wilson's Creek, at Lexington, and Milford, have paid the penalty of their seditious work with their lives, or are seeking refuge behind the Boston Mountains and the shores of the Arkansas river. The last days were hard but triumphant. Surrounded and pressed upon all sides by an enterprising, desperate, and greedy enemy—by the Missouri and Arkansas mountaineer, the Texas Ranger, the finest regiment of Louisiana troops, and even the savage Indian—almost without food, sleep or camp-fires, you remained firm and unabashed, awaiting the moment when you could drive back your assailants or break through the iron circle by which the enemy thought to crush or capture us all, and plant the rebellious flag on the rocky summit of Pea Ridge. You have defeated all their schemes. When at McKissick's farm, west of Bentonville, you extricated yourselves from their grasp by a night's march, and secured a train of two hundred wagons before the enemy became aware of the direction you had taken, instead of being cut off, weakened and driven to the necessity of giving battle under the most unfavorable circumstances, you joined your friends and comrades at Sugar Creek, and thereby saved yourselves and the whole army from being separated and beaten in detail. On the retreat from Bentonville to Sugar Creek—a distance of ten miles—you cut your way through an enemy at least five times stronger than yourselves. The activity, self-possession, and courage of the little band of six hundred will ever be memorable in the history of this war, When, on the next day, the great battle began, under the command of General Asboth, you assisted the 4th division with all the cheerfulness and alacrity of good and faithful soldiers—that division on that day holding the most important position—while Colonel Osterhaus, coöperating with the 3d division, battered down the hosts of McCulloch on our left, and Major Paton guarded our rear.

"On the 8th you came at the right time to the right place. It was the first opportunity you had of showing your full strength and power. In less than three hours you formed in line of battle, advanced and coöperated with our friends on the right, and routed the enemy so completely that he fled like dust before a hurricane. And so it will always be when traitors, seduced by selfish leaders and persecuted by the pangs of an evil conscience, are fighting against soldiers who defend a good cause, are well drilled and disciplined, obey promptly the orders of their officers, and do not shrink from dangerous assault when, at the proper and decisive moment, it is necessary. You may look with pride on the few days just passed, during which you have so gloriously defended the flag of the Union. From two o'clock on the morning of the 6th, when you left McKissick's farm, until four o'clock on the afternoon of the 9th, when you arrived from Keetsville in the common encampment, you marched fifty miles, fought three battles, took not only a battery and a flag from the enemy, but more than one hundred and fifty prisoners—among them Acting Brigdier-General Herbert, the commander of the Louisiana forces, and his Major; Colonel Mitchell, of the 14th Arkansas; Colonel Stone, Adjutant-General of Price's forces, and Lieutenant-Colonel John H. Price, whose life was twice spared, and who has now for the second time violated his parole, and was arrested with arms in his hands. You have done your duty, and you can justly claim your share in the common glory of this victory. But let us not be partial, unjust, or haughty. Let us not forget that alone we were too weak to perform the great work before us. Let us acknowledge the great services done by all the brave soldiers of the 3d and 4th divisions, and always keep in mind that 'united we stand, divided we fall.' Let us hold out and push the work through—not by mere words and great clamor, but by good marches, by hardships and fatigues, by strict discipline and effective battles. Columbus has fallen—Memphis will follow; and if you do in future as you have done in these past days of trial, the time will soon come when you will pitch your tents on the beautiful shores of the Arkansas river, and there meet our iron-clad propellers at Little Rock and Fort Smith. Therefore keep alert, my friends, and look forward with confidence."

A peculiar feature of the battle of Pea Ridge, was the employment by the rebels of a large force of Indians—between two and three thousand, it is said—under command of Brigadier-General Albert Pike. This officer, who had shown so much alacrity and zeal in the rebel service, particularly in his successful efforts at withdrawing the Indian tribes from their allegiance to the United States, was a native of Boston, Massachusetts, and had in other days acquired considerable reputation by his literary abilities. He had in early life been the principal of a New England academy, had studied the ancient classics with zest, and infused much of their spirit in his "Hymns to the Gods," which had been first introduced to the public in Blackwood's Magazine. Journeying to the Southwest, he had identified himself with its interests, and become widely known as the editor of the *Arkansas Advocate* at Little Rock, and subsequently in the profession of the law. He served with distinction as a volunteer in the Mexican war, and, as a prominent Southern citizen, was led to take an active part in the rebellion.

The employment of the Indians, who, it is said, in their intoxicated fury, became as dangerous to their friends as to their foes, aggravated the almost inevitable barbarities of frontier warfare. Many of the federal dead, as we learn from an official remonstrance addressed by General Curtis to General Van Dorn, immediately after the battle, were found "tomahawked, scalped, and their bodies shamefully mangled." In making this communication General Curtis expressed the hope "that this important struggle may not degenerate to a savage warfare." To this, General Van Dorn, through his assistant adjutant-general, replied, that "he had been pained to learn that the remains of some of your soldiers had been reported to you to have been scalped, tomahawked, and otherwise mutilated, and hoped that there had been misinformation in regard to the matter, the Indians who formed part of his forces having for many years been regarded as civilized people. He will, however, most cordially unite with you in repressing the horrors of this unnatural war; and that you may coöperate with him to this end more effectually, he desires me to inform you that many of our men who surrendered themselves prisoners of war were reported to him as having been murdered in cold blood by their captors, who were alleged to be Germans. The General commanding feels sure that you will do your part, as he will, in preventing such atrocities in future; and that the perpetrators of them will be brought to justice, whether German or Choctaw." General Curtis, in another communication through his assistant adjutant-general, a few days after, thus met the representations in reference to the Indians and Germans: "The fact," said he, "of many bodies having been found scalped and mutilated was patent, and the General commanding the army wishes for the sake of humanity, that the testimony was not incontestible. In reply to your information that 'men who surrendered themselves prisoners of war, are reported to the General as having been murdered in cold blood by their captors, who were alleged to be Germans,' I may say the Germans charge the same against your soldiers. I enclose a copy of a letter from General Sigel, addressed to me before the receipt of yours, in which the subject is referred to. As 'dead men tell no tales,' it is not easy to see how these charges may be proven, and the General hopes they are mere 'camp stories,' having little or no foundation. The Germans in the army have taken and turned over many prisoners, and the General has not before heard murder charged against them; on the contrary, they have seemed peculiarly anxious to exhibit the number of their captured as evidence of their valor. Any act of cruelty to prisoners, or those offering to deliver themselves as such, on the part of the soldiers of this army, coming to the knowledge of the General commanding, will be punished with the extreme penalty of military law. Exceptions may undoubtedly occur, as we have murderers in all communities, but the employment of Indians involves a probability of savage ferocity which is not regarded as an exception to the rule. Bloody conflicts seem to inspire their ancient barbarities; nor can we expect civilized warfare from savage foes. If any presumption has been raised in their favor on the score of civilization, it has certainly been demolished by the use of the tomahawk, war-club, and scalping-knife at Pea Ridge." The letter of General Sigel, referred to, called the attention of General Curtis to information which had been received of certain gunners having been surrounded and shot dead by the rebels after their pieces of artillery had been captured, although seeking refuge behind their horses. "When such acts are committed," he added, "it is very natural that our soldiers will seek revenge, if no satisfaction is given by the commander of the Confederate army." Neither side, it will be observed, positively denied the allegations of the other. That atrocities, beyond the inevitable cruelties of war, were committed, there can be little doubt. That the probability of their commission would be vastly increased by bringing Indians into battle, hardly admits of question. Once begun, they would be perpetuated on both sides, and arrested only by the strong hand of military discipline and authority.

On the 11th of March, General Halleck was assigned to the enlarged command of the Department of the Mississippi, including the recent departments of Kansas and Missouri, the Department of Ohio, and country west of a north and south line drawn through Knoxville, Tennessee, and east of the western boundaries of the States of Missouri and Arkansas. This brought under his command the armies of Buell and Grant, gathering in Tennessee for the expulsion of the Confederates from that State.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE MERRIMAC AND MONITOR, MARCH 8TH AND 9TH, 1862.

WHILE the enemy were breaking up at Manassas, preparatory to their general leave-taking of the ground before Washington which they had so long occupied, an event occurred in sight of Fortress Monroe, which fairly divided the attention of the public with the extensive military operations on the Potomac and along the vast line of the enemy. This was the sudden dash of the iron-plated Merrimac, or, as she was now christened by her rebel owners, the Virginia, upon the United States vessels blockading the entrance to Norfolk and the mouth of the James river. In the extent of the action which ensued, the scene where it occurred, the novelty of the contest, its striking conclusion, its immediate fatal results, and its lasting consequences as a new development of warfare, the engagement will ever be ranked as one of the most extraordinary and interesting in naval annals.

The Merrimac will be remembered as one of the ill-fated vessels which was scuttled in the harbor of Norfolk at the time of the destruction of the navy yard and its abandonment to the insurgents upon the open breaking out of the rebellion in Virginia. She was subsequently raised and placed in the dry dock, and efforts made to fit her with a formidable armament and prepare her for sea. Her hull was cut down and a bomb-proof covering of wrought-iron put over her main deck. Her bow and stern were sharpened and clad in steel, with a projecting angle of iron to pierce any adversary she might encounter. A letter-writer from Richmond to the *New Orleans Crescent*, furnishes us with an account of these equipments when the vessel was completed, and exhibits something of the spirit of her officers in carrying her into action. "As it is almost certain," he says, "that the Merrimac will either have proved a brilliant success or a miserable failure before this reaches you, it will not be improper in me to give your readers a few facts in regard to her. In the first place, her engines are five hundred and ten horse power; and, in spite of her great weight, it is thought she will make from twelve to fifteen miles an hour. She does not draw by a foot and a half as much water as was expected. When afloat she presents to the enemy only a roof above the water. All of her machinery is below the water line. Her sides and roof are composed of oak twenty-eight inches thick, covered with six inches of plate and railroad iron. She has an apparatus for throwing hot water on boarders. Her armament consists of ten guns only, all rifled. The guns in her sides—four in number—are 80-pounders. Those at the bow and stern throw a 100-pound solid shot, or a 120-pound shell, and these guns have three ports, which enable her to give a broadside of six guns. She has furnaces for heating shot. Her crew consists of ten lieutenants and three hundred and fifty picked men, and among them are the best gunners in the old navy. She has under water a wedge-shaped prow of oak and iron thirty-three feet long. Commodore Buchanan commands her, and the second in command is Catesby Jones—both men of the highest order of courage. Buchanan has confidence in her, and says he is going to glory or a grave in her; Jones is less confident, but says she is as good a place to die in as a man could have. The objection to her, and it is a serious one, is the fact that she is entirely dependent on her machinery; if that gets out of order she becomes a mere log in the water. But if that holds out, it is fair to expect that she will do some damage to the two Yankee frigates now lying off Newport News before this week ends. Let us not be too sanguine, but hope for the best. She may help to help us out of our great difficulty."

Various reports reached the North while these preparations were going on. At one time everything was expected from the vessel; then rumors came of a miscalculation in her reconstruction, by which the displacement of water rendered her unfit for sailing; then that the defect was remedied, that she was ready for sea and would come out, attack the United States vessels at the station, and break up the blockade. Some newspaper writers went so far, in their anxiety, as to calculate the means of resistance at hand, should she escape the blockade and suddenly make her appearance in New York harbor. The officers at Newport News and Fortress Monroe were well advised of her state of preparation. General Wool had sent word to Washington that she was ready to move, and the Government had responded by ordering the iron gunboat Monitor, just completed by the eminent inventor, Ericsson, at New York, and the frigate St. Lawrence to that station.

At length, on the 8th of March, a fine sunshiny day at Hampton Roads, with the water quite smooth, the Merrimac, shortly after mid-day, was seen, accompanied by two small gunboats—the Beaufort, Lieutenant-Commanding Parker, and the Raleigh, Lieutenant-Commanding Alexander, each of one gun—slowly working her way out of Elizabeth river. She passed around Craney Island through the channel by Sewall's Point, and stood toward Newport News. On her approach to this point she was joined by several armed steamers from James river—the Patrick Henry, Commander Tucker, of six guns, the Jamestown, Lieutenant-Commanding Barney, of two guns, and the Teazer, Lieutenant-Commanding Webb, of one gun.

The appearance which the Virginia presented on coming in sight of the vessels on the lookout was that of a submerged house, with the roof only above water, surmounted by her short smoke-stack, and the rebel flag flying from a staff. She steamed directly for the frigate Congress and the sloop-of war Cumberland, which were stationed off James river to guard the blockade and as a protection to the camp on the shore at Newport News. Both of these were sailing vessels, and had consequently no opportunity of manuvering in presence of so formidable an antagonist. The other vessels in the roads were some eight or nine miles off, at Fortress Monroe, and immediately on the appearance of the Merrimac had been signaled to the aid of the Congress and Cumberland. They were the flag-ship Roanoke, Captain John Marston, the frigate Minnesota, Captain Van Brunt, and some half dozen gunboats, which were employed in towing the frigates into position—the Minnesota not having full steam on at starting, and the Roanoke being disabled by a broken shaft. While the latter were getting under way, the Merrimac was slowly moving onward, as the iron-clad rebel steamers Yorktown and Jamestown were hastening to meet her from James river. The Congress and Cumberland were, meantime, prepared for action. The former mounted fifty guns; the latter, twenty-four of heavy calibre—eleven 9-inch and 10-inch Dahlgrens on a side and two pivot-guns of the same make fore and aft. The Congress was commanded by Lieutenant Joseph B. Smith, a native of the state of Maine, the son of a veteran of the service, Commodore Joseph Smith; the Cumberland by Lieutenant George M. Morris, in the absence of Captain Wm. Radford, who was attending a court of inquiry on board the Roanoke. Lieutenant Morris, a native of Massachusetts and citizen of New York, entered the service in 1846, and had received his present commission but a few months before. His second in command, Lieutenant Thomas O. Selfridge, Jr., a native and citizen of Massachusetts, had been but ten years in the service. By the numerous defections of the Southerners in the navy of older date, it was noted that these officers had risen in a year a hundred or more steps in the ladder of promotion. Their antagonist, the confederate commander of the Merrimac, Flag-Officer Franklin Buchanan, was a native of Maryland, who, after having seen forty-five years' service in the navy of the United States, had, at the outbreak of the rebellion, abandoned his post as commandant of the Washington Navy-yard and accepted employment in the Rebel States.

As the Merrimac approached, she was greeted, at a distance of about a mile, with a discharge from the powerful pivot-guns of the Cumberland. Some of the shots struck, but evidently produced no effect. The iron-roofed monster came steadily on—her ports closed till within a hundred yards. She received full broadsides from her two antagonists, unchecked and apparently uninjured. The stout defence upon which the gallant sailors relied for the protection of their ships had seemingly as little power of annoyance as so many "peas from a pop-gun." The balls from the monster discharges of the Dahlgrens glanced on the mailed roof and bounded away. The Cumberland had thus fired five or six broadsides, when a single shot from the Merrimac killed five of her men. The Merrimac then drew off and ran violently down upon her, striking her heavily on the port bow, knocking a hole in the side near the water-line as large as the head of a hogshead and driving the vessel back upon her anchors with great force, while the water ran into her hold. As the Merrimac retired, she discharged her guns at the sinking vessel, with deadly effect. Still the powerful battery of the Cumberland, sinking though she was, kept steadily pouring its impotent fire upon her assailant, who in her turn sent her furious cannonade to add the agonies of wounds to the fate of the drowning. To heighten, if possible, the scene of terror, the vessel was set on fire in the forward part. Still officers and men stood by their guns in the fast-settling ship, surrounded by the wounded and the dying. For three-quarters of an hour this was continued, till the water reached the ports, yet the Cumberland did not surrender. As she sank, while her men were firing her last battery, her flag was still flying, and when the hull grounded, fifty-four feet below the surface, the pennant was still streaming at the topmast above the waves, and there it remained long after the enemy had departed.* The men, at the last extremity, saved themselves as they best could. Some, unable to reach the spar-deck, leapt from the port-holes, others sought the boats and spars in the water, and others ascended the rigging. None were captured, but many were drowned before the small steamer sent from Newport News came to their relief.

"At half past three o'clock," says Lieutenant Morris, in his report of the action, "the water had gained upon us, notwithstanding the pumps were kept actively employed, to a degree that, the forward magazine being drowned, we had to take powder from the after magazine for the 10-inch gun. At thirty-five minutes past three the water had risen to the main-hatchway and the ship canted to port, and we delivered a parting fire, each man trying to save himself by jumping overboard. Timely notice was given and all the wounded who could walk were ordered out of the cock-pit; but those of the wounded who had been carried into the sick-bay and on the berth-deck were so mangled that it was impossible to save them. * * * I can only say, in conclusion, that all did their duty, and we sank with the American flag flying at the peak."* When the Cumberland went into action there were three hundred and seventy-six souls, officers and privates, on board; of these one hundred and seventeen were known to be lost, about twenty-three were missing, and the rest were saved.† The Chaplain, the Reverend John L. Lanhart, who had seen fifteen years' service in the navy, was drowned.

The courage with which the Cumberland was fought to the last, her gallant officers and crew preferring death to surrender, secured the admiration alike of friend and foe. The simple story of her resistance and final destruction is the best eulogy of her defenders. Though sadly perishing by brutal wounds inflicted by rebel officers, once sworn to her protection, her history and fate will be proudly cherished among the most inspiring records of our naval history. Well did her officers and crew earn the grateful acknowledgement awarded to them by the Secretary of the Navy in behalf of the country. Addressing Lieutenant Morris, from the Navy Department, March 21st, the Honorable Gideon Welles wrote, "In the calamitous assault of the armed steamer Merrimac upon the sloop Cumberland and frigate Congress, on the 9th inst., which were comparatively helpless, the Department has had occasion to admire the courage and determination of yourself and the officers and men associated with you, who, under the most disastrous and appalling circumstances, boldly fought your formidable assailant, exposed as you were to an opponent secure in his armour while attacking the Cumberland. To your honor, and that of those associated with you, the guns were coolly manned, loaded, and discharged while the vessel was in a sinking condition, and your good ship went down with the flag at the gaff, and its brave defenders proved themselves worthy of the renown which has immortalized the American navy. The gallant service of yourself and the brave men of the Cumberland, on the occasion, is justly appreciated by a grateful country, and the Department, in behalf of the Government, desires to thank you and them for the heroism displayed and the fidelity with which the flag was defended."

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* Statement of Mr. A. B. Smith, pilot on board the Cumberland at the time of the engagement.—*The World, March* 11, 1862.

* Geo. M. Morris, Lieutenant and Executive Officer, to Commander Wm. Radford, Newport News, Va., March 9, 1862.

† List of Mr. Hugh Nott, Paymaster's Clerk of the Cumberland.—*New York Herald, March* 16, 1862

The gallant action was everywhere recorded with fervor, but nowhere with more taste and feeling than in a little poem entitled "The men of the Cumberland," written by the Rev. R. T. S. Lowell :

Cheer ! cheer ! for our noble Yankee tars,
  That fought the ship Cumberland !
Not a sigh for these, with their maims and scars,
  Or their dead that lie off the strand !

Who whines of the ghastly gash and wound,
  Or the horrible deaths of war ?
Where, where should a brave man's death be found ?
  And what is a true heart for ?

Cheer ! cheer ! for these men ! Ah ! they knew when
  Was the time for true hearts to die !
How their flag sank, apeak, will flush the brave cheek
  While this earth shall hang in the sky !

In the bubbling waves they fired their last,
  Where sputtered the burning wad :
And fast at their post, as their guns were fast,
  Went a hundred and more before God.

Not a man of all but had stood to be shot,
  (So the flag might fly,) or to drown ;
The sea saved some, for it came to their lot,
  And some with their ship went down.

Then cheer for these men ! they want not gold ;
  But give them their ship once more,
And the flag that yet hangs in wet and cold
  O'er their dead by that faithless shore.

Our sunken ship we'll yet weigh up,
  And we'll raise our deep-drowned brave,
Or we'll drain those Roads till a baby's cup
  May puddle their last shoal wave.

And we'll tell in tale, and sing in song,
  How the Cumberland was fought
By men who knew that all else was wrong
  But to die when a sailor ought.

The story of the equally ill-fated consort of the Cumberland, the Congress, may be told in the official report of Lieutenant Pendergrast, who succeeded to the command on the fall of Lieutenant Smith. That officer, in his report to flag-officer Marston, states, that "when the Merrimac, with three small gunboats, was seen steaming down from Norfolk, and had approached near enough to discover her character, the ship was cleared for action. At ten minutes past two, the Merrimac opened with her bow gun with grape, passing us on the starboard side at a distance of about three hundred yards, receiving our broadside and giving one in return. After passing the Congress she ran into and sunk the Cumberland. The smaller vessels then attacked us, killing and wounding many of our crew. Seeing the fate of the Cumberland, we set the jib and topsail, and, with the assistance of the gunboat Zouave, ran the vessel ashore. At half-past two the Merrimac took a position astern of us at a distance of about one hundred and fifty yards, and raked us fore and aft with shells, while one of the smaller steamers kept up a fire on our starboard quarter. In the meantime the Patrick Henry and the Thomas Jefferson, rebel steamers, appeared from up the James river, firing with precision and doing us great damage. Our two stern guns were our only means of defence. These were soon disabled, one being dismounted and the other having its muzzle knocked away. The men were knocked away from them with great rapidity and slaughter by the terrible fire of the enemy."

Lieutenant Pendergrast first learned of the death of Lieutenant Smith at half-past four o'clock. "The death happened ten minutes previous. Seeing that our men were being killed without the prospect of any relief from the Minnesota, which vessel had run ashore in attempting to get up to us from Hampton Roads, not being able to get a single gun to bear upon the enemy, and the ship being on fire in several places, upon consultation with Commander William Smith, we deemed it proper to haul down our colors without any further loss of life on our part. We were soon boarded by an officer of the Merrimac, who said he would take charge of the ship. He left shortly afterwards, and a small tug came alongside, whose captain demanded that we should surrender and get out of the ship, as he intended to burn her immediately. A sharp fire with muskets and artillery was maintained from our troops ashore upon the tug, having the effect of driving her off. The Merrimac again opened upon us, although we had a peak to show that we were out of action. After having fired several shells into us she left us and engaged the Minnesota and the shore batteries, after which, Lieutenant Pendergrast states, the wounded were taken ashore in small boats, the ship having been on fire from the beginning of the action from hot shot fired by the Merrimac." He reports the death of the following officers: Lieutenant Joseph B. Smith, Acting Master Thomas Moore, and Pilot William Rhodes.

The total number of officers and men on board the Congress at the time of this fatal encounter was four hundred and thirty-four; of these two hundred and ninety-eight were accounted for, leaving one hundred and thirty-six killed, wounded, and missing. Twenty-six of the wounded were taken on shore, of whom ten died.* The fire on board the Congress continued to burn, brilliantly lighting up the harbor, till the explosion of the magazine, after midnight, scattered the remnants of the conflagration.

The Merrimac first attacked the Cumberland probably on account of her more formidable armament. Another reason, however, was suggested in the reports of the day, worth alluding to as an illustration of the divided allegiance of the same families in the war. Mr. McKean Buchanan, a brother of the rebel commander, was paymaster on board the Congress, and it was said that the vessel was in a measure spared in consideration of that circumstance. However that may be, we know not. Such conflicts are governed by other laws than those of domestic kindness, fratricide being not specially forbidden in the articles of war. But this remains on record, that while one brother was leading forth a desperate, premeditated, and in a great measure, wanton assault upon the flag of his country, and its noble-minded supporters, the other was engaged beyond the duties of his office in the national defence. Readily offering his services, Mr. McKean Buchanan was placed in charge of the berth-deck during the terrible encounter. "I promptly obeyed," he wrote afterward to the Secretary of War, "and thank God I did some service to my country."

During this engagement, shots were also fired from the Merrimac and the Yorktown and the Jamestown on the camp at Newport News, which it was apparently a leading object of the enemy's expedition to destroy, with the view of gaining possession of the important situation. Many shells were thrown, but without effect. They passed over the tents or alighted where they did no damage. One of them exploded in the artillery stables, but the horses and occupants were away. General Wool, aware of the danger to the camp, early forwarded reinforcements by land from Fortress Monroe. The artillerists and riflemen at Newport News, as we have seen in the rescue of the officers and men of the Congress from imprisonment, were effectively engaged during the contest.

We now turn to the fortunes of the other vessels which were hastening from Fortress Monroe to the scene of action. The steam frigate Minnesota, by far the most powerful vessel on the station, a propeller of the first class, heavily armed, was calculated, from her weight of metal and superiority in sailing, to prove a formidable antagonist, at close quarters, even for the iron-plated Merrimac. Eager for the conflict, she passed rapidly along the channel within range of the batteries of Sewall's Point, where she encountered the fire from the fortifications, which was returned, while she received a shot going through and crippling her mainmast. She then ran along to within about a mile and a half of Newport News, where she unhappily grounded. There, in that helpless condition, struggling to get off, her crew were compelled to witness, as idle spectators, the terrific destruction wrought upon the Cumberland and the Congress, with the prospect of the same remorseless energies being in no long time directed against themselves. The trial speedily came. Turning from her easily-won triumphs, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the Merrimac, accompanied by the Jamestown and Patrick Henry, bore down upon the Minnesota. "Very fortunately," says Captain Van Brunt, in his report, "the iron battery drew too much water to come within a mile of us. She took a position on my starboard bow, but did not fire with accuracy, and only one shot passed through the ship's bow. The other two steamers took their position on my port bow and stern, and their fire did most damage in killing and wounding men, inasmuch as they fired with rifled guns; but with the heavy gun that I could bring to bear upon them I drove them off, one of them apparently in a crippled state. I fired upon the Merrimac with my 10-inch pivot gun without any apparent effect, and at seven P. M. she too hauled off, and all three vessels steamed towards Norfolk."

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* Lieutenant Austin Pendergrast's official report of casualties to Hon. Gideon Welles. Philadelphia, March 19, 1862.

To complete the inventory of disasters of this unhappy day, the flag-ship Roanoke towed along, her engine, as we have stated, disabled, making progress slowly in consequence of her bad steerage, got into three fathoms and a half water and grounded on the stern. She was then towed round by one of the tugs and got afloat again, when the tugs were sent to the aid of the Minnesota. The Roanoke warned of her danger, made no further attempt to get forward, and when night came on was towed back to Fortress Monroe. In passing and repassing the batteries at Sewall's Point, shots were exchanged, the fire of the enemy going beyond the vessel, that of the latter falling short.

There is yet another disaster of the same class to be recorded. The frigate St. Lawrence, towed by the gunboat Cambridge, both vessels having just arrived from sea, passed the Sewall's Point battery, exchanging shots with trifling injury to herself, when, to complete the chapter of accidents, she also grounded near the Minnesota. She fired a few harmless shots at the iron ram, but they did no execution. In the words of her commander, Captain Purviance, "The armor of the Merrimac proved invulnerable to her comparatively feeble projectiles. Taking advantage of these portentous circumstances, the Merrimac directed her attention to firing several projectiles of formidable dimensions, one of which, an 8-pound shell, penetrated the starboard quarter about four inches above the water-line, passed through the pantry of the ward-room, and into the stateroom of the assistant surgeon on the port side, completely demolishing the bulkhead, and then struck against a strong iron bar which secured the bull's eye of the port. It returned into the wardroom expended. It fortunately did not explode and no one was injured. The damage done by this shot proved the powers of the projectiles which they employed, and readily explained the quick destruction of our wooden antiquated frigates. Our position at this time was one of some anxiety. Being aground, the tug Young America came alongside and got us off; after which a powerful broadside from the spar and gun decks of the St. Lawrence, then distant about half a mile, thrown into the Merrimac, induced her to withdraw, whether from necessity of discretion is not known."

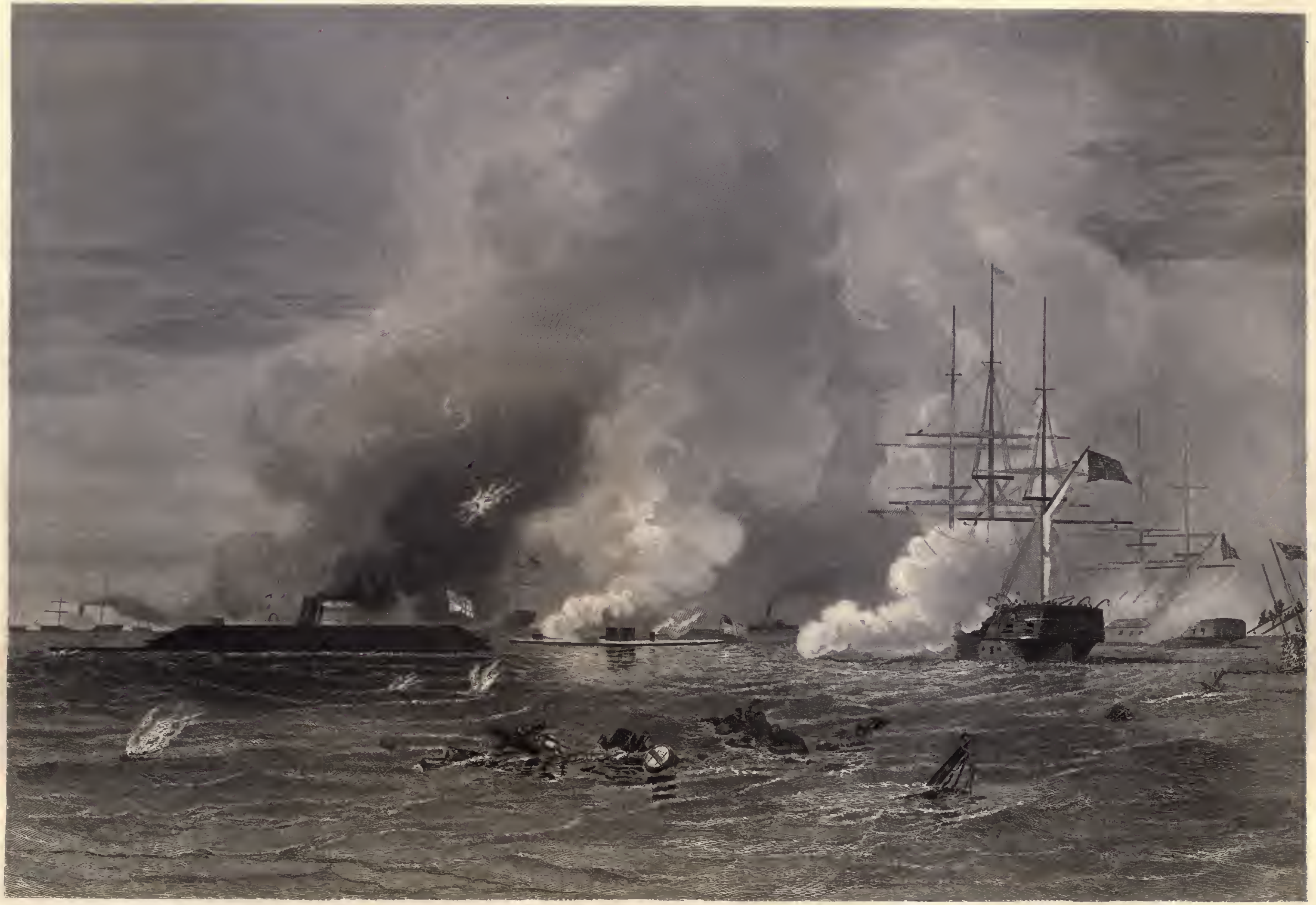
The Merrimac, notwithstanding the security of her iron armor, had to report some losses. Two were killed. Captain Buchanan and Lieutenant Minor and six others were wounded. Two of the guns, says Captain Catesby Ap R. Jones, the successor to the command after the fall of Captain Buchanan, "had the muzzles shot off; the prow was twisted, and armor somewhat damaged; the anchor and all flagstaffs shot away, and smoke-stack and steam-pipe were riddled." Captain Buchanan, it was said, was wounded by a rifle shot from the Cumberland, the ball going through his thigh. The Patrick Henry was disabled by a shot passing through one of her boilers. There were a number killed and wounded on board.

Thus the night closed on this eventful Saturday. Of the proud ships which had lifted their spars to heaven in the morning, the glory and defence of the nation, confident in their mighty armament and the valiant bands eager to wield their strength, what was now the condition? The Cumberland was sunk in the waters with naught but the extremity of her top-mast visible, the pennant yet flying, keeping honorable though melancholy guard over her hundred fallen heroes. Near at hand, on the shore, her gallant defenders slaughtered, her decks spoiled, her men carried away captives, the Congress was wrapped in flames, her blazing spars a welcome spectacle to friend and foe; the one consoled that she could suffer no further dishonor, the other barbarously rejoicing in this cruel blow inflicted upon their country. The Minnesota, helplessly imbedded in the sand, waited the morrow's further work of destruction. No little anxiety was felt as to her fate. The precaution was even taken of removing a large sum of money on board to the fort. Her surviving comrades, unable to render further assistance, had retired sorrowfully in the distance. Nothing seemed secure in the presence of this fell devouring monster, whose ill-shapen form defied the consummate structures of naval strength and beauty. It was an inglorious fate for the gallant American Navy, thus to be overcome without valor in the waters of Hampton Roads, within sight of Fortress Monroe, whence so often the old Commodores had sailed and carried the old flag forth to victory.

In the midst of these depressing accidents, whilst men "bitterly thought of the morrow," there suddenly appears a new-comer on the scene in the iron-plated gunboat Monitor, which came in from the sea in the evening, and anchored at ten o'clock off the fort. Her arrival was not altogether unexpected. She was known to be on her way from New York, and her presence during the scenes of the afternoon had been most eagerly longed for. This vessel was in every way a novelty. Her general appearance was not inaptly described by the Norfolk rebels, when they became acquainted with her the next day, as "a Yankee cheese-box set on a raft," there being in fact little visible of her but a flat iron deck on the surface of the water, surmounted by a low, round tower, pilot-box, and smoke-pipe. But her scientific peculiarities are worthy of a more particular statement. "Externally," says one of the descriptions printed in a newspaper of the day, "she presents to the fire of the enemy's guns a hull rising but about eighteen inches above the water, and a sort of Martello tower, twenty feet in diameter and ten feet high. The smoke-stack during action is lowered into the hold, it being made with telescopic slides. The hull is sharp at both ends, the bow projecting and coming to a point at an angle of eighty degrees to the vertical line. It is flat-bottomed, six and a half feet in depth, one hundred and twenty-four feet long, thirty-four feet wide at the top, and is built of light three-eighth-inch iron. Another or upper hull rests on this, with perpendicular sides and sharp ends, five feet high, forty feet four inches wide, one hundred and seventy-four feet long, extending over the sides of the lower hull three feet seven inches, and over each end twenty-five feet, thus serving as a protection to the propeller, rudder, and anchor. The sides of the upper hull are composed of an inner guard of iron, a wall of white oak thirty inches thick, covered with iron armor six inches thick. When in readiness for action, the lower hull is totally immersed, and the upper one is sunk three feet six inches, leaving only eighteen inches above water. The interior is open to the bottom, like a sloop; the deck, which is bomb-proof, coming flush with the top of the upper hull. No railing or bulwark of any kind appears above the deck, and the only things exposed are the turret or citadel, the wheel-house, and the box crowning the smoke-stack. The inclination of the lower hull is such that a ball to strike it in any part must pass through at least twenty-five feet of water, and then strike an inclined iron surface at an angle of about ten degrees. In the event of the enemy boarding the battery they can do no harm, as the only entrance is at the top of the turret or citadel, which can not easily be scaled, and even then only one man at a time can descend into the hull. This turret is a revolving, bomb-proof fort, and mounts two 11-inch guns. It is protected by eight thicknesses of inch iron, overlapping so that at no one spot is there more than one inch thickness of joint. A shell-proof flat roof, of perforated plate iron, placed on forged beams, inserted six inches down the cylinder, covers the top. The sliding-hatch in this cover is perforated, to give light, and for musketry-fire in case the battery is boarded. A spur-wheel, six and one-half inches in diameter, moved by a double-cylinder engine, turns the turret, guns and all, a rod connected with the running-gear of the engine enabling the gunner to control the aim. The guns move in forged-iron slides across the turret, the carriages being made to fit them accurately."

The time had now come when these various ingenious contrivances were to be put to the test. It was emphatically the trial-trip of the Monitor—first, on the ocean, where the excellence of her engines and her good sailing qualities were successfully demonstrated, and, now, in action, where they remained to be proved. It was one of the stipulations of the contract with the Government, that she was not to be accepted till after successful trial of her powers before the heaviest guns of the enemy, and at the shortest range. The enterprising citizens who furnished the capital for her construction and the eminent engineer who planned the work were not to wait long for the expected opportunity. As the vessel approached Hampton Roads in the afternoon, heavy firing was heard by her officers in the distance, then the flash of bursting shell became visible, and as night drew on the illumination of the burning frigate lit up her pathway. It was evident that the Merrimac had been busy in her work of destruction. Soon as the Monitor reached the station she was met with intelligence of the day's events, and her commander, Captain Worden, reported to the flag-ship for orders. He was directed by Captain Marston to lay alongside the Minnesota, for her protection, and thither accordingly the Monitor proceeded, reaching her position at two o'clock in the morning, when, in the expressive language of Captain Van Brunt, "all on board felt that we had a friend that would stand by us in our hour of trial."

The ensuing incidents of that memorable Sunday forenoon—another fair day greeting the pitiless work—can not be



NAVAL CONFLICT IN HAMPTON ROADS—ACTION BETWEEN THE MONITOR & MERRIMAC.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers

better related than in the simple, authentic narrative of the officer whom we have just cited. Certainly, as an interested observer of the proceedings, no one could have better claims to attention than the commander of the beleaguered Minnesota, while he recounts those anxious hours of the fight, when the lives of his crew and the existence of his noble ship hung upon the issue. "At six o'clock," says he, "the enemy again appeared, coming down from Craney Island, and I beat to quarters, but they ran past my ship and were heading for Fortress Monroe, and the retreat was beaten, to allow my men to get something to eat. The Merrimac ran down near the Rip-Raps, and then turned into the channel, through which I had come. Again all hands were called to quarters, and opened upon her with my stern guns and made signal to the Monitor to attack the enemy. She immediately ran down in my wake, right within the range of the Merrimac, completely covering my ship as far as was possible with her diminutive dimensions, and, much to my astonishment, laid herself right alongside of the Merrimac, and the contrast was that of a pigmy to a giant. Gun after gun was fired by the Monitor, which was returned with whole broadsides from the rebels, with no more effect apparently than so many pebble-stones thrown by a child. After a while they commenced manuvering, and we could see the little battery point her bow for the rebels, with the intention, as I thought, of sending a shot through her bow porthole, then she would shoot by her and rake her through her stern. In the meantime the rebels were pouring broadside after broadside, but almost all her shot flew over the little submerged propeller, and when they struck the bomb-proof tower the shot glanced off without producing any effect, clearly establishing the fact that wooden vessels can not contend successfully with iron-clad ones, for never before was anything like it dreamed of by the greatest enthusiast in maritime warfare. The Merrimac, finding that she could make nothing of the Monitor, turned her attention once more to me in the morning. She had put one 11-inch shot under my counter, near the water-line, and now on her second approach I opened upon her with all my broadside guns and 10-inch pivot—a broadside which would have blown out of water any timber-built ship in the world. She returned my fire with her rifled bow-gun with a shell, which passed through the chief engineer's stateroom, through the engineer's messroom amidships, and burst in the boatswain's room, tearing four rooms all into one, in its passage exploding two charges of powder, which set the ship on fire, but it was promptly extinguished by a party headed by my first lieutenant. Her second went through the boiler of the tugboat Dragon, exploding it and causing some consternation on board my ship for the moment, until the matter was explained. This time I had concentrated upon her an incessant fire from my gun-deck, spar-deck, and forecastle pivot-guns, and was informed by my marine officer, who was stationed on the poop, that at least fifty solid shot struck her on her slanting side without producing any apparent effect. By the time she had fired her third shell, the little Monitor had come down upon her, placing herself between us, and compelled her to change her position, in doing which she grounded, and again I poured into her all the guns which could be brought to bear upon her. As soon as she got off she stood down the bay, the little battery chasing her with all speed, when suddenly the Merrimac turned around and ran full speed into her antagonist. For a moment I was anxious, but instantly I saw a shot plunge into the iron roof of the Merrimac, which surely must have damaged her, for some time after the rebels concentrated their whole battery upon the tower and pilot-house of the Monitor, and soon after the latter stood down for Fortress Monroe, and we thought it probable she had exhausted her supply of ammunition or sustained some injury. Soon after, the Merrimac and the two other steamers headed for my ship, and I then felt to the fullest extent my condition. I was hard and immovably aground, and they could take position under my stern and rake me. I had expended most of my solid shot, and my ship was badly crippled, and my officers and men were worn out with fatigue; but, even in this extreme dilemma, I determined never to give up the ship to the rebels, and, after consulting my officers, I ordered every preparation to be made to destroy the ship after all hope was gone to save her. On ascending the poop-deck, I observed that the enemy's vessels had changed their course, and were heading for Craney Island; then I determined to lighten the ship by throwing overboard my 8-inch guns, hoisting out provisions, starting water, etc. At two o'clock P. M. I proceeded to make another attempt to save the ship by the use of a number of powerful tugs and the steamer S. R. Spaulding—kindly sent to my assistance by Captain Talmadge, Quartermaster at Fortress Monroe—and succeeded in dragging her half a mile distant, and then she was again immovable, the tide having fallen. At two o'clock this morning, I succeeded in getting the ship once more afloat, and am now at anchor opposite Fortress Monroe."

To this interesting narrative we may add a spirited letter, giving an account of what was going on within the Monitor, written by Chief Engineer Alvan C. Stimers, of the United States service, who was on board, in the capacity of Government inspector. It was addressed to the inventor, Mr. Ericsson, and was read by him, with comments, before the Chamber of Commerce in New York, a few days after the action. It is dated "Iron-Clad Monitor, Hampton Roads, March 9, 1862," and thus reads:—

"MY DEAR SIR: After a stormy passage, which proved us to be the finest sea-boat I was ever in, we fought the Merrimac for more than three hours this forenoon, and sent her back to Norfolk in a sinking condition. Iron-clad against iron-clad. We manuvered about the bay here and went at each other with mutual fierceness. I consider that both ships were well fought. We were struck twenty-two times: pilot-house twice, turret nine times, side armor eight times, deck three times. The only vulnerable point was the pilot-house. One of your great logs (nine by twelve inches thick) is broken in two. The shot struck just outside of where the captain had his eye, and it has disabled him by destroying his left eye and temporarily blinding the other. The log is not quite in two, but is broken and pressed inward one and a half inches. She tried to run us down and sink us, as she did the Cumberland yesterday, but she got the worst of it. Her bow passed over our deck, and our sharp upper-edged side cut through the light iron shoe upon her stem and well into her oak. She will not try that again. She gave us a tremendous thump, but did not injure us in the least. We are just able to find the point of contact.

"The turret is a splendid structure. I don't think much of the shield; but the pendulums are fine things, though I can not tell you how they would stand the shot, as they were not hit. You were very correct in your estimate of the effect of shot upon the man inside of the turret when it was struck near him. Three men were knocked down, of whom I was one; the other two had to be carried below, but I was not disabled at all, and the others recovered before the battle was over. Captain Worden stationed himself at the pilot-house, Greene fired the guns, and I turned the turret until the Captain was disabled and was relieved by Greene, when I managed the turret myself, Master Stodden having been one of the two stunned men.

"Captain Ericsson, I congratulate you

upon your great success. Thousands have this day blessed you. I have heard whole crews cheer you. Every man feels that you have saved this place to the nation by furnishing us with the means to whip an iron-clad frigate, that was, until our arrival, having it all her own way with our most powerful vessels."

In explanation of one or two points of the letter, Mr. Ericsson stated that the "log" alluded to was of wrought iron of the best material. The "shield" spoken of was an extra thickness of two inches on the fighting side of the tower. Of the effect of the concussion in knocking the men down within, he remarked, "Before the Monitor left, I charged the officer particularly to tell the men not to be frightened. I told him to tell the men, Let every man go down on his knees, and don't be alarmed, when the rebel shot strikes you, because it wont hurt you. They all put the question to him, 'Wont the shot go through?' 'No,' says he; 'it will stay out.' 'Then we don't care,' they said. But for this precaution there would have been great consternation when the turret was struck. You may estimate the shock, when a shot of two hundred pounds' weight, moving at the rate of two thousand feet in a second, strikes within a foot of a man's head." In regard to "turning the turret," he made this explanation: "On one side of the turret there is a telescope, or reflector, the image being bent by a prism. The sailing-master, having nothing to do, was to turn the turret. He not only looked through the telescope, but, by means of a small wheel, turned the turret exactly where he liked. He did that to admiration, pointing it exactly on the enemy. As the Monitor went round, the turret kept turning, (it no doubt astonished Captain Buchanan,) so that, wherever the Monitor was, in whatever position it was placed, the two bull-dogs kept looking at him all the time." Mr. Ericsson further remarked that, if the Monitor had used the wrought-iron shot with which she was provided—they were forged in square blocks and afterward turned by a lathe, each ball weighing one hundred and eighty-four pounds, and were not employed by direction of Captain Dahlgren, in consequence of his guns not having been tested for the purpose—the armor of the Merrimac would have proved no defence against them. He confidently predicted that in another encounter between the two vessels the Merrimac would be sunk.*

Happily the statement made with respect to Captain Worden's loss of sight proved to be incorrect. That officer, though stunned by the concussion and blinded by some loosened cement, in a short time recovered from the injury. On his first rallying from his insensibility, he asked if the Minnesota was safe, and being informed that he had not only preserved that ship, but driven off the Merrimac, he replied, "I don't care then what becomes of me." He was taken to Washington, where he was visited by the President who was moved to tears at the sight of this suffering defender of the nation.

Lieutenant Worden, a native and citizen of New York, entered the navy as a midshipman in 1834. At the breaking out of the rebellion, it will be remembered, he was sent as a bearer of dispatches to Captain Adams of the Sabine in reference to the reinforcement of Fort Pickens, and was arrested on his return and held as a prisoner for some months until his exchange. His presence of mind and energy peculiarly fitted him for the novel and responsible position of commander of the Monitor. If he were a trebly brave man, as the poet tells us, who first trusted himself in a frail bark to the winds and waves of the Adriatic, something, certainly, of confidence was required in a crew experimenting in the midst of wintry storms on the Atlantic or facing the enemy in a stifling submerged iron case, from which the only exit was by a narrow aperture through a turret.

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* Report of a special meeting of the New York Chamber of Commerce.—*Tribune, March* 13, 1862.

Lieutenant Worden was succeeded in the command of the Monitor, on the 13th, by Lieutenant W. M. Jeffers, Lieutenant Selfridge from the Cumberland having performed this duty in the interval. This officer had been recently in charge of the gunboat Underwriter at the taking of Roanoke Island and the engagement at Elizabeth City, and had distinguished himself by his gallantry and seamanship. He was appointed by Commodore Goldsborough, the commander of the department, with whom he had just arrived at Fortress Monroe from the squadron of gunboats in the waters of North Carolina. His intimate acquaintance with all relating to ordnance and gunnery, it was thought, particularly qualified him for the position.

We may turn a moment from the invention to the inventor himself. The story of his life is full of interest. It is one of those demonstrations of the force of genius which impels its possessor, through a persevering career of toil, to struggle with reluctant nature till he has forced from her, for some great end of usefulness to the world, the secret of her mighty energies. Born in 1803, in the province of Vermeland, in the iron-producing mountain region of Sweden, the son of a mining proprietor, John Ericsson was familiar from his cradle with the elementary processes and elaborate machinery connected with the first working of the material, of which he was to become, in after years, so skillful an artificer. He exhibited a rare mechanical talent even in his boyhood. At the early age of ten, he planned and modelled with his own hands a miniature saw-mill, and constructed tools of his own invention to put in shape new designs of his own contrivance. This precocity came to the hearing of the eminent Count Platen, who made the acquaintance of the youth, inspected his drawings, and pronounced these memorable words of encouragement, "Continue as you have commenced, and you will one day produce something extraordinary." An appointment to a cadetship in the corps of engineers, with a rigorous training in mathematics, followed, and then at the age of twelve a responsible position as surveyor, or leveller, on the works then in progress of Count Platen's favorite enterprise, the Grand Ship Canal, connecting the North Sea with the Baltic. In this capacity, we are told, while he was not tall enough to look through the levelling instruments, but was obliged to mount a stool carried by an attendant for the purpose, he superintended the labors of six hundred men. At seventeen, much to the disappointment of his patron, the Count, he left these mechanical duties for the army, which he entered as ensign. He was soon, by the aid of his scientific skill, raised to a lieutenancy, a military map, which he had produced, deciding the point in his favor. We then find him engaged, under orders of the government, as a surveyor of a large district of northern Sweden; while the time at his disposal in the intervals of this active duty was employed in laboriously illustrating an extensive work on canals, for which he drew the plans, and constructed a machine for engraving them.

In the midst of these engagements, he struck upon a theory of producing a motive power by the condensation of flame, which he illustrated in an experiment, the success of which led to his visiting England in the spring of 1826 with the intention of carrying it into effect on a larger scale. But there proved to be practical difficulties in the way, and he was compelled after various trials and considerable expenditure to relinquish his design. Ericsson, however, was not long to be without a triumph on his new theatre of exertion. In 1829, he planned a steam-boiler on the principle of artificial draft, which he had the satisfaction of testing with remarkable success in a brilliant prize exhibition on the small portion of the track then laid of the Liverpool and Manchester railway. Up to that time the highest rate expected from the locomotive engine was ten miles. Ericsson, assisted by John Braithwaite a London mechanician, with whom he had become associated in the enterprise, guided his engine, which he named the Novelty, at a rate of more than fifty miles an hour. At this demonstration the shares of the company on the instant rose ten per cent. Unhappily for our mechanician, another mode of producing the draft was speedily brought out, which superseded his design, and he derived no pecuniary benefit from his invention. He was, however, profitably employed in various other mechanical contrivances, particularly in the construction of steam fire-engines, which he introduced in London and at Berlin with eminent success.

It was at this time that he worked out the plan of the propeller to be applied to steam navigation, proving the value of his theory by a successful experiment on the Thames. He then brought the invention to the notice of the British Government, with the hope of effecting its introduction into the naval service, and succeeded so far as to secure the presence of Sir Charles Adam, the senior lord of the Admiralty, Sir William Simonds chief constructor of the British navy, Sir Edward Parry, Captain Beaufort, and other scientific notables, at a trial on the river. These eminent personages accompanied the propeller in a barge, witnessed its excellent operation, and rejected the improvement, preferring the old paddle-wheels. His Majesty's chief constructor, Sir William, it seems, was of the opinion that, "even if the propeller had the power of propelling a vessel, it would be found altogether useless in practice, because the power being applied in the stern, it would be absolutely impossible to make the vessel steer." While these officials were thus insensible to the demonstration before their very eyes, the inventor found more appreciative observers in two citizens of the United States, who entered into his schemes with the warmest interest. One of these was Mr. Francis B. Ogden of New Jersey, himself an experimenter in steam navigation, and the other Captain Robert F. Stockton of the navy, who saw at once the importance of the application. So heartily did the latter enter into the matter, ordering two iron boats for the Delaware, and promising his aid in bringing the invention before the Government at Washington, that Mr. Ericsson was induced to leave England for the United States. He came to this country in 1839, and by the exertions of Captain Stockton was employed by the government in the construction of the propeller Princeton. Various improvements were introduced by him in this vessel in the direct-acting engine, in placing the machinery below the water line, in the sliding telescope chimneys, and in the management of her heavy ordnance. After this work was completed, Mr. Ericsson devoted himself to the completion of the Caloric or Atmospheric Engine, which he had projected in England where the plan met with favor from the distinguished chemists Faraday and Ure. In 1852, he had so far perfected the invention as to introduce it in the construction of the steamer Ericsson. There was some disappointment as to the speed expected from this vessel, but in other points she was much admired. The constructor then applied his invention successfully on a smaller scale, in engines for printing, hoisting, and other working of machinery. When the war brought all sorts of mechanical contrivances for the furtherance of military operations into requisition, it was not to be supposed that the genius of so active an inventor would remain idle. He accordingly applied himself to the necessities of the day, and the perfect experiment of the Monitor, wrought out and completed with his accustomed rapidity—the vessel was launched at Greenpoint, Long Island, one hundred and one days after signing the contract—was the triumphant first fruits of his labors.

The name of this new vessel, it was observed, was somewhat peculiar, being quite distinct from the usual sounding appellations given to this species of destructive craft, which are taken generally from natural objects, a popular hero or from some vindictive or patriotic association. The Monitor seemed quite out of the family of the Scorpions, Furies, Tuscaroras, General Jacksons, and the rest of this valiant brood of gunboats. On the contrary, its plain didactic designation seemed to savor more of the lineage of a New England school book than of the fiery race of sea warriors. In fact, the name was given with something of this very design, as an instructive lesson to the world in the art of naval construction. This appeared very clearly, when, in answer to enquiries on the subject, a letter was published in the newspapers, which, nearly two months before, on the 20th of January, Mr. Ericsson had addressed on this topic to Mr. Gustavus V. Fox, the assistant secretary of the navy. It read as follows: "Sir: In accordance with your request, I now submit for your approbation a name for the floating battery at Greenpoint. The impregnable and aggressive character of this structure will admonish the leaders of the southern rebellion that the batteries on the banks of their rivers will no longer present barriers to the entrance of the Union forces. The iron-clad intruder will thus prove a secure monitor to those leaders. But there are other leaders who will also be startled and admonished by the booming of the guns from the impregnable iron turret. Downing street will hardly view with indifference this last Yankee notion—this monitor. To the Lords of the Admiralty the new craft will be a monitor, suggesting doubts as to the propriety of completing those four steel-clad ships at three and a half millions apiece.* On these and many similar grounds, I propose to name the new battery Monitor."

Fortunately, the success of the extraordinary machine was early demonstrated, for had the experiment lagged or been in any way defeated the venturesome boast and challenge to the Old World might have returned to plague the inventor, to whom it would have been a ceaseless mortification to be haunted by this grim iron monitor pointing to his miscalculations. The man of science, however, rested his pretensions on an unerring demonstration. It was not a creation of taste or fancy upon which he was vaingloriously anticipating the critical judgment of the public, but an irresistible argument of mechanical forces, obdurate and invincible. He might therefore, as an interpreter of the great powers of nature, indulge in some confidence in the result of his workmanship.

The success of the Merrimac in her first day's adventure was hailed with enthusiasm throughout the South, where projects of iron-plated defences, as we have seen in Charleston harbor, in the attack on Sumter, and in Hollin's "turtle" on the Mississippi, had from the beginning been in favor. "The iron-clad steamer Virginia," calculated the *Charleston Mercury*, "cost $185,000 to fit her up, and in one day destroyed over 1,100,000 worth of Yankee property." This was an economical method of estimating the glory of a victory. By the side of these figures was an extract from a private letter from Mr. John L. Porter, the naval constructor of the Virginia, which shows that the career of inventors is ever the same; exposed to doubts and shrugs and misgivings, till success crowns their work, and sets the croakers to clapping their hands. "I received," says he,

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* The Agincourt, Minotaur, Northumberland, and other costly iron vessels were then in process of construction in England.

"but little encouragement from any one while the Virginia was progressing. Hundreds—I may say thousands—asserted she would never float. Some said she would turn bottom-side up; others said the crew would suffocate; but the most wise said the concussion and report from the guns would deafen the men. Some said she would not steer; and public opinion generally about here said she would never come out of the dock. You have no idea what I have suffered in mind since I commenced her; but I knew what I was about, and persevered. Some of her inboard arrangements are of the most intricate character, and have caused me many sleepless nights in making them; but all have turned out right, and thanks are due to a kind Providence, whose blessings on my efforts I have many times invoked."*

As an experiment in the science of naval warfare, the encounter between the two iron-clad vessels was, at the time, of peculiar interest. England and France were at the very moment constructing iron-plated ships of war of vast size, and devising extraordinary batteries of a similar character for coast defence. The British Parliament was debating the subject, and inspectors, engineers, and lords of the Admiralty, were busy in testing various formidable contrivances, none of which, in economy of construction, lightness of draft, and general efficiency, appeared comparable to the unheralded work of Mr. Ericsson.

At home, attention was called anew to the subject of iron-plated vessels, several of which, already in hand, were approaching completion under government contract, and particularly to the forwarding of the Stevens battery at New York. This work, the most gigantic of its class, was first suggested to the government by Robert L. and Edwin A. Stevens in 1841, and was commenced at Hoboken, opposite the city of New York, in 1854. About three quarters of a million of dollars, of which half a million was furnished by the government, the rest by the projectors, were spent on her construction in about twenty months, when the work was interrupted. An equal sum, it was calculated, would secure her completion. Her plan, combining on a vast scale the various conditions now urged as the most important in the construction of iron-plated vessels, certainly entitled the eminent mechanicians, her projectors, to credit for priority in skill and invention in devices of this nature.

All this argued an entire revolution in naval architecture of a character which would have struck the soul of a Decatur or Bainbridge with dismay. In place of the lofty tapering spars, the white wings of canvas, and the beautifully modelled hull, the attributes of the gallant frigate of the olden time, on whose deck her commander seemed to be in league with the noblest powers of nature, the free breath of the winds and the ceaseless play of waters, the proud eminence of the quarter-deck was degraded to the inglorious confinement of some well-riveted iron box or tube, half submerged, forging its way through the waters by a slavish mechanical power, with but little assistance from or dependence upon the versatile will or quick inspiring intellect of man. In the steam frigate the captain or commodore shared his authority with the engineer, but he had still his deck to walk upon and his sailors to command. Here he was to be "cabined, cribbed, confined" in a gloomy apartment, fit only for a stoker, to be begrimed with smoke, and, in time of action, stunned with the shock of his iron ramparts. How would Nelson, who went into an engagement blazing with stars and orders, disdaining protection from the fiery hail around him, chafe and fret at his narrow quarters in a segment of a chimney—from which, if his physical powers were equal to the pressure of such an atmosphere, and he did not swoon on the instant, he might indeed conquer, but the victory would be a triumph, not so much of mind as of matter: of the iron shield rather than the iron will.

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* *Charleston Mercury*, March 22, 1862.

But everything, however unpleasant, has its compensations. If war is thus to lose something of its beauty and attractiveness, the end for which wars are undertaken may be more speedily and surely attained by agents so destructive, unless both parties being equally well provided, like the mailed knights of the middle ages, they batter one another with no ill effect beyond a few dints on the armor. It might be thrown out, indeed, as a curious subject of speculation, whether these enormous engines of solid iron and these vast rifled diameters discharging hundred-weights of the wrought metal in a single ball, will really lead to the suppression of war. May they not rather, while the passions of men furnish the fuel, tend only to promote a rivalry in the mechanical arts; nation striving against nation to produce bulwarks and artillery of the greatest strength and size. The most powerful empire will then be that which has the largest forges and the most cunning artificers. One result, however, certainly will follow. Greater security will be given to home defences. Forts may be strengthened, and harbors guarded beyond all precedent; for while there must be an early limit to the weight of these iron structures on the ocean, checking the fierceness of attack, the opportunity for resistance will be much greater where there will be little necessity for movement. Batteries of the largest size may rest in quiet havens, and others of the smallest build may ply about their waters, powerful for purposes of protection, when neither could survive a passage on the broad ocean. In this way the dangers of invasion may be lessened, and wars be checked.

In another light, the cost of these gigantic engines gives to the nation, able to procure or produce them, an immense superiority over less wealthy or less scientific countries. As invention advances they will become more expensive, and the disparity between first and second class powers will be greater. A great advantage also will be gained by the nation first in the field with these destructive agents. Political problems hitherto difficult of solution may be solved by earlier possession of the iron-mailed sea warriors. It is hardly too much to say that any power who shall be permitted to enjoy any considerable superiority in the new weapon, whose triumphs are foreshadowed in the exploit of the Monitor, will be, for the time, mistress of the world.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE BATTLE OF NEWBERN, N. C., MARCH 14, 1862.

ROANOKE ISLAND and the region of North Carolina resting upon Albemarle Sound, as we have seen, were taken possession of by the army of General Burnside and the fleet of Commodore Goldsborough, early in February, 1862. These valuable points commanding direct communication with Norfolk having been thus secured, the Union forces were left free to push their conquests below in the important portion of the State, presenting a ready means of approach by the waters of Pamlico Sound and its tributary rivers. Washington, on Pamlico river, and Newbern, on the Neuse river, were the chief depots in this quarter of the staple productions—the lumber, tar, turpentine, and naval stores of the country. Newbern, in its size and position, was one of the chief cities in the State. Though numbering, according to the Census of 1860, but 5,432 inhabitants, its population exceeded that of the capital, Raleigh, by several hundreds, and was second only to the seaport Wilmington. In social consequence, having formerly been the seat of government, its possession was of no little influence in the State. It was, moreover, by the Atlantic and North Carolina railroad, immediately connected with Beaufort on the ocean forty miles below, and with Goldsboro' sixty miles in the interior, the chief station on the Wilmington and Weldon railway. Situated at the junction of two rivers, the Trent and the Neuse, once gained, it might, without difficulty, be held by gunboats. In every way, as a healthy and convenient location for the troops, for its control of the trade of a large district, and as a base of military operations for a descent upon Beaufort, or for further advances inland, its possession would be of the utmost value. Newbern, in fact, was the next desirable prize for the Union army in North Carolina.

The first week in March saw the preparations in progress for a reëmbarkation of the troops from the headquarters of General Burnside at Roanoke Island. The immediate destination of the gunboats and transports was Hatteras Inlet. The force intended for the expedition was assembled at that place on the 11th, and the following morning was set in motion in the direction of Newbern, the new point of attack. The day was unusually calm and pleasant, and its favorable influences were more keenly appreciated in contrast with the severe storm of hail and rain, a not unusual visitor of the locality, which had raged but a day or two before. The water, indeed, in this storm-haunted region of Hatteras, was so smooth, and the light north-westerly breeze so gentle, that the sailing vessels were entirely dependent for their advance on the steam transports which took them in tow.

The military force of the expedition, in all about 8,000, was composed of the three brigades of Generals Foster, Parke, and Reno—the regiments of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts soldiers, who had encountered the hardships at Hatteras, and fought at Roanoke. The fleet of gunboats, six in number, in the absence of Commodore Goldsborough, whom the bold and destructive raid of the Merrimac had recalled to the waters of the Chesapeake, was commanded by flag-officer S. C. Rowan, the next in rank.

Early in the morning, previously to starting, the following order from General Burnside was read to the various regiments: "The General commanding takes pleasure in announcing that the Army of the Potomac, under General McClellan, is now advancing upon Richmond, and was, at the latest dates, occupying Centreville, the enemy having evacuated all the advanced fortifications before Manassas, and those on the Potomac. He again calls upon his command for an important movement, which will greatly demoralize the enemy, and contribute much to the success of our brothers of the Potomac Army. He has full confidence in the ability of this force to produce the desired result." To coöperate with the main army, to promote the interests of his friend, the commander-in-chief, to advance the cause of the Union, were, far beyond any thoughts of himself, the paramount motives of General Burnside at this crisis. A more self-denying order was probably never issued on the eve of so important an engagement. The General's thoughts were of others, not of himself.

The distance from Hatteras across the Sound, some fifty miles, was traversed during the day without difficulty, and at evening the vessels of the expedition were anchored off the mouth of Slocum's

Creek, a tributary of the Neuse, about eighteen miles from Newbern. This was the spot which General Burnside had selected for the landing of the troops. On the way to the river, the Picket, one of the gunboats, had fallen in with two boats laden with grain. They were chased ashore, captured, and the crews, a planter and his sons, carried to General Burnside, who received them with great kindness, purchasing some meal of the owner, and presenting him beside with that much sought for luxury, under the blockade, a supply of coffee. Another boat was picked up containing a party of young colored people, who had come out, as they said, "to look after their friends."

The next morning, Thursday, the 13th, all was ready for the disembarkation of the troops. "At daylight," says a correspondent, who has furnished the public with an animated account of the scenes which followed, "the rain was falling heavily, and it seemed as if we were to have every disadvantage of weather added to the obstacles which lay in the path of our advance on the city. By eight o'clock, however, patches of blue sky were to be seen here and there, and in a little time the rain ceased. The signal to prepare for landing hoisted on each of the brigade flag-boats was greeted with cheers throughout the fleet, and it was not long before the different regiments were in the launches, ready for the signal to land. At nine o'clock the Patuxent, laden with troops, headed for the mouth of Slocum's Creek, followed by the Alert with fourteen boats in tow, the Union with the 4th Rhode Island aboard, the Pilot Boy with twelve launches, Levy with thirteen, and the Alice Price, General Burnside's flag-boat. The Price, steaming past the others, led the advance, and, running to within a few yards of the shore, stopped and signaled the Pilot Boy to follow in her wake. From the transport fleet to shore the boats sailed in a long, graceful sweep, with flags flying, bands playing, and 5,000 bayonets flashing in the sunshine, which now streamed over the fleet.

"It was almost ten o'clock when the Alice Price stopped near the shore. Her paddles had hardly ceased their revolutions when a small boat, containing Sergeant Poppe and three men of Captain Wright's company of the 51st New York, put off from her side, and carried the stars and stripes to land. When the color-sergeant planted his colors, and the dear flag was given to the breeze, one long, loud shout went up from the flotilla and fleet. The signal to cast off tows was now given, and the swarm of boats made the best of their way to the beach; but the water shoaled so gradually to the westward of the creek that they grounded while yet sixty yards away. In a moment the soldiers were over the gunwales, and the water was swarming with them, as they waded to land carrying their pieces and ammunition under their arms to keep them dry. The crowd was so great that some boats containing portions of the 8th Connecticut and one of the Massachusetts regiments headed for the opposite bank of the creek, and the men were all ashore before the error was seen and an order could be sent them to land with the others. In the boat flotilla there were six navy barges with howitzers, the whole battery being under command of Lieutenant R. S. McCook of the Stars and Stripes, and the guns respectively of J. B. Hammond. Acting Master of the Hetzel; E. C. Gabaudan (Commodore Rowan's clerk) of the Delaware; Lieutenant Tillotson (Union Coast Guard) of the Perry; Lieutenant T. W. B. Hughes (Union Coast Guard) of the St. Lawrence; C. H. Daniels of the Decatur, and Mr. E. P. Meeker (Commodore Goldsborough's secretary) of the Ohio. Each gun was drawn by twelve sailors, assisted, as occasion required, by soldiers who stepped from the ranks and lent a hand with cheerful alacrity. Beside this battery of navy guns, two Wiard rifled

12-pounders were landed from the transports—one from the Cossack, under command of Captain J. W. Bennett, and the other from the schooner Highlander, under Captain E. G. Dayton. The Cossack's gun was worked, in action, by Mr. Stroud, the second officer of the ship, with great gallantry and precision.

"Along the river, by the mouth of the creek, the ground was marshy and miry enough to make the labor of dragging the field-pieces very heavy. Our path led for a little distance through a fringe of woods, in which the Spanish moss was hanging from almost every tree—a sad-colored drapery, but quite appropriate, I thought, for the journey to the spirit-world that many were then treading. I recollect standing beneath a thick canopy of this moss with the gallant young Hammond, who fought so bravely at Roanoke, to watch the men as they labored to get his gun through a bit of mire, and thinking which of these twelve would meet his death before we got to Newbern. Alas! every man of them was killed or wounded. After leaving the woods we came upon a strip of beach, and, after marching a mile through the sand, ankle-deep, struck across a piece of fallow land and came upon the county road. One of the finest sights of the day was the march of the column diagonally across this clearing, the thick-set hedge of bayonets shining like frosted grass in the sunshine, and the long line of blue-clothed men, undulating like a great snake, over the inequalities of the ground. A little way up the road we found an extensive cavalry barracks, some distance back, in a wooded ravine. So great had been the hurry of leaving that the officers had left their breakfast untouched—the men theirs in the mess-tins. Furniture, books, clothing, all the conveniences of camp life, were strewn about the cantonment, and in the stables one solitary little pony was found tied, and appropriated by an aide-de-camp, whose undignified appearance when mounted elicited many a jest and laugh from his friends of the several staffs.

"The rains of the week preceding had brought the country into a sad plight, and our troops marched for five miles through mud and water, such as one would hardly expect to find this side of the heavy clays of Yorkshire. There was no straggling or hanging back, however, for the officers met every loiterer with the order to close up ranks and keep together. The 24th Massachusetts, having the right of the 1st brigade, was, of course, at the head of the column; the 11th Connecticut brought up the rear of the 3d brigade. We had proceeded perhaps five miles when the skirmishers came upon a clearing with a line of breastworks and batteries apparently a mile in extent. The column was immediately halted, and a reconnoissance being made by Captain Williamson, Topographical engineer on General Burnside's staff, it was found deserted. The work must have required the labor of a thousand men for a month, being constructed in the most thorough and scientific manner. A deep and wide moat extended along the front, and an abattis of felled timber had been made on both flanks. No guns had been mounted, the enemy probably thinking the division was to move first on Norfolk, and that no great haste was required in preparing the nice little thing for our reception. A mile further on, a road crossing our line of march ran down to the river. Thinking that the enemy might have a fortification on the beach, with a large supporting body of infantry, a reconnoissance was ordered by General Foster, and Lieutenants Strong, Pendleton, Captain Hudson, and others of his aids, riding down found a large battery, which had been deserted in haste. They waved a white handkerchief as a signal to the gunboats, and a boat put off immediately from the Delaware, and the national flag was hoisted on the parapet.

"All the afternoon it had been raining by showers, the intervals being filled with a continuous drizzle, which alone would have wetted the men to the skin, so that when night was approaching without our having met the enemy, it is not strange that we should have looked with anxiety for the order to halt. General Reno's brigade had been turned off on the railroad at the first point where the county road crossed it, with the view of flanking the enemy while the main body attacked them in front. The two bodies met at another crossing, and here a man coming on horseback from Newbern was arrested, and gave us the information that Manassas was evacuated. The joyful news was passed along the columns from regiment to regiment, and was hailed by such a tempest of cheers as made the welkin ring indeed. Imagine the cheering of a whole army, itself on the march to a battle, on hearing such joyful tidings as these! Whether true or false, the effect of the story was excellent, for when the order "forward" was given, the men sprang into their places with a cheerful alacrity which could hardly have been expected of jaded men. At six o'clock, we had advanced to within a mile of the enemy's line of fortifications, and a halt was ordered. Generals Burnside and Foster and their staffs were riding some distance in advance, even of the skirmishers of the 24th, and I certainly expected that we should all (for I happened to be with the party for an hour or so) be bagged by some marauding squadron of rebel cavalry, who would dash out and take us in the rear. Captain Williamson and Captain Potter and Lieutenant Strong were sent ahead to reconnoitre, and after riding half a mile, came upon some cavalry pickets, by whom they were hailed, and whom they challenged in return. On their reporting to General Burnside, the column was ordered to halt and bivouac for the night on both sides of the road. It was a wet, miserable night, the rain-drops showering down upon us from the trees, and the sodden leaves and woods-mold making anything but a comfortable couch. However, we cut down some yellow-pine trees for fuel, and, by the genial warmth of bivouac fires, were soon smoking pipes and making feeble attempts to forget our weariness and wetness.

"In the morning, at six o'clock, all the Generals were in their saddles, and at seven the column was in motion. The column of General Reno, on the railroad, was the first to move, the 21st Massachusetts, as the right flank regiment, leading the advance. The regiment had not proceeded far, before, on turning a curve in the road, they saw a train of cars, which had brought reinforcements to the enemy, standing on the track. In front of the locomotive, on a platform car, had been a large rifled gun, which was evidently to be placed in position to rake the road. Our men, however, advanced at the double-quick and poured in a volley with such accuracy of aim that the enemy, who had already rolled the gun and caisson off the car, did not stop to unload the carriage, but ran into the intrenchments, and the train was backed toward Newbern, leaving the platform-car standing on the track. The 21st had got within short range before discovering the formidable nature of the enemy's earthworks, but now fell back, and, forming line of battle in the woods, opened fire. The 51st New York was moved to the left and ordered forward to engage a series of redans, the 9th New Jersey occupying the left of the line, and the 51st Pennsylvania held in reserve, in rear of the 9th, a little to the left. Meanwhile General Foster's brigade had advanced up the main road to the clearing, when the 24th Massachusetts was sent into the woods to the right of the road, and opening a heavy fire on the enemy commenced the action of the 1st brigade. The 27th was sent to their left to support them, and, news being received that the enemy were trying to outflank us on the right, the 25th was sent out to resist the movement. The 23d being moved to the front next in line of battle, opened fire upon the enemy, which was replied to by very heavy volleys, and a cannonade from a park of field pieces behind the breastworks. The very first cannon-shot killed Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Merritt of the 23d, the ball passing through his body. As he fell he threw up his arms and said "Oh dear! Oh dear!" General Foster's line of battle was completed by moving the gallant 10th Connecticut to the extreme left, to a position where they had to fight under the most discouraging disadvantages. The ground was very wet, swampy, and cut up into gullies and ravines, which mostly ran toward the enemy, and, of course, while offering no protection from his fire, exposed them on elevations and in valleys. The regiment had shown, at Roanoke, however, the behavior of veterans, and nothing else could have been expected at this time, but that they would stand their ground to the last.

"General Parke's brigade, which had followed the 1st brigade up the main road, was placed in line between the 10th Connecticut and the 21st Massachusetts, the 4th Rhode Island holding the right of line, the 8th Connecticut the next place, the 5th Rhode Island next, and the 11th Connecticut on the left. Our line of battle was now complete, the 24th Massachusetts on the extreme right and the 51st Pennsylvania at the extreme left, and extended more than a mile. The naval battery was in position at our centre, with Captain Bennett's and Captain Dayton's rifles alongside, and were all worked with the greatest gallantry throughout the day. The officers in charge of the pieces, without exception, I believe, displayed perfect coolness, and stood by their guns in some cases when a single man was all the assistance they had to work them. This was the case with Acting-Master Hammond of the Hetzel, and Lieutenant T. W. B. Hughes of the Union Coast Guard, the former losing every man, and the latter all but one. The battle had waged for something less than an hour when the 21st lost one of its noblest officers, in the person of Adjutant Frazer A. Stearns, the young man who bore himself so bravely in the difficult and dangerous charge on the right of the enemy's battery on Roanoke Island. Poor Stearns received a bullet in his right breast and fell dead in his place. He was the son of the President of Amherst College, and possessed the love of his commanding officer and the whole regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, who is in command of the 21st, was affected to tears when relating the circumstances of his untimely death, for he felt almost the love of a father for the young man.

"The fire of the enemy was now telling so severely upon the 21st that Colonel Clark ordered the regiment forward on a double-quick, and at the head of four companies entering the breastworks from the railroad track, in company with General Reno, the colors were taken into a frame house which stood there, and waved from the roof. The men at the nearest guns seeing the movement, abandoned their pieces and fled, and the four companies being formed again in line of battle, charged down the line upon the battery. Colonel Clark mounted the first gun and waved the colors, and had got as far as the second, when two full regiments emerged from a grove of young pines and advanced upon our men, who, seeing that they were likely to be captured or cut to pieces, leaped over the parapet and retired to their position in the woods. At this time Captain J. D. Frazer of Company H was wounded in the right arm, and dropped his sword, but taking it in his left hand, he attempted to escape with his company, fell into the ditch, and was taken prisoner, and dragged inside again over the parapet. A guard of three men was placed over him, his sword was taken, but his revolver being overlooked, he seized the opportunity offered by a charge of the 4th Rhode Island, and by the judicious display of his pistol, captured all three of his guard. On being driven from the battery, Colonel Clark informed Colonel Rodman of the 4th Rhode Island of the state of affairs inside, and that officer, unable to communicate with General Parke in the confusion of the fight, acted upon his own responsibility, after consultation with Lieutenant Lydig, one of the General's aids, and decided upon a charge with the bayonet. As the 4th was one of the most prominent regiments in the action, it will be well to go back a little in our narrative, and trace them up to that point. Their position in the line of battle, as ordered by General Parke, was in front of a battery of five guns, and the rifle-pits or redans which were situated immediately in the rear of and protected the right flank of the main battery of nine guns. Until the charge was decided upon by Colonel Rodman, the regiment had been firing, like the rest of the line, by companies and otherwise. When the command was given to charge, they went at the double-quick directly up to the battery, firing as they ran, and entering at the right flank, between a brick-yard and the end of the parapet. When fairly inside, the Colonel formed the right wing in line of battle, and at their head charged down upon the guns at double-quick, the left wing forming irregularly, and going as they could. With a steady line of cold steel, the Rhode Islanders bore down upon the enemy, and, routing them, captured the whole battery, with its two flags, and planted the stars and stripes upon the parapet. The 8th Connecticut, 5th Rhode Island, and 11th Connecticut, coming up to their support, the rebels fled with precipitation, and left us in undisputed possession.

"General Reno's brigade were still attacking the redans and small battery on the right of the railroad, and the firing was very heavy. The 21st was engaging the battery of five small pieces, the 51st New York the first of the redans, the 9th New Jersey the next two, and the 51st Pennsylvania were still in reserve. Lieutenant-Colonel Robert B. Potter of the 51st New York, when in advance with Captain Hazard's company of skirmishers, was shot through the side and fell, but making light of the wound, he got his servant to put on a bandage, and in a few minutes had returned to his place and was cheering on his men. The regiment was drawn up in a hollow, or ravine, from which they would move up to the top of the eminence, discharge their volleys, and retire to such cover as the inequalities of the ground might furnish. General Reno, becoming impatient at the loss of life which his regiments, and particularly Colonel Ferrero's, was suffering, wished the regiment to advance as soon as possible, so Lieutenant-Colonel Potter took a color over the brow of the hill into another hollow, and from here charged up an acclivity and over brushwood and abattis into the redan. The 51st Pennsylvania, for a long time held in reserve, was ordered up to participate in the decisive charge of the whole brigade upon the line of redans, and passing through the 51st New York, as it was lying on the ground after having exhausted all its ammunition, came under the heaviest fire, and without flinching or wavering moved to its place, and rushed, with the other regiments, upon the defences of the enemy. The movement of Colonel Hartrauft's regiment was excuted in the most deliberate manner, and proved a complete success. The movement of the 3d brigade was supported by a charge of the 4th Rhode Island from the captured main battery upon the works which were being assailed, and the enemy, already demoralized by the breaking of their centre, fell back before the grand charge upon the left and front of their position, and fled in confusion. On our extreme right the brave 24th, and its supporting regiments, had been advancing inch by inch, standing up against the enemy's musketry and cannonade without flinching, and at about the time when the 4th Rhode Island charged in at the right flank, the colors of the 24th were planted on the parapet at the left, and the whole of the 1st brigade poured into the fortification. The whole line of earthworks was now in our hands, and the cheers of our men, from one end of it to the other, broke out with fresh spirit as each new regimental color was unfurled on the parapet."*

The breastwork thus entered by the victorious Union army was a truly formidable barrier—a series of well-planned works extending, in a continuous line, for two miles and a half. It commenced on the river with Fort Thompson, the most powerful of the works erected by the Confederates, mounting thirteen 32-pounder guns, four of which bore directly on the advancing Union lines. From this the breastwork extended for a mile and a quarter to the railway track, whence the defences were prolonged for an equal distance by rifle-pits and detached intrenchments, in the form of curvettes and redans, terminated by a two-gun battery. The breastwork was mounted with two complete field batteries, besides several small pieces of heavy artillery, and manned by about six thousand men.† The capture of these works decided the fate of Newbern, after a sharp contest of four hours, terminating about eleven o'clock in the forenoon. Before following the enemy in their flight, let us glance at the part taken by the squadron in the day's engagement.

From the first moment of landing the troops, the gunboats had been diligently engaged in shelling the woods and protecting the advance of the Union forces. We have seen the important aid rendered by the fleet in Lieutenant McCook's battery of naval howitzers, and the brave men who brought them into action. Commander Rowan was prepared for an equally arduous task on the river, where he had to encounter the forts on the shore, and where, six miles below the town, a formidable barricade of sunken vessels, iron-capped piles or spars planted in the channel, and ingeniously constructed torpedoes, opposed his advance. The forts do not appear to have proved any very serious obstacle. The first one encountered was found abandoned. and even the redoubtable Fort Thompson was deserted at the approach of the combined forces. Even the piles and torpedoes were lightly brushed aside by the advancing fleet, which, following the lead of the Delaware, the flag-ship, escaped with comparatively little injury. When General Foster's brigade, in the afternoon, following in pursuit of the enemy, who fled in confusion after the capture of the breastwork, reached the Trent, before the city, and found the bridges burnt or destroyed, the fleet was at hand at the wharves to supply the means of crossing. Though freely exposed to the fire of the forts, Commander Rowan had not a single casualty to report of the men on duty in the squadron. On his arrival before the city, he found "several points of the city fired by the enemy, where stores had been accumulated. Two small batteries, constructed of cotton bales, and mounting two guns each, were also fired by them. Two small steamers were captured, another having been burnt. A large raft, composed of barrels of pitch and bales of cotton, which had been prepared to send down upon the fleet, was fired, and, floating against the railroad bridge, set it on fire and destroyed it. In addition to the prizes, a quantity of cotton, pitch, tar, a gunboat, and another vessel on the stocks, several schooners afloat, and an immense quantity of arms and munitions of war, fell into our hands."* It was by the exertions of the naval officers, seconded by the efforts of the citizens who had not taken to flight, that the fires, lighted by the retreating soldiers, were checked, and the city saved from destruction. On entering the town, the Union advance found the enemy, though their numbers had been increased by the arrival of reinforcements, had rapidly retreated by the railway in the direction of Goldsboro'. "By this victory," says General Burnside, in his official report, "our combined forces have captured eight batteries, containing forty-six heavy guns, and three batteries of light artillery, of six guns each, making in all sixty-four guns; two steamboats, a number of sailing vessels, wagons, horses, a large quantity of ammunition, commissary, and quartermaster's stores, forage, the entire camp equipage of the rebel troops, a large quantity of resin, turpentine, cotton, etc., and over two hundred prisoners. Our loss, thus far ascertained, will amount to ninety-one killed, and four hundred and sixty-six wounded, many of them mortally. Among these are some of our most gallant officers and men. The rebel loss is severe, but not so great as our own, they being effectually covered by their works. Too much praise cannot be awarded to the officers and men for their untiring exertion and unceasing patience in accomplishing this work. The effecting of the landing, and the approach to within a mile and a half of the enemy's works, on the 13th, I consider as great a victory as the engagement of the 14th. Owing to the difficult nature of the landing, our men were forced to wade ashore waist deep, march through mud to a point twelve miles distant, bivouac on low, marshy ground, in a rain storm, for the night, engage the enemy at daylight in the morning, fighting them for hours, amid a dense fog, that prevented them from seeing the position of the enemy, and finally advancing rapidly over bad roads upon the city. In the midst of all this, not a complaint was heard: the men were only eager to accomplish their work. Every brigade, and, in fact, every regiment, and I can almost say every officer and man of the force landed, was in the engagement. The men are all in good spirits, and, under the circumstances, are in good health. I beg to say to the General commanding that I have under my command a division that can be relied upon in any emergency. * * * I beg to say to the General commanding the army that I have endeavored to carry out the very minute instructions given me by him before leaving Annapolis, and thus far events have been singularly coincident with his anticipations. I only hope that we may in future be able to carry out in detail the remaining plans of the campaign. The only thing I have to regret is the delay caused by the elements."*

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* Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*. Newbern, N. C., March 12–15, 1862.

† General Foster's Report. Newbern, March 20, 1862.

Among "the gallant officers and men" to whom General Burnside thus paid his tribute of admiration and regret, in addition to the fate of Lieutenant-Colonel Merritt, whose "soldier's death" is especially commemorated in the official reports of General Foster and the officer in immediate command of his regiment, Colonel Kurtz, who pronounces him "a gallant officer and a firm friend, and the kindest hearted comrade I ever had," there are recorded Lieutenant J. W. Lawton of the 27th Massachusetts, Captain Charles Tillinghast of the 4th Rhode Island, Adjutant Stearns, already mentioned, and, not least, in this roll of honored names, Chaplain Owen N. Benton, an estimable clergyman, who, following the regiment to which he was attached, the 51st New York, into the field, was mortally wounded before the line of breastworks.

The officer in command of the Confederate forces was General Lawrence O' B. Branch, a native of North Carolina, educated at Princeton, New Jersey, who had represented his State in the recent National Congress. He was in the House when the secession movement began, and, vacating his seat, returned home to raise men for the rebel service, in which he received the appointment of Brigadier-General, and was placed in command of the troops on the southern coast of North Carolina. Eight North Carolina regiments are enumerated in the Southern accounts as engaged in the battle, besides the considerable artillery force. Major Carmichael of the 26th North Carolina regiment was the only field officer killed. Colonel Avery of the 33d, with one hundred and fifty men, surrendered at the breastworks to General Foster. Among the incidents of the engagement reported in the North Carolina newspapers, was that of the defence of a two-gun battery in the immediate neighborhood of the city. "It was manned by the Confederate minstrels, under the command of Charles O. White, manager. This battery fired but twice, and then with but little effect, the enemy being out of range. Three of the minstrels are missing. It is thought they were taken prisoners." Another item records the destruction of the printing materials of the *Newbern Progress*, a daily newspaper of the city. The types and press, however, were not so much damaged as to interpose any serious obstacle to the New England recruits, who speedily commenced its publication anew, substituting, of course, the most loyal opinions in place of its former opposition to the National Government.

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* Official Report of Commander Rowan to Flag-Officer Goldsborough. Off Newbern, N. C., March 16, 1862.

* Report of General Burnside to General L. Thomas, Adjutant-General U. S. A. Newbern, March 16, 1862.

The day after the battle, General Burnside, from his headquarters at Newbern, issued the following order:—"The General commanding congratulates his troops on their brilliant and hard-won victory of the 14th. Their courage, their patience, their endurance of fatigue, exposure, and toil, cannot be too highly praised. After a tedious march, dragging their howitzers by hand through swamps and thickets, after a sleepless night passed in a drenching rain, they met the enemy in his chosen position, found him protected by strong earthworks mounting many heavy guns, and, although in open field themselves, they conquered. With such soldiers advance is victory. The General commanding directs, with peculiar pride, that, as a well-deserved tribute to valor in this second victory of the expedition, each regiment engaged shall inscribe on its banner the memorable name, NEWBERN." By another order, of the same Saturday, General Foster was appointed military governor of the city and suburbs, and was especially required "to direct that the churches be opened at a suitable hour to-morrow, in order that the chaplains of the different regiments may hold divine service in them. The bells will be rung as usual."

A week after the battle, a mixed naval and military force, under Commander Murray of the navy, and Colonel Stevenson of the 24th Massachusetts, was sent up Pamlico river, and after forcing a channel through a carefully prepared obstruction of piles, reached Washington, where they were courteously received by the chief citizens, and with appropriate ceremonies hoisted the "Flag of the Union" on the court-house. Commander Murray on consultation with the authorities in quest of the Hatteras Light property, supposed to be hidden in this region, found "that underlying an apparent acquiescence of the people of the town and neighborhood, in permitting the building of gunboats and the construction of batteries, to repel the approach of the Federal forces, was a deep-rooted affection for the old Union, and not a little animosity for its enemies; the latter element not being diminished by the importation of troops from a distant State."*

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* Commander A. Murray to Commander S. C. Rowan, U. S. Steamer Louisana, Washington, N. C., March 26, 1862.

CHAPTER LX.

EVACUATION OF MANASSAS—BATTLE OF WINCHESTER, MARCH 23, 1862.

THE evacuation of Manassas, the report of which cheered the army of General Burnside in its advance upon Newbern, as recorded in the last chapter, was at length a reality. The enemy, well advised of the progress of military preparations on the Potomac, and prudently estimating the prospects of the Spring campaign—a Union army before them, another fast gathering from Harper's Ferry on their flank, and the probability of a movement by the Chesapeake in their rear—resolved to avoid that decisive battle before Washington, which had been for many anxious months eagerly looked for and demanded by the people of the North. It would appear, moreover, that they were early advised of the plan of General McClellan, to transport his forces by the Chesapeake and make the real attack upon Richmond by the Peninsula. When that officer was asked by a committee of Congress, many months after, what caused the enemy to evacuate Manassas when they did, he replied, that "his impression had always been that they got wind of our intended movement to the lower Chesapeake, and that that was the main cause of their leaving." On whichever supposition, whether of an attack in front or rear, retreat was the policy of the enemy. In the explanation of the movement given at the time in the *Richmond Examiner*, it was a change from offensive to defensive operations. "The Potomac was the proper base for offensive operations against Maryland and Washington city; but as a line of defence for Richmond, or for general resistance, it is the most dangerous that could be held. The line upon which the army under General Joseph Johnston is now falling back is in the nature of the arc of a circle, of which Richmond is the centre."*

General McClellan had under his command a vast and thoroughly well equipped army, commanded by able and experienced officers, and animated by an earnest desire to obliterate by a brilliant victory the ill-omened memories of Bull Run. The army was particularly well supplied with cannon. In the official report of General W. F. Barry, chief of artillery, we have the details of the great and rapid growth of this department of the military service. When General McClellan was called to the command of the Army of the Potomac after the battle of Bull Run, the whole field artillery was comprised in nine imperfectly equipped batteries of 30 guns, 650 men and 400 horses. Seven months afterward, in March, when the whole army took the field, it counted 92 batteries of 520 guns, 12,500 men, and 11,000 horses, fully equipped and in readiness for active service. Of the whole force, 30 batteries were regulars and 62 batteries volunteers.†

In the criticisms which the situation of the Army of the Potomac could not fail to provoke, much was said in censure of General McClellan for not having moved upon the enemy at Manassas the previous November. The weather and roads, it was alleged, were then suitable for an advance, and the relative condition of the armies was as favorable for action as later. General McClellan, however, thought otherwise. His own preparations were not then complete, and the majority of his general officers did not think the army prepared for offensive operations. He then estimated the numbers of the enemy in Eastern Virginia, exclusive of the force at Norfolk, at 150,000, most of them at Manassas. They had, he afterwards said, a greater effective force than he could bring against them. The numbers of the Army of the Potomac, in December, 1861, exclusive of the command of General Dix at Baltimore, appears from official returns at about 185,000 men.*

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* *Richmond Examiner*, March 11, 1862.

† General Barry's Report to A. A. G. General Williams Washington, September 1, 1862.

Towards the end of December the roads became unfavorable, General McClellan was taken ill, and active military operations on the Potomac were deferred to the return of spring. In the middle of January came President Lincoln's orders appointing the 22d day of February as a day when it was expected that the various Union armies would be fairly in the field—an injunction anticipated at Mill Spring, Forts Henry, Donelson, and Roanoke Island. On the 31st of January the President also, by a special war order, directed that all the disposable force of the Army of the Potomac, after providing safely for the defence of Washington, be formed into an expedition to occupy a point on the railway southwest of Manassas Junction, thus crossing the Occoquan and getting in the rear of the enemy's position. Washington's Birthday was again named for this movement. General McClellan objected to the President's plan. It would divide the army, he said, by a difficult river and by a distance too great for either portion, if attacked in force, to be supported by the other. He himself, he added, preferred the movement against Richmond should be undertaken by water, by the Rappahannock or Fortress Monroe. The President, in reply, according to his habit, proposed various queries, as to the relative cost of the movements, the comparative value of success, supposing success attainable either way, and the opportunities for retreat in case of disaster. A council of war was held on the subject in February. It was composed of twelve Generals:—McDowell, Sumner, Heintzelman, Keyes, Fitz-John Porter, Franklin, W. F. Smith, McCall, Blenker, Andrew Porter, Barnard, and Naglee. They decided, by a vote of eight to four, in favor of a proposed plan of movement of General McClellan by the Chesapeake and Rappahannock, ascending to Urbanna and thence crossing to Richmond. McDowell, Sumner, Heintzelman and Barnard opposed the movement. It was while preparations were being secretly made for carrying this resolution into effect that the evacuation of Manassas took place.

By a general war order of President Lincoln, dated the 8th of March,—No. 2 of the famous war orders directly issued by him at this time in his capacity of Commander-in-Chief—it was "Ordered, 1. That the Major-General commanding the Army of the Potomac proceed forthwith to organize that part of said army destined to enter upon active operations, including the reserve, but excluding the troops to be left in the fortifications about Washington, into four army corps, to be commanded according to seniority of rank, as follows:—First corps to consist of four divisions, and to be commanded by Major-General I. McDowell. Second corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General E. V. Sumner. Third corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General S. P. Heintzelman. Fourth corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General E. D. Keyes. 2. That the divisions now commanded by officers above assigned to the command of corps shall be embraced in and form part of their respective corps. 3. The force left for the defence of Washington will be placed in command of Brigadier-General James S.

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* Report of the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War.

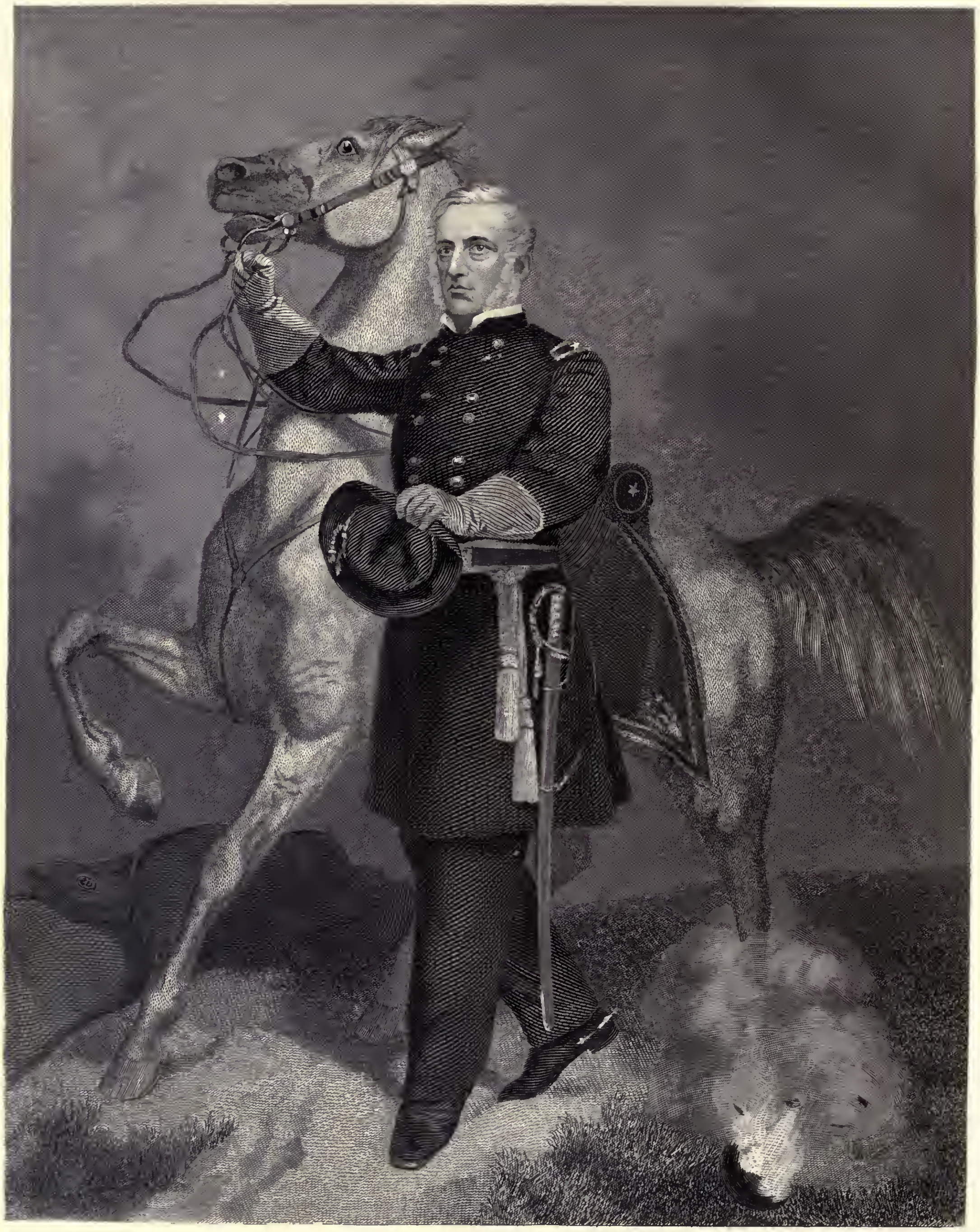
Wadsworth, who shall also be Military Governor of the District of Columbia. 4. That this order be executed with such promptness and dispatch as not to delay the commencement of the operations already directed to be undertaken by the army of the Potomac. 5. A fifth army corps, to be commanded by Major-General N. P. Banks, will be formed from his own and General Shields' (late General Lander's) division."

Of the officers thus placed in command, McDowell, Heintzelman and Banks were already familiar names in the conduct of the war. Brigadier-General Edwin Vose Sumner, commander of the second corps, was one of the oldest officers of the United States army. Born in Boston in 1796, and educated in that city, he had, without entering the military academy at West Point, at the age of twenty-three, been appointed by General Brown, the commander-in-chief, 2d lieutenant in the 2d infantry. From that time he had been conspicuous in various scenes of military service, in the Black Hawk war, on the frontier, and in command of the school of cavalry practice at Carlisle, Penn. In the Mexican war, Major Sumner was in the column of General Scott, and in command of the mounted rifles led the cavalry charge at Cerro Gordo, where he was wounded. He was also in command at Contreras, Cherubusco, and Molino del Rey, and was rewarded for his gallantry with the rank of brevet colonel. Subsequently to the Mexican war few officers of the regular army were so actively occupied,—in command of the department of New Mexico; visiting Europe on official business; in command of Fort Leavenworth in Kansas, from which he was removed by Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, for the part he took in favor of the free soil party in the conflicts of that Territory; as the leader of an expedition against the Cheyenne Indians, and commander of the Department of the West. In March, 1861, the loyal veteran was rewarded for his many services by the appointment of Brigadier General in the regular army, vacated by the dismissal of General Twiggs. He was then appointed to the command of the Department of the Pacific, from which he was recalled to assume his present distinguished position in the army of the Potomac.

General Erasmus Darwin Keyes, the commander of the fourth corps, was also a native of Massachusetts. A graduate of West Point of the class of 1832 with the appointment of 2d lieutenant in the 3d artillery, he had served as aid to General Scott, Instructor of Artillery and Cavalry at the military academy, and in command in the conflicts with the Indians in the northwest. At the beginning of the present war he held the rank of colonel of the 11th Infantry. His services in command of a Brigade at Bull Run will be remembered.

General Wadsworth, who was left in command at Washington, was a wealthy land-owner of western New York, who, in a spirit of zealous patriotism, had offered his influence and service to the State. Having been a commissioner to the Peace Convention at Washington from New York, he had, at the very outset of the rebellion, rendered important aid to the beleaguered capital by carrying from New York, in a vessel which he had chartered and freighted at his own expense, a supply of provisions for the army cut off from land communication at Annapolis. As volunteer aid on General McDowell's staff, he was distinguished by his bravery in the battle of Bull Run, shortly after which he was appointed Brigadier General of Volunteers.

In the general advance of the Army of the Potomac, it was arranged that General Banks should lead the way with his corps in the occupation of the valley of Virginia with a view of coöperating with the central movement. Accordingly, on the 26th of May he crossed with his command at Harper's Ferry, and took possession of the town, which presented



Jas. S. Wadsworth

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers.

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.

Entered according to act of Congress AD 1864 by Johnson, Fry & Co. in the clerks office of the district court of the southern district of NY.

a strange aspect of dilapidation and destruction, in striking contrast with its former prosperity. Half burned, and plundered by its rebel occupants, its houses, stripped of their furniture, were mostly deserted by the inhabitants. Having secured the neighboring heights, a strong force on the 28th occupied Charlestown on the advance towards Winchester. This was the scene of the trial and hanging of the famous abolitionist insurgent, John Brown, whose ghost, if it walks the earth, tormented with a thirst for vengeance, would be satisfied to linger over the ruined region of his unhappy exploits. As the troops passed by the jail in which he had been confined, and the place of his execution, they sang the Hallelujah chorus of the John Brown song, in which the resolution of the old hero was embodied in the cause of the Union :

"John Brown's body lies a mould'ring in the grave,
His soul is marching on!"

Martinsburg was occupied on the 3d of March and Smithfield on the 6th. The enemy in the direction of Winchester were evidently falling back, and it was expected that a stand would be made at that place by the Confederate General Jackson.

While General Banks was pushing his occupation of the country in this quarter, Col. Geary rendered important service on the left flank of the army by his operations in Loudoun County. Crossing the Potomac in an inclement season at Harper's Ferry, on the 1st of March he advanced with his command, the 28th Pennsylvania regiment and about 300 Michigan cavalry, around the mountains, and occupied Lovettsville, ten miles below on the river, driving before him a body of Mississippians stationed at that town, who were annoying the railway trains passing on the opposite side by throwing shells from their camp. The enemy still, however, remained in the vicinity, threatening the Union troops, but the dispositions for battle were so well made by Colonel Geary that the foe presently retired to Hillsborough. Another demonstration of the enemy at Waterford, threatening the trains on the river below, was defeated by a prompt pursuit, which ended on the 8th in the occupation of Leesburg, which was hastily evacuated by the rebel troops under General Hill. Colonel Geary took possession of Fort Johnson, martial law was declared in the town, and a Provost Marshal appointed. Sixty-seven prisoners, over a hundred horses, and a considerable quantity of stores were captured. While at Leesburg Colonel Geary visited the battle ground at Ball's Bluff, in the vicinity, and decently interred the bodies of the Union soldiers fallen in the engagement, the earth which may have covered them having been washed away—a sorry spectacle which had been suffered to remain in sight of the inhabitants.

On the 12th of March, the advance of the Union forces under Generals Hamilton and Williams occupied Winchester without a struggle, General Jackson having completed the evacuation of the town the previous day. He had, it was supposed, withdrawn his command to Strasburg, a station about fifteen miles distant to the south on the Manassas railway. The fortifications at Winchester, reported as of so formidable a character, were found to be slight and hastily constructed. In the retreat of the Confederates, Colonel Ashby with his cavalry had been the last to leave the town, and after their departure this force still lingered in the county, waiting an opportunity, which was presently found, of attacking the Union forces. The brigade of General Shields was now quartered at Winchester, where General Banks also established his headhearters. Among the incidents of the occupation of Winchester was the publication by an Indiana regiment of a daily newspaper, entitled *The Army Bulletin*, while another regiment at Leesburg issued a similar journal, called *The Advance Guard.* As the troops passed through Berryville on their way to the town, they found one side of the village newspaper, *The Conservator*, in form, with secession articles, when a few printers from a Minnesota regiment, turning their hand to the work, set up the other side, with strong Union sentiments of course, and issued the number in this motley dress.* A company of players, "Joseph Seaton's Theatrical Corps," which had followed General Banks's division for weeks, opened their performances in the town. The churches were also opened and were well attended by the soldiers. General Banks made every effort to protect private property.

Whilst this unresisted advance into the valley of the Shenandoah was going on, a similar retreat of the rebels on a grander scale was taking place at Manassas. The heavy artillery was leisurely removed, the railway leading south being worked to its utmost capacity in transporting men and munitions, and all was so adroitly performed that on the approach of the grand Union army there was not a gun left to be captured, or hardly a straggler to be taken prisoner. Generals Stuart, Gustavus W. Smith, and the other Confederate officers performed their work well. On Sunday evening, the 9th of March, the last of the rebel force abandoned Centreville, retreating in perfect order, leaving the formidable line of fortifications on the ridge entirely empty save a few wooden painted logs which had been placed in the embrasures, a cheap defence of the Confederacy against the boasted artillery of McClellan. The famous stone bridge over Bull Run, and another over Cob Run were destroyed in the retreat. Following upon the retiring enemy, the advance of the Union army under General McDowell, portions of which had been for several days making gradual approaches, on Monday arrived at Centreville, and finding the place deserted, a reconnoitering party of Colonel Averill's Pennsylvania cavalry pushed on the same evening to Manassas, whence the last of the Confederate army had departed in the morning. Nearly everything of value had been removed, and such tents and supplies as could not readily be transported, with the workshops and temporary buildings of wood, were in flames. Nothing remained but the refuse of the great camp and the lines of rude huts in which the soldiers had sheltered themselves during the winter. The denuded earth-works, stripped of their defenders, though skillfully placed, to the eye of the experienced soldier, presented to the civilian a meagre and disappointing outline of the much exaggerated military works of Manassas. The bare and uninteresting region, which had derived all its importance from the presence of the rebel host, now suddenly abandoned by its living occupants, and filled with the smoke and ill savor of the nauseous conflagration, presented a melancholy spectacle, the very "abomination of desolation." In the neighborhood around lay the putrifying carcasses of horses. It needed only the proof, immediately forthcoming, of the heartless inhumanity of a portion of the Confederate soldiery in the treatment of the Union dead left on the battle of Bull Run, to add a crowning horror to the scene.

A correspondent, the well-known traveller, Bayard Taylor, who visited Manassas immediately upon the entrance of the Union army, has given a description of what he saw—a curious medley more than once presented on similar occasions during the war. "A hideous scene!" he describes it. "The main buildings, some of which appear to have been workshops, are heaps of ashes. A sickening stench of burning wool and corn, and nobody knows what other substances, fills the air. The track is littered with a mass of heterogeneous articles—old under-shirts, and packages of corn-starch, writing-desks, bowie-knives, tin candle-moulds, India-rubber blankets, cartridge-boxes, bags of peanuts, love-letters, quilts, lard, horseshoes, with boxes and packages of every description, but all more or less smashed. Squads of soldiers are turning over these disgusting piles, in the hope of finding booty worth taking. Here comes a man with twenty-four packages of tobacco, tied together with a rope; here another with a great tin-kettle full of peanuts; a third, brandishing a bowie-knife in each hand; while by far the greater portion are employed in searching trunks for dagurreotypes and love-letters. I have never before in my life beheld such a mess,—with the exception of a Chinese pawnbroker's shop in Shanghae."

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* Correspondence *New York Times*, General Banks's Division, March 14, 1862.

Great was the surprise and indignation expressed at this lame result of the first great movement of the Grand Army of the Potomac. The rebels, who for eight months had held their position before Washington, threatening the capital with all that it represents of national dignity and stability, had indeed disappeared; but not ingloriously, for they had certainly succeeded in outwitting or keeping at a respectful distance, for an incredible time, the power of the North, on the line where its wealth and resources were the greatest, and of entailing an enormous amount of debt in preparations which had thus far been productive of little advantage. The successful retreat of the enemy, in fact, under the circumstances, was a Confederate victory. It was to choose their own lines of defence, and battle-ground, if need be; to prolong the war with safety to themselves—always their best policy—and weary and, if possible, exhaust the nation opposed to them, by imposing the necessity of new and incalculable expenditures. If nothing could be done toward the destruction of the rebel army while it was close at hand and convenient of approach, what, it was felt, could be expected in the way of its overthrow in the broken and defensible regions into which it had retired? A grand army, with its splendid pomp and enormous equipments, going forth a hundred and fifty thousand strong, with the life of the nation hanging on the result, to be thus balked of its prey, and stand a gigantic, useless machine, utterly unprofitable, on a blasted plain, from which it had expected to pluck victory and peace, was indeed a sorry sight for the country. To add to the disappointment, the prodigal calculations which had been made of the vast numbers of the enemy, on examination, shrank to a comparatively small estimate. Diminished by various casualties and accidents, and by the expiration of their term of enlistment, the army of General Johnston, which had been loosely counted by hundreds of thousands, was now supposed not to have exceeded of late forty or fifty thousand, or seventy-five thousand at any time. It needed all the lavish eulogy of the untried McClellan, already a noticeable phenomenon of the times, in the army and through the newspapers, and his own encouraging rhetoric, to cover the embarrassing position.

In another order, issued on the 11th by President Lincoln, it was announced that "Major-General McClellan having personally taken the field at the head of the army of the Potomac, until otherwise ordered, he is relieved from the command of the other military departments, he retaining command of the army of the Potomac." The same order assigned General Halleck to his new department of the Mississippi, and ordered, also, that the country west of the department of the Potomac and east of the department of the Mississippi, be a military department, to be called the Mountain Department, and that the same be commanded by Major-General Fremont; that all the commanders of departments, after the receipt of this order by them respectively, report severally and directly to the Secretary of War, and that prompt, full and frequent reports will be expected of all and each of them." The conduct of the war was thus in the hands of the President and the Secretary of War, without the intermediate direction of a lieutenant-general or general-in-chief. On the 14th of March, General McClellan, from his headquarters at Fairfax Court-House, issued the following stirring address to the army: "Soldiers of the Army of the Potomac,—For a long time I have kept you inactive, but not without a purpose. You were to be disciplined, armed, and instructed. The formidable artillery you now have had to be created. Other armies were to move and accomplish certain results. I have held you back that you might give the death blow to the rebellion that has distracted our once happy country. The patience you have shown, and your confidence in your General are worth a dozen victories. These preliminary results are now accomplished. I feel that the patient labors of many months have produced their fruit. The Army of the Potomac is now a real army, magnificent in material, admirable in discipline and instruction, and excellently equipped and armed. Your commanders are all that I could wish. The moment for action has arrived, and I know that I can trust in you to save our country. As I ride through your ranks I see in your faces the sure prestige of victory. I feel that you will do whatever I ask of you. The period of inaction has passed. I will bring you now face to face with the rebels, and only pray that God may defend the right. In whatever direction you may move, however strange my actions may appear to you, ever bear in mind that my fate is linked with yours, and that all I do is to bring you where I know you wish to be—on the decisive battle-field. It is my business to place you there. I am to watch over you as a parent over his children, and you know that your General loves you from the depths of his heart. It shall be my care —it has ever been—to gain success with the least possible loss. But I know that if it is necessary, you will willingly follow me to our graves for our righteous cause. God smiles upon us! Victory attends us! Yet I would not have you think that our aim is to be obtained without a manly struggle. I will not disguise it from you, that you have brave foes to encounter—foemen well worthy of the steel that you will use so well. I shall demand of you great, heroic exertions, rapid and long marches, desperate combats, privations, perhaps. We will share all these together, and when this sad war is over we will all return to our homes, and feel that we can ask no higher honor than the proud consciousness that we belonged to the Army of the Potomac." The allusion of General McClellan to strange or novel dispositions of his army was presently explained. By a council of war convened at headquarters the day before the date of this address, consisting of the army corps commanders, Generals McDowell, Sumner, Heintzleman, and Keyes, it was pronounced expedient, due provision being made for the safety of Washington, to proceed to the attack of Richmond by way of Fortress Monroe. The President and War Department approved the decision, urging immediate action.

Simultaneously with the retreat of the Confederates from Manassas, their batteries at Cockpit Point and other stations along the Potomac, now at length seriously threatened by the Union gunboats, the division of General Hooker advanced on the Maryland side of the river below Washington, and the general movement of the army, were abandoned; thus, after a long period of vexatious interruptions impatiently borne by the public, restoring entire freedom of communication by water with the capital. The chronicle of such facts as that on the 12th of January, 1862, the U. S. sloop-of-war Pensacola, fitted out at Washington, ran the batteries of the Potomac in safety, will be read hereafter with wonder. In the charges of inactivity brought against General McClellan in his handling of the Army of the Potomac, the long continued blockade of the Potomac was not forgotten. The cessation of so humiliating an annoyance was evidently a sign of comparative weakness on the part of the enemy. But a more conclusive proof of the straits to which they were put by the movement of the Union army was afforded by the call of Governor Letcher for the immediate appearance in the field of the mass of the Virginia militia. "The President of the Confederate States," says he in his proclamation of March 10, the very day of the evacuation of Manassas, "has called for 40,000 additional troops from Virginia. This call affirms that 'the exigencies of the public service require, in order to repel the invasion of Virginia, that her sons be called out in her defence more speedily than can be done under the operation of the law recently enacted by her Legislature.' No call like this has ever yet been made upon the State in vain. Every nerve must be strung. Every son of Virginia must respond with an ardent zeal to defend the Commonwealth. Those subject to military duty are alone required to perform this service, but gallant volunteers who come with a will to do or die for this great cause will be given a place in our ranks. This war has attained a point which requires brave men and true patriots to leave their homes and grapple sternly with the foe. We will not tamely submit to degradation or slavery. We will have Virginia independent, and all our liberties maintained, or perish in the attempt to secure them. Every private having a serviceable firearm of any description in his possession, or who can procure one from a neighbor not able to perform duty, will carry it with him. If lost, the arms will be paid for by the State. Those who have no arms will be provided with them at the respective rendezvous. The loyal citizens of the West and Northwest, in counties not herein named, are earnestly invoked to form guerrilla companies and strike, when least expected, once more for the State that gave them birth. With stern resolve and manly courage uphold the flag and the untarnished fame of the Old Dominion. Scorn the misrule of traitors who, with usurped authority, are desecrating our soil with a pollution worse than that of the direst enemy, and execute vengeance upon the foe, who acknowledges and sustains their treason." A call so made indicated a desperate emergency. Many a battle-field in Virginia, and rude funeral inscriptions over hasty-made graves, many a desolated fireside, bears witness to this exhaustive summons of Governor Letcher.

Whilst the grand army of the Potomac, disappointed of its prey at Manassas, was waiting for a new movement in the field, a portion of the corps of General Banks was called into action in the valley of the Shenandoah. After the retreat of the Confederate General Jackson from Frederick County, the Union forces which had pursued him in his flight were concentrated at Winchester, when it was resolved to transfer the greater part of General Banks's command to the central army of General McClellan. General Shields with his division being in command at Winchester, in a reconnoisance beyond Strasburg on the 18th and 19th of March, had ascertained that the enemy under Jackson was strongly posted near Mount Jackson, in direct communication with a force at Luray, and another at Washington, on the eastern side of the mountain. "It became important, therefore," says General Shields in his official report of the action which ensued, "to draw Jackson from his position and supporting force if possible. To endeavor to effect this, I fell back to Winchester on the 20th, giving the movement all the appearance of a retreat. The last brigade of the first division of Banks's *corps d'armée*, General Williams commanding, took its departure for Centreville by way of Berryville on the morning of the 22d, leaving only Shields' division and the Michigan cavalry in Winchester. Ashby's cavalry, observing this movement from a distance, came to the conclusion that Winchester was being evacuated, and signaled Jackson to that effect. We saw their signal fires and divined their import. On the 22d, about five o'clock P. M., they attacked and drove in our pickets. By order of General Banks, I put my command under arms and pushed forward one brigade and two batteries of artillery to drive back the enemy, but, to keep him deceived as to our strength, only let him see two regiments of infantry, a small body of cavalry, and part of the artillery. While directing one of our batteries to its position I was struck by the fragment of a shell, which fractured my arm above the elbow, bruised my shoulder and injured my side. The enemy being driven from his position, we withdrew to Winchester. The injuries I had received completely prostrated me, but were not such as to prevent me from making the required dispositions for the ensuing day. Under cover of the night I pushed forward Kimball's brigade nearly three miles on the Strasburg road. Daum's artillery was posted in a strong position to support his brigade, if attacked. Sullivan's brigade was posted in the rear of Kimball's, and within supporting distance of it, covering all the approaches to the town by Cedar creek, Front Royal, Berryville and Romney roads. This brigade and Broadhead's cavalry were held in reserve, so as to support our force in front at any point where it might be attacked. These dispositions being made, I rested for the night, knowing that all the approaches by which the enemy might penetrate to this place were effectually guarded.

"I deem it necessary in this place to give a brief description of these approaches, as well as of the field, which next day became the scene of one of the bloodiest battles of the war. Winchester is approached from the south by three principal roads—the Cedar creek road on the west, the valley turnpike road leading to Strasburg in the centre, and the Front Royal road on the east. There is a little village called Kernstown, on the valley road, about three and a half miles from Winchester. On the west side of this road, about half a mile north of Kernstown, is a ridge of ground which commands the approach by the turnpike and part of the surrounding country. This ridge was the key point of our position. Here Colonel Kimball, the senior officer in command on the field, took his station. Along this ridge Lieutenant Colonel Daum, chief of artillery, posted three of his batteries, keeping one of his batteries in reserve some distance in the rear. Part of our infantry was first placed in position in the rear and within supporting distance of these batteries, well sheltered in the windings and sinuosities of the ridge. The main body of the enemy on the ridge was posted in order of battle about half a mile beyond Kernstown, his line extending from the Cedar creek road to a little ravine, near the Front Royal road, a distance of about two miles. This ground had been so skilfully selected that, while it afforded facilities for maneuvering, it was completely masked by high and wooded ground in front. These woods he filled with skirmishers, supported by a battery on each flank, and so adroitly had this movement been conducted, and so skilfully had he concealed himself, that at 8 o'clock A. M. on the 23d nothing was visible but the same force under Ashby which had been repulsed the previous evening. Not being able to reconnoitre the front in person, I dispatched an experienced officer, Colonel John T. Mason, of the Fourth Ohio Volunteers, about nine o'clock A. M., to the front, to perform that duty and report to me, as promptly as possible, every circumstance that might indicate the presence of the enemy. About an hour after, Colonel

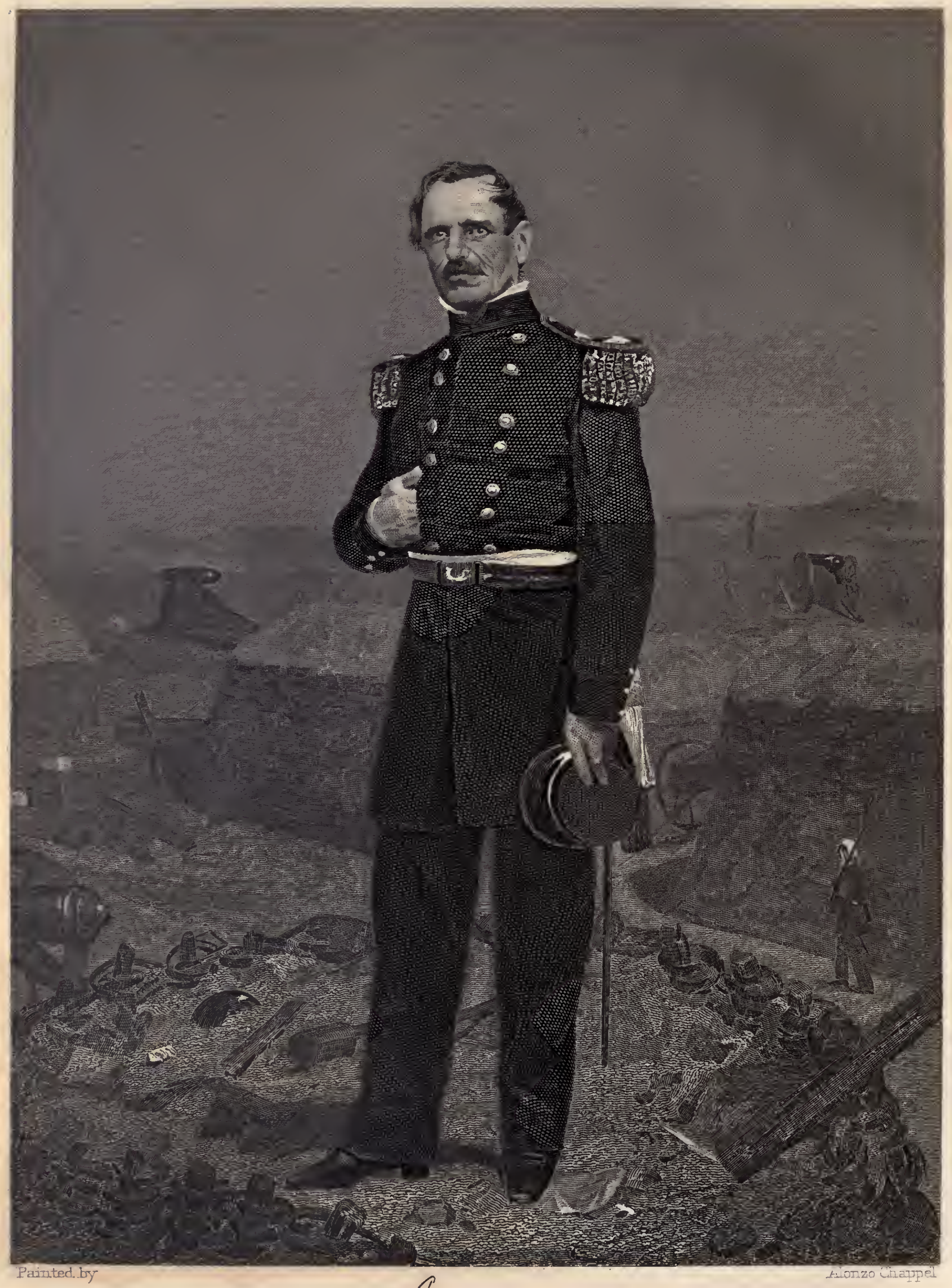
Mason returned, and reported to me that he had carefully reconnoitered the country in front and on both flanks, and found no indications of any hostile force except that of Ashby.

"I communicated this information to Major-General Banks, who was then with me, and after consulting together we both concluded that Jackson could not be tempted to hazard himself so far away from his main support. Having both come to this conclusion, General Banks took his departure for Washington, being already under orders to that effect. The officers of his staff, however, remained behind, intending to leave for Centreville in the afternoon. Although I began to conclude that Jackson was nowhere in the vicinity, knowing the crafty enemy we have to deal with, I took care not to omit a single precaution. Between eleven and twelve o'clock A. M., a message from Colonel Kimball informed me that another battery on the enemy's right had opened on our position, and that there was some indications of a considerable force of infantry in the woods in that quarter. On receiving this information I pushed forward Sullivan's brigade, which was placed, by order of Colonel Kimball, in a position to oppose the advance of the enemy's right wing. The action opened with a fire of artillery on both sides, but at too great a distance to be very effective. The initiative was taken by the enemy. He pushed forward a few more guns to his right, supported by a considerable force of infantry and cavalry, with the apparent intention of enfilading our position and turning our left flank. An active body of skirmishers, consisting of the Eighth Ohio, Colonel Carroll, and three companies of the Sixty-seventh Ohio, was immediately thrown forward on both sides of the valley road to resist the enemy's advance. These skirmishers were admirably supported by four pieces of artillery under Captain Jenks and Sullivan's gallant brigade. This united force repulsed the enemy at all points, and gave him such a check that no further demonstration was made upon that flank during the remainder of the day. The attempt against our left having thus failed, the enemy withdrew the greater part of his force to the right, and formed it into a reserve to support his left flank in a forward movement. He then added his original reserve and two batteries to his main body, and then, advancing with this combined column, under shelter of the bridges on the left, on which other batteries had been previously posted, seemed evidently determined to turn our right flank or overthrow it. Our batteries on the opposite ridge, though admirably managed by their experienced chief, Lieutenant Colonel Daum, were soon found insufficient to check, or even retard, the advance of such a formidable body. At this stage of the combat a messenger arrived from Colonel Kimball, informing me of the state of the field, and requesting direction as to the employment of the infantry. I saw there was not a moment to lose, and gave positive orders that all the disposable infantry should immediately be thrown forward on our right to carry the enemy's batteries, and to assail and turn his left flank, and hurl it back on the centre. Colonel Kimball carried out these orders with promptitude and ability. He entrusted this movement to Tyler's splendid brigade, which, under its fearless leader, Colonel Tyler, marched forward with alacrity and enthusiastic joy to the performance of the most perilous duty of the day. The enemy's skirmishers were driven before it and fell back upon the main body, strongly posted behind a high and solid stone wall, situated on an elevated ground. Here the struggle became desperate, and for a short time doubtful; but Tyler's brigade being soon joined on the left by the 5th Ohio, 13th Indiana and 62d Ohio, of Sullivan's brigade, and the 14th Indiana, 84th Pennsylvania, seven companies of the 67th Ohio, and three companies of the

8th Ohio, of Kimball's brigade, this united force dashed upon the enemy with a cheer and yell that rose high above the roar of battle. and though the rebels fought desperately, as their piles of dead attest, they were forced back through the woods by a fire as destructive as ever fell upon a retreating foe. Jackson, with his supposed invincible stone wall brigade and the accompanying brigades, much to their mortification and discomfiture, were compelled to fall back in disorder upon their reserve. Here they took up a new position for a final stand, and made an attempt for a few minutes to retrieve the fortunes of the day; but again rained down upon them the same close and destructive fire. Again cheer upon cheer rang in their ears. A few minutes only did they stand up against it, when they turned, dismayed, and fled in disorder, leaving us in possession of the field, the killed and wounded, three hundred prisoners, two guns, four caisons, and a thousand stand of small arms. Night alone saved him from total destruction. The enemy retreated above five miles, and, judging from his camp fires, took a new position for the night. Our troops, wearied and exhausted with the fatigues of the day, threw themselves down to rest on the field.

"Though the battle had been won, still I could not have believed that Jackson would have hazarded a decisive engagement at such a distance from the main body without expecting reinforcements. So, to be prepared for such a contingency, I set to work during the night to bring together all the troops within my reach. I sent an express after Williams's division, requesting the rear brigade, about twenty miles distant, to march all night and join me in the morning. I swept the posts and route in my rear of almost all their guards, hurrying them forward by forced marches to be with me at daylight. I gave positive orders also to the forces in the field to open fire on the enemy as soon as the light of day would enable them to point their guns, and to pursue him without respite, and compel him to abandon his guns and baggage, or cut him to pieces. These orders were implicitly obeyed as far as possible. It now appears that I had rightly divined the intentions of our crafty antagonist. On the morning of the 23d a reinforcement from Luray of 5,000 reached Front Royal, on their way to join Jackson. This reinforcement was being followed by another body of 10,000 from Sperryville; but, recent rains having rendered the Shenandoah river impassable, they found themselves compelled to fall back without being able to effect the proposed junction. At daylight on the morning of the 24th our artillery again opened on the enemy. He entered upon his retreat in very good order, considering what he had suffered. General Banks, hearing of our engagement on his way to Washington, halted at Harper's Ferry, and, with remarkable promptitude and sagacity, ordered back Williams's whole division, so that my express found the rear brigade *en route* to join us. The General himself returned here forthwith, and, after making me a hasty visit, assumed command of the forces in pursuit of the enemy. The pursuit was kept up with vigor, energy, and activity, until they reached Woodstock, where the enemy's retreat became flight, and the pursuit was abandoned because of the utter exhaustion of our troops.

"The killed and wounded in this engagement cannot even yet be accurately ascertained. Indeed, my command has been so overworked that it has had but little time to ascertain anything. The killed, as reported, are one hundred and three, and among them we have to deplore the loss of the brave Colonel Murray, of the 84th Pennsylvania volunteers, who fell at the head of his regiment while gallantly leading it in the face of the enemy. The wounded are four hundred and forty-one, many of



Painted by
Alonzo Chappel

C. F. Smith

Likeness from the latest Photograph from life.

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.

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them slightly, and the missing are twenty-four. The enemy's loss is more difficult to ascertain than our own. Two hundred and seventy were found dead on the battle-field. Forty were buried by the inhabitants of the adjacent village, and, by a calculation made by the number of graves found on both sides of the valley road between here and Strasburg, their loss in killed must have been about five hundred, and in wounded, one thousand. The proportion between the killed and wounded of the enemy shows the closeness and terrible destructiveness of our fire—nearly half the wounds being fatal. The enemy admit a loss of between one thousand and fifteen hundred killed and wounded. Our force in infantry, cavalry, and artillery, did not exceed 7,000. That of the enemy must have exceeded 11,000. Jackson, who commanded on the field, had, in addition to his own stone-wall brigade, Smith's, Garnett's, and Longstreet's brigades. Generals Smith and Garnett were here in person. The following regiments were known to have been present, and from each of them were made prisoners on the field:—the 2d, 4th, 5th, 21st, 23d, 27th, 28th, 33d, 37th, and 42d Virginia; 1st regiment provisional army, and an Irish battalion. None from the reserve were made prisoners. Their force in infantry must have been 9,000. The cavalry of the united brigades amounted to 1,500. Their artillery consisted of thirty-six pieces. We had 6,000 infantry and a cavalry force of seven hundred and fifty and twenty-four pieces of artillery."*

General James Shields, the commander of the Union forces in this well-fought engagement, was a native of the County of Tyrone, Ireland. Born in 1810, he emigrated to the United States in his youth, and at the age of twenty-two settled in Illinois, where he devoted himself to the profession of the law. He was elected to the state legislature, and in 1843 became Judge of the Supreme Court of the State. Two years after he was Commissioner of the general land office at Washington. He served in the Mexican war as Brigadier-General of Volunteers, and was severely wounded at Cerro Gordo, for his gallantry on which occasion he was brevetted Major-General. He was again wounded at Chapultepec. Returning to Illinois at the close of the war, he was chosen United States Senator from that State. On the conclusion of his term he settled in Minnesota on lands awarded for his army services, and represented that State on its admission to the Union, as a United States Senator. He next made his residence in California, whence he was called to Washington soon after the commencement of the rebellion, by his appointment as Brigadier-General of volunteers, in which capacity he succeeded General Lander, on the death of that officer, in his command on the Upper Potomac.

On the receipt of the dispatches from General Shields announcing the result of the battle, Secretary Stanton, from the War Department, wrote in reply:—"While rejoicing at the success of your gallant troops, deep commiseration and sympathy are felt for those who have been victims in the gallant and victorious contest with treason and rebellion. Your wounds, as well as your success, prove that Lander's brave division is still bravely led, and that wherever its standard is displayed rebels will be routed and pursued. To you and the officers and soldiers under your command the department returns thanks." General Banks also "congratulated the officers and soldiers of General Shields' division, and especially its gallant commander, on the auspicious and decisive victory gained over the rebels on the 23d instant. The division had already achieved a renown against superior forces, against a subtle and barbarous enemy, disencumbered of everything. That is victory!"[*] General Shields, also, in a general order congratulated his command on the "glorious victory" which they had achieved: "They defeated an enemy whose forces outnumbered them, and who are considered the bravest and best disciplined of the Confederate army. He also congratulates them that it has fallen to their lot to open the campaign on the Potomac. The opening has been a splendid success. Let them inscribe 'WINCHESTER' on their banners, and prepare for other victories."

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* Brigadier-General James Shields to Major-General Banks. Winchester, Virginia, March 29, 1862.

The Confederate commander, General Thomas Jonathan Jackson, better known by his title of "Stonewall Jackson," from an incident, it is said, in this battle of Winchester, of a portion of his command fighting behind a stone wall, was a native of Lewis County, Virginia. Born in 1826, he was yet in the prime of manhood. A graduate of West Point of the class of 1846, with the appointment of 2d Lieutenant in the 2d Artillery, he had served in Mexico with the battery of Captain Magruder, the well known general in the rebel service. Lieutenant Jackson was brevetted captain and major for his gallantry in the campaign of General Scott at Cherubusco and Chapultepec. In 1852 he resigned his rank in the army in consequence of impaired health, and became a Professor in the Military Institute of Lexington, Virginia. His first wife was the daughter of the Rev. Dr. George Junkin, an eminent Presbyterian divine, who has shown his regard for the Union in the publication of an elaborate volume entitled "Political Fallacies—an examination of the false assumptions and refutations of the sophistical reasonings which have brought on this civil war." On the outbreak of the rebellion, it is said, "Jackson, who is an elder in the Presbyterian church, spent a day and a night in endeavoring to convert Dr. Junkin to secession views, the two arguing together during a whole day, and praying together during the night following, without effect, however, upon Dr. Junkin, who was afterward obliged to leave the country and seek refuge in the Northern States."[*] Jackson entered the rebel service as colonel at the very beginning of the war, and was engaged in the first attack upon Harper's Ferry. He confronted General Patterson in his advance in that region previous to the battle of Bull Run, in which he bore a part, and was afterwards on duty with the army in Virginia to the time of his present appearance in the valley of the Shenandoah. Thoroughly in earnest, even fanatical in devotion to the cause which he had espoused, a soldier with a genius for his profession, he brought to the service a local knowledge of the country, a presence of mind in emergencies, and an activity in the field, in pursuit and retreat, which made his name memorable in many an engagement of the war.

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[*] General Banks's Order. Strasburg, March 26, 1862.

[*] Biographical notice in Appleton's Cyclopœdia.

CHAPTER LXI.

THE BATTLE OF PITTSBURG LANDING, APRIL 6, 7, 1862.

THE first prominent mention of Pittsburg Landing, in the affairs of the war, is in a dispatch of Lieutenant Commanding Gwin of the 1st of March, 1862. On that day, being in command of the gunboat Tyler, at the town of Savannah on the Tennessee river, in Hardin county, bordering on Mississippi, "having learned that the rebels had occupied and were fortifying a place called Pittsburg, nine miles above on the right bank of the river—the best point in the river for that purpose—he determined to attack them." Accordingly, proceeding thither with the gunboat Lexington, Lieutenant Commanding Shirk, when they had advanced to within twelve hundred yards of the place, fire was opened upon them from a battery of six or eight field pieces, one of them rifled. The gunboats drawing nearer, secured an effective range, and soon silenced the batteries. Two armed boats were then landed from each vessel under cover of a discharge of grape and canister, and their small force of ninety men succeeded in driving back the rebels and holding them in check while they destroyed a house in the immediate vicinity of the batteries. The enemy then rallied, and the landing party finding themselves in the presence of a greatly superior force, stated at three regiments, retired to the boats under a heavy fire of musketry from the rebels. The Tyler was "perfectly riddled with balls." The casualties on the Union side, in this bravely conducted affair, were five killed and missing, and five wounded. The injury to the enemy is unknown, but was supposed to be considerable. "I feel confident," says Lieutenant Gwin in his report, "that we inflicted a severe loss, as several bodies were seen on the ground and many seen to fall." Lieutenant Gwin also announced his intention of remaining about Savannah, paying Pittsburg a daily visit, which he hoped would prevent the rebels from accomplishing their object. He had assured himself that the enemy were gathering in force on the northern borders of Alabama and Mississippi, with the evident intention of disputing the possession by the Union troops of middle Tennessee.*

In the northeastern border of the State, the Union forces, few in numbers, were watching the gaps of the Cumberland mountains, with an occasional adventurous skirmish with the rebel troops in that region. On the 10th of March, Colonel James Carter, with his regiment of loyal Tennesseeans, left Camp Cumberland ford and traversed the mountains some forty miles to Big Creek Gap, in the neighborhood of Jacksboro' in Campbell county, where he encountered a body of rebel cavalry. Two of the latter were killed, four badly wounded, and fifteen taken prisoners, including a lieutenant-colonel. The tents of three companies with various camp equipage and a number of horses were obtained. Lieutenant Myers and a private of the Union party were wounded. Another brilliant affair of a similar character was conducted by Colonel Garfield, a few days after, from the camp at Piketon, Kentucky. A scouting party from the 22d Kentucky and 40th and 42d Ohio, with a hundred Ohio cavalry—about seven hundred in all—set out on the 13th of March for Pound or Sounding Gap, a pass in the Cumberland mountains about forty miles to the southeast, where a band of guerrillas had established themselves to the annoyance of the surrounding country. The march was a difficult one, along narrow paths, through rain and snow, in "fathomless, endless mud." Arriving at Elkton Creek, two miles from the gap, on the night of the 15th, he sent his cavalry up the road toward the front of the enemy's position, to divert their attention, while the next morning, Sunday, he led the infantry over the mountains by a precipitous path to take the rebel camp in flank. Emerging from the woods, he discovered the camp in a ravine, with the enemy apparently formed on an opposite hill. He drew up his line in front of them, when observing that they were falling back, he dashed through the ravine and up the hill, with fixed bayonets for a decisive charge. The enemy did not wait for the attack, but, availing themselves of their knowledge of the mountains, fled, leaving the military property in the camp, and commissary buildings, a spoil to the assailants. They were effectually ransacked, and what could not be carried off was burnt. The Union troops occupied the gap during the rest of the day and night, feasting on the enemy's larder, supplying themselves with guns and clothing previous to their return, without loss or injury, to Piketon. Several of the enemy were said to be wounded in this affair. A reconnoissance in force was made on the 22d from Camp Cumberland ford to Cumberland Gap. There was some skirmishing, and an artillery duel was carried on with the enemy, at too great a distance, however, to be effective on either side.

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* Flag-Officer Foote to the Hon. Gideon Welles. Cairo, March 3, 1862. Reports of Lieutenant-Commanders Gwin and Shirk.

The great movement on foot of the Union armies in Tennessee at this time was the junction of the forces of Generals Grant and Buell on the upper waters of the Tennessee River, with a view of controlling the lines of railway communication connecting the Mississippi with the East, and the border slave States of the rebellion with the Gulf of Mexico. As Columbus had been evacuated, and Island No. 10 was on the point of surrender in consequence of the victories ending in the occupation of Nashville, so the conquest of Memphis would be facilitated by advancing the Union forces to Corinth in Mississippi, the junction of the Memphis and Charleston and Mobile and Ohio Railroads. Tennessee would thus be firmly held in the grasp of the national army. It was a bold step from the lines in Kentucky at Bowling Green to the heart of the enemy's country at the northern boundaries of Mississippi and Alabama. Yet in the course of a month this change had been effected. The Union army, in possession of the capital, was pushing its advance to the southern boundary of Tennessee, and the best generals of the Confederacy were forming new lines of defence in States bordering on the Gulf.

The "Tennessee Expedition," as it was called, was commanded by Major-General Grant. His army, when it reached its destination, embraced the divisions of Generals McClernand, Charles F. Smith, Lewis Wallace, A. S. Hurlbut, W. T. Sherman, and B. M. Prentiss. General McClernand, distinguished by his military conduct at Belmont and Donelson, had been just created a major-general of volunteers. General Smith, the hero of Fort Donelson, accompanied the expedition with his troops to Savannah, on the Tennessee, where he was taken ill, and in consequence of his sickness, the command of his division in the approaching battle fell to General W. H. S. Wallace. This officer was a native of Maryland. His parents emigrating to Illinois in his boyhood, he there grew up, and adopted the profession of the law. He had enlisted as a private in the Mexican war, and fought at Buena Vista as adjutant of Colonel Hardin's Illinois regiment. When the rebellion broke out he was chosen colonel of the 11th Illinois regiment of volunteers, with which he rendered important service at Cairo, and in the military operations in its vicinity. He was with the advance of General Grant's army at Fort Henry and Donelson, where his bravery gained him the appointment of brigadier-general. General Lewis Wallace, of Indiana, we have seen in action throughout the war, from the earliest scenes in Western Virginia to the storming of Fort Donelson, in which he bore a leading part. He was now major-general of volunteers, in command of the 3d division of General Grant's army. Brigadier-General Stephen A. Hurlbut, commanding the 4th division, was a native of South Carolina, but a citizen of Illinois. He had recently been engaged in repressing the disturbances in Northern Missouri, whence he had been sent by General Halleck to his present important command on the Tennessee. General W. T. Sherman, of Kentucky, will be remembered as the successor of Major Anderson in command of the army in that State, and the predecessor of General

Buell in the department. Brigadier-General Prentiss, by his command at Cairo, had been identified with the war from its commencement.

By the middle of March the advance of General Grant's expedition, commanded by General C. F. Smith, had arrived at Savannah, and was engaged in active preparation for the occupation of the important strategic points beyond. On the 15th, General Lewis Wallace's division was landed on the left bank of the river, marched to Purdy, some sixteen miles to the west, and destroyed the railroad bridge, and a portion of the railway from Humboldt to Corinth, cutting off a train heavily laden with troops, which arrived while the bridge was burning. On the night of the following day an expedition was set on foot from the Union encampment which had been formed at Pittsburg Landing, with the intention of intercepting communication on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. It consisted of detachments of the 4th Illinois and 5th Ohio Cavalry, and had proceeded only a few miles, when, at about nine o'clock in the evening, the enemy was encountered at Black Jack Forest, and a sharp skirmish ensued between the advance company of the Illinois troops,—eighty-six cavalry, commanded by Captain George Dodge—and a rebel body of five hundred cavalry. A gallant charge was made upon the line of the enemy, which was broken, the foe retreating into the woods. "If it is difficult," says Major Sunger, in his report of the affair, "to conduct an action by night, on horseback, and in a forest; it is much more hazardous to pursue, under like difficulties, an unrelenting foe, in his own country, and on his own ground. It was therefore deemed prudent not to pursue. We took two prisoners on the spot. Four of our men were wounded—none severely—and none killed." The rebel loss was not ascertained. General Hurlbut had the satisfaction to learn that he had met and defeated an enterprise of the enemy designed for a night attack on his encampment at Pittsburg Landing.*

While General Grant's force was thus gathering to the scene of action by the Tennessee River, General Buell's army was proceeding overland from Nashville, by way of Columbia. The divisions of Generals Nelson, McCook, Thomas, and Crittenden, followed by General T. J. Wood's division, accompanied him on the advance to Savannah, while General Mitchell's division was sent down the line of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, to cut off the communication of the enemy by the Memphis and Charleston railroad with the east. General Negley commanded the reserve at Nashville of these officers. General Nelson will be remembered for his services in Kentucky, his native State, in enlisting recruits for the Union service, and thwarting the plans of the rebels. Rough in manner, he was an energetic officer, of great bravery and resolution in the field. Brigadier-General Alexander McDowell McCook, a member of the Ohio family so honorably distinguished in the war, was a graduate of West Point of the year 1852. As an officer of the 3d regular infantry, he had borne an active part in the Indian campaigns in New Mexico, from whence he returned to serve as instructor in infantry tactics at the National Academy. On the fall of Sumter, he was sent to his native State, where he was speedily elected Colonel of the 1st Ohio volunteers. He was in command of this regiment at Bull Run, returned with it to Ohio, and when it was mustered out of service recruited it again. His appointment as brigadier-general dated from the 3d of September, 1861. He had since been attached to the Department of the Cumberland, and with his brother, Colonel Robert McCook, was prominent in the opening military operations in Kentucky. General George H. Thomas will be remembered by his victory at Mill Spring.

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* Major W. D. Sunger to Brigadier-General Hurlbut Camp Shiloh, March 28, 1862.

Brigadier-general Thomas L. Crittenden was the son of the Hon. John J. Crittenden, and in striking contrast with his brother, General George B. Crittenden, who had joined the rebellion, and whom we have seen in arms against his native State, had been honorably distinguished by his services in repelling the enemies of the Union from Kentucky.

The enemy was thus, at the end of March, threatened at the main points of its line in Mississippi, Alabama, and East Tennessee, with an active and efficient force, including the reserves at hand, of not less than a hundred thousand men. The danger was not likely to escape their attention. One of the best officers of the Confederate service, General A. S. Johnston, who had conducted the retreat from Nashville, fully impressed with the demands of the occasion, was in command on the line of the Southern railroad from that city, preparing to join his corps to that of General Beauregard, who, after a month of preparation in the south-west, following his retirement from Manassas, had just placed himself, with health impaired by his recent attack of illness, at the head of the army of the Mississippi. On the 5th of March he issued the following general order from his headquarters at Jackson, Tennessee:—"Soldiers—I assume this day the command of the army of the Mississippi, for the defence of our homesteads and liberties, and to resist the subjugation, spoliation, and dishonor of our people. Our mothers and wives, our sisters and children, expect us to do our duty, even to the sacrifice of our lives. Our losses since the commencement of the present war, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, are now about the same as those of the enemy. He must be made to atone for those reverses we have lately experienced. Those reverses, far from disheartening, must nerve us to new deeds of valor and patriotism, and should inspire us with an unconquerable determination to drive back our invaders. Should any one in this army be unequal to the task before us, let him transfer his arms and equipments at once to braver, firmer hands, and return to his home. Our cause is as just and sacred as ever animated men to take up arms; and if we are true to it and to ourselves, with the continued protection of the Almighty, we must and shall triumph."

As a corollary to these patriotic propositions, General Beauregard, a few days after, addressed this extraordinary appeal to the planters of the Mississippi valley: "More than once, a people fighting with an enemy less ruthless than yours; for imperilled rights not more dear and sacred than yours; for homes and a land not more worthy of resolute and unconquerable men than yours; and for interests of far less magnitude than you have now at stake, have not hesitated to melt and mould into cannon the precious bells surmounting their houses of God which had called generations to prayer. The priesthood have ever sanctioned and counselled the conversion, in the hour of their nation's need, as one holy and acceptable in the sight of God. We want cannon as greatly as any people who ever, as history tells you, melted their church bells to supply them; and I, your general, entrusted with the command of the army embodied of your sons, your kinsmen, and your neighbors, do now call on you to send your plantation bells to the nearest railroad depot, subject to my order, to be melted into cannon for the defence of your plantations. Who will not cheerfully and promptly send me his bells under such circumstances? Be of good cheer; but time is precious." The request, thus artfully urged, covering the rebellion with the glories of history and the sanctities of religion, was not without its effect upon an impressible people, ready to make far greater sacrifices for a cause which many, doubtless, had sincerely persuaded themselves to be worthy of every effort of their devotion. A Mobile editor, ten days after the date of the bell-metal proclamation, announced that the appeal had "touched the hearts of the people," and that already responses were being freely made. The stewards of the St. Francis street Methodist church had met and agreed "to tender their fire bell for this patriotic purpose." A gentleman of Summerville had brought to the editor "a quantity of brass, some thirty or forty pounds' weight, including several brass tops of andirons, as the donation of his wife to the cause." A "Southern Woman," in the same journal, suggested that "the ladies assist by sending all of their bell-metal preserving kettles."* General Butler, on taking possession of New Orleans at the end of the following month, came into possession of a considerable collection of property of this description stored at the Custom House, on its way to the Southern foundries. It was confiscated as the military property of the enemy, sent to Boston, and there sold at public auction for the benefit of the government.

Another order of General Beauregard, on the 14th of March, was issued, evidently with the prospect before his army of an immediate battle. The instructions furnish some instructive hints of the handling of newly raised troops.

"Field and company officers are specially enjoined to instruct their men, under all circumstances, to fire with deliberation at the feet of the enemy. They will thus avoid over-shooting, and besides, wounded men give more trouble to our adversary than dead, as they have to be taken from the field. Officers in command must be cool and collected; hold their men in hand in action, and caution them against useless, aimless firing. The men must be instructed and required each one to single out his mark. It was the deliberate sharpshooting of our forefathers in the Revolution of 1776, and New Orleans, in 1815, which made them so formidable against the odds with which they were engaged. In the beginning of a battle, except by troops deployed as skirmishers, the fire by file will be avoided. It excites the men, and renders their subsequent control difficult. Fire by wing or company should be resorted to instead. During the battle, the officers and non-commissioned officers must keep their men in the ranks, enforce obedience, and encourage and stimulate them, if necessary. Soldiers must not be permitted to leave the ranks, even to assist in removing our own dead, unless by special permission, which shall only be given when the action has been decided. The surest way to protect the wounded is to drive the enemy from the field. The most pressing, highest duty is to win the victory. * * * To quit their standard on the battle-field under fire, under pretence of removing or aiding the wounded, will not be permitted. Any one persisting in it will be shot on the spot, and whosoever shall be found to have quit the field, his regiment, or his company, without authority, will be regarded and proclaimed as a coward, and dealt with accordingly."

General Beauregard, indeed, had not been idle in his work of preparation for the conflict. As early as the 2d of March, as he tells us in his report of the battle which ensued, he had ascertained from the movements of General Grant's forces, and from "reliable sources of information," of which the enemy would seem seldom to have been deprived, the intentions of the Union army in their occupation of a new base on the Tennessee river. He accordingly "determined to foil the design by concentrating all his available forces at and around Corinth. Meanwhile, having called on the Governors of the States of Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana, to furnish additional troops, some of them, chiefly regiments from Louisiana, soon reached this vicinity, and with two divisions of General Polk's command from Columbus, and a fine corps of troops from Mobile and Pensacola, under Major-General

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* The *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, March 18, 1862. *New York Herald*, April 10, 1862.

Bragg, constituted the army of the Mississippi. At the same time, General Johnston, being at Murfreesboro', on the march to form a junction of his forces with mine, was called on to send at least a brigade by railroad, so that we might fall on and crush the enemy should he attempt an advance from under his gunboats. The call on General Johnston was promptly complied with. His entire force was also hastened in this direction, and by the first of April our united forces were concentrated along the Mobile and Ohio railroad from Bethel to Corinth, and on the Memphis and Charleston railroad from Corinth to Iuka. It was then determined to assume the offensive and strike a sudden blow at the enemy in position under General Grant, on the west bank of the Tennessee, at Pittsburg, and in the direction of Savannah, before he was reinforced by the army under General Buell, then known to be advancing for that purpose by rapid marches from Nashville, *via* Columbla. About the same time General Johnston was advised that such an operation conformed to the expectations of the President. By a rapid and vigorous attack on General Grant it was expected he would be beaten back into his transports and the river, or captured in time to enable us to profit by the victory, and remove to the rear all the stores and munitions that would fall into our hands in such an event, before the arrival of General Buell's army on the scene. It was never contemplated, however, to retain the position thus gained, and abandon Corinth, the strategic point of the campaign. Want of proper officers needful for the proper organization of divisions and brigades of an army brought thus suddenly together, and other difficulties in the way of an effective organization, delayed the movement until the night of the 2d April, when it was heard from a reliable quarter that the junction of the enemy's armies was near at hand; it was then, at a late hour, determined that the attack should be attempted at once, incomplete and imperfect as were our preparations for such a grave and momentous adventure. Accordingly, that night, at one o'clock, A. M., the preliminary orders to the commanders of corps were issued for the movement."

On the following day, from his headquarters at Corinth, General Johnston issued this brief and animated address to his forces:—"Soldiers of the Army of the Mississippi: I have put you in motion to offer battle to the invaders of your country, with the resolution and discipline and valor becoming men, fighting, as you are, for all worth living or dying for. You can but march to a decisive victory over agrarian mercenaries, sent to subjugate and despoil you of your liberties, property and honor. Remember the precious stake involved, remember the dependence of your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your children, on the result. Remember the fair, broad, abounding lands, the happy homes that will be desolated by your defeat. The eyes and hopes of 8,000,000 people rest upon you. You are expected to show yourselves worthy of your valor and courage, worthy of the women of the South, whose noble devotion in this war has never been exceeded in any time. With such incentives to brave deeds, and with the trust that God is with us, your General will lead you confidently to the combat, assured of success." Accompanying this address were general orders, dividing "the Army of the Mississippi" into three *corps d'armée.* General Beauregard was proclaimed second in command of the whole force. The first *corps d'armée* was assigned to General Polk, and embraced all the troops of his former command, less detached cavalry and artillery, and reserves detached for the defence of Fort Pillow and Madrid bend. The second *corps d'armée* was assigned to General Bragg, and was to consist of the second division of the army of the Mississippi. The third *corps d'armée* was assigned to General Hardee, and consisted of the army of Kentucky. General Crittenden was assigned a command of reserves, to consist of not less than two brigades.

These arrangements having been made, it was expected that Johnston's army would be able to reach the Union lines in time to attack them early on the 5th instant. "The men, however," as General Beauregard informs us, "for the most part, were unused to marching—the roads narrow, and traversing a densely-wooded country, became almost impassable after a severe rain-storm on the night of the 4th, which drenched the troops in bivouac; hence our forces did not reach the intersection of the roads from Pittsburg and Hamburg, in the immediate vicinity of the enemy, until late Saturday afternoon." There was some cavalry skirmishing on the 4th and 5th, the enemy driving in the Union pickets on the Corinth road, and boldly reconnoitring the position of the main army.

At the time of this impending assault, for which such vigorous preparations had been made, the six divisions of General Grant's army, numbering about 40,000, were established on the left bank of the Tennessee, in a semi-circular outline around Pittsburg Landing, waiting the arrival of General Buell's force to commence active operations against the enemy. The ground occupied by the Union troops, and their position on the field, are thus described by a correspondent at the spot: "Let the reader," says he, "understand that the Pittsburg Landing is simply a narrow ravine, down which a road passes to the river bank, between high bluffs on either side. There is no town at all. Two log huts comprise all the improvements visible. Back from the river is a rolling country, cut up with numerous ravines, partially under cultivation, but perhaps the greater part thickly wooded with some under-brush. The soil is clayey, and the roads on Sunday morning were good. From the landing a road leads direct to Corinth, twenty miles distant. A mile or two out this road forks; one branch is the lower Corinth road, the other the ridge Corinth road. A short distance out, another road takes off to the left, crosses Lick creek, and leads back to the river at Hamburg, some miles further up. On the right, two separate roads lead off to Purdy, and another, a new one, across Snake creek to Crump's Landing on the river below. Besides these, the whole country inside our lines is cut up with roads leading to our different camps; and beyond the lines is the most inextricable maze of cross-roads, intersecting everything and leading everywhere, in which it was ever my ill-fortune to become entangled.

"On and between these roads, at distances of from two to four or five miles from Pittsburg Landing, lay five divisions of Major-General Grant's army that Sunday morning. The advance line was formed by three divisions—Brigadier-General Sherman's, Brigadier-General Prentiss', and Major-General McClernand's. Between these and the landing lay the two others—Brigadier-General Hurlbut's and Major-General Smith's, commanded, in the absence (from sickness) of that admirable officer, by Brigadier-General W. H. L. Wallace. Our advance line, beginning at the extreme left, was thus formed:—On the Hamburg road, just this side the crossing of Lick creek, and under bluffs on the opposite bank that commanded the position, lay Colonel D. Stuart's brigade of General Sherman's division. Some three or four miles distant from this brigade, on the lower Corinth road, and between that and the one to Purdy, lay the remaining brigades of Sherman's division, McDowell's forming the extreme right of our whole advance line, Hildebrand's coming next to it, and Buckland's next. Next to Buckland's brigage, though rather behind a portion of

Sherman's, lay Major-General McClernand's division, and between it and Stuart's brigade, already mentioned as forming our extreme left, lay Brigadier-General Prentiss' division, completing the line. Back of this line, within a mile of the landing, lay Hurlbut's division, stretching across the Corinth road, and W. H. L. Wallace's to his right. Such was the position of our troops at Pittsburg Landing at daybreak on Sunday morning. Major-General Lewis Wallace's division lay at Crump's Landing, some miles below, and was not ordered up till about half-past seven o'clock that day."

The attack of the enemy, to be made at the earliest practicable hour in the morning, of Sunday, April 6th, was arranged in accordance with the orders of movement, in three lines of battle; the first and second extending from Owl creek on the left to Lick creek on the right—a distance of about three miles—supported by the third and the reserve. The first line, under Major-General Hardee, was constituted of his corps, augmented on his right by Gladden's brigade, of Major-General Bragg's corps, deployed in line of battle, with their respective artillery, following immediately by the main road to Pittsburg, and the cavalry in rear of the wings. The second line, composed of the other troops of Bragg's corps, followed the first at a distance of five hundred yards, in the same order as the first. The army corps under General Polk followed the second line, at the distance of about eight hundred yards, in lines of brigades, deployed with their batteries in rear of each brigade, moving by the Pittsburg road, the left wing supported by cavalry; the reserve, under Brigadier-General Breckinridge, followed closely the third line, in the same order, its right wing supported by cavalry. These two corps constituted the reserve, and were to support the front lines of battle, by being deployed when required on the right and left of the Pittsburgh road, or otherwise act according to the exigencies of the battle.*

At half-past five on the morning of Sunday these formidable lines and columns were set in motion. General Sherman, with his widely extended brigade in the front, bore the brunt of the attack. Advised of the enemy's approach by their assault upon his advanced guard, he ordered under arms all his division, and sent word to General McClernand, asking him to support the left; to General Prentiss, giving him notice that the enemy was in force on the front, and to General Hurlbut asking him to support General Prentiss. The four brigades of Sherman's division were stationed to the right and left of Shiloh meeting-house, which he regarded as the centre of his position. Two batteries of artillery — Taylor's and Waterhouse's—were posted, the former at Shiloh, the latter on a bridge to the left, with a front fire over open ground, between Munger's and Appler's Ohio regiments. The cavalry and companies of the Fourth Illinois, under Colonel Dickey, were posted in a large open field to the left and rear of the church.

Previously to noticing some of the details of the engagement, it may facilitate the reader's understanding of the complex movements on the field to have before him the outline of the entire two days' engagement, presented in the first official report of General Grant. "It becomes my duty," he writes from Pittsburg, April 9th, to Captain McLean, assistant adjutant-general of the department of the Mississippi, "again to report another battle, fought between two great armies, one contending for the maintenance of the best government ever devised, and the other for its destruction. It is pleasant to record the success of the army contending for the former principle. On Sunday morning our pickets were attacked and driven in by the enemy. Immediately the five divisions stationed at this place were drawn up in line of battle to meet them. The battle soon waxed warm on the left and centre, varying at times to all parts of the line. There was the most continuous firing of musketry and artillery ever heard on this continent, kept up until nightfall. The enemy having forced the entire line to fall back nearly halfway from their camps to the landing, at a late hour in the afternoon a desperate effort was made by the enemy to turn our left and get possession of the landing, transports, etc. This point was guarded by the gunboats Tyler and Lexington, Captains Gwynne and Shirk commanding, with four 24-pounder Parrott guns and a battery of rifled guns. As there is a deep and impassable ravine for artillery or cavalry and very difficult for infantry at this point, no troops were stationed here except the necessary artillerists and a small infantry force for their support. Just at this moment the advance of Major-General Buell's column and a part of the division of General Nelson arrived, the two generals named both being present. An advance was immediately made upon the point of attack, and the enemy was soon driven back. In this repulse much is due to the presence of the gunboats Tyler and Lexington, and their able commanders Captains Gwynne and Shirk. During the night the divisions under Generals Crittenden and McCook arrived. General Lewis Wallace, at Camp Landing, six miles below, was ordered at an early hour in the morning to hold his division in readiness to move in any direction it might be ordered. At eleven o'clock the order was given to move it up to Pittsburg, but owing to its being led by a circuitous route, did not arrive in time to take part in Sunday's action. During the night all was quiet; and, feeling that great moral advantage would be gained by becoming the attacking party, an advance was ordered as soon as day dawned. The result was the gradual repulse of the enemy at all points of the line, from nine until probably five o'clock in the afternoon, when it became evident the enemy was retreating."

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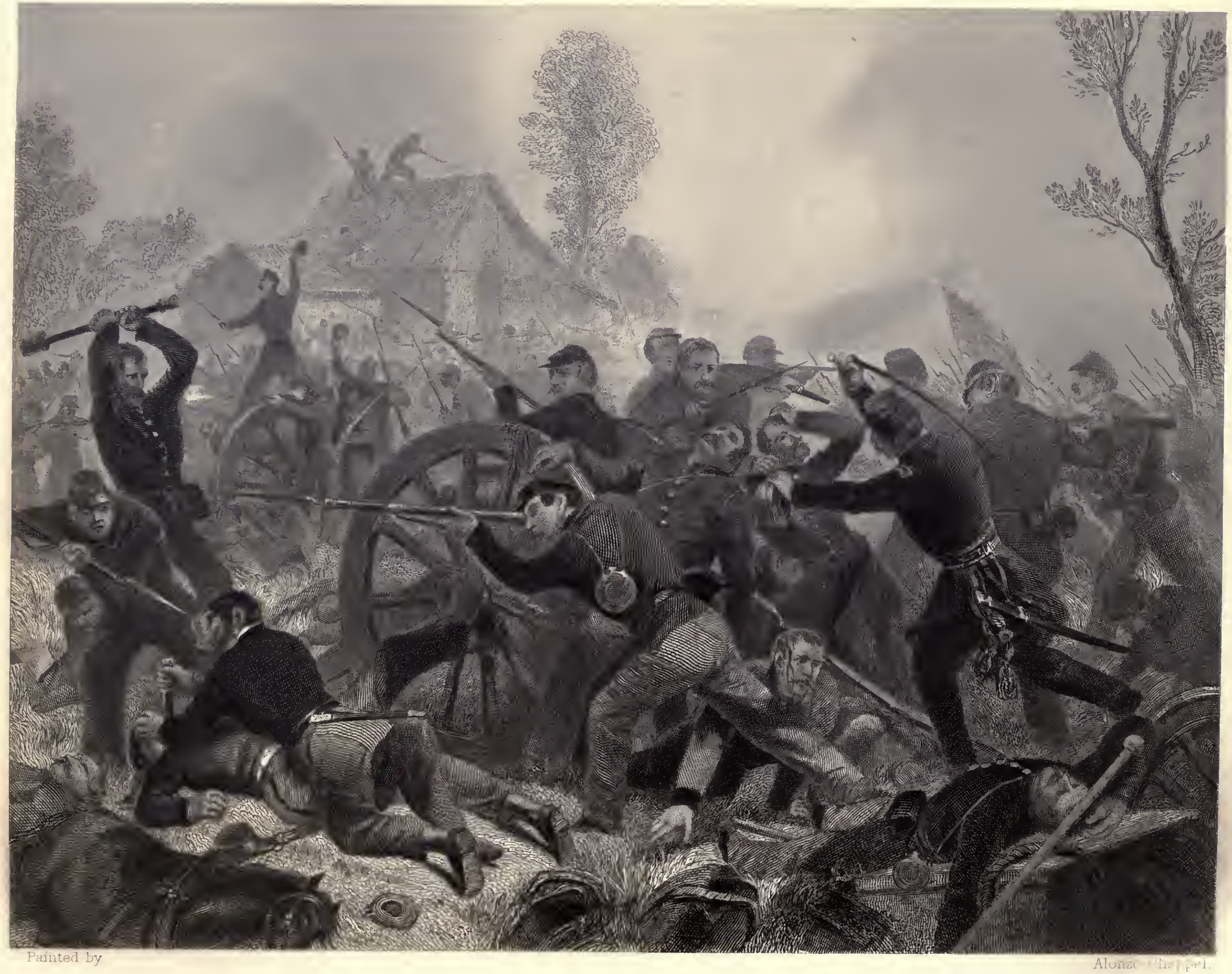
* Official Report of General Beauregard to General Cooper, Adjutant-General C. S. A. Corinth, April 11, 1862.

With this general map in view, we proceed to cite from the reports of the Division commanders a few particulars of the battle calculated to afford an idea of the nature of the gigantic struggle. To do justice to all who participated in it would require a volume. "Shortly after seven A. M.," says General Sherman, in his official report of the day, "with my entire staff, I rode along a portion of our front, and when in the open field before Appler's regiment, the enemy's pickets opened a brisk fire on my party, killing my orderly, Thomas D. Holliday, of Company H, 2d Illinois cavalry. The fire came from the bushes which line a small stream that rises in the field in front of Appler's camp, and flows to the north along my whole front. This valley afforded the enemy a partial cover, but our men were so posted as to have a good fire at him as he crossed the valley and ascended the rising ground on our side. About eight A. M., I saw the glistening bayonets of heavy masses of infantry to our left front, in the woods beyond the small stream alluded to, and became satisfied for the first time, that the enemy designed a determined attack on our whole camp. All the regiments of my division were then in line of battle at their proper posts. I rode to Colonel Appler and ordered him to hold his ground at all hazards, as he held the left flank of our first line of battle, and I informed him that he had a good battery on his right and strong supports to his rear. General McClernand had promptly and energetically responded to my request, and had sent me three regiments, which were posted to protect Waterhouse's battery and the left flank of my line.

"The battle began by the enemy opening a battery in the woods to our front and throwing shell into our camp. Taylor's and Waterhouse's batteries promptly responded, and I then observed heavy battalions of infantry passing obliquely to the left across the open field in Appler's front, also other columns advancing directly upon my division. Our infantry and artillery opened along the whole line, and the battle became general. Other heavy masses of the enemy's forces kept passing across the field to our left, and directing their course on General Prentiss. I saw at once that the enemy designed to pass my left flank and fall upon Generals McClernand and Prentiss, whose line of camps was almost parallel with the Tennessee river, and about two miles back from it. Very soon the sound of musketry and artillery announced that Prentiss was engaged, and about nine A. M., I judged that he was falling back. About this time Appler's regiment broke in disorder, followed by Munger's regiment; and the enemy pressed forward on Waterhouse's battery, thereby exposed. The three Illinois regiments in immediate support of this battery stood for some time, but the enemy's advance was so vigorous, and the fire so severe, that when Colonel Raith of the 43d Illinois received a severe wound and fell from his horse, his regiment and the others manifested disorder, and the enemy got possession of three guns of this (Waterhouse's) battery. Although our left was thus turned, and the enemy was pressing our whole line, I deemed Shiloh so important that I remained by it, and renewed my orders to Colonels McDowell and Buckland to hold their ground; and we did hold these positions until about ten o'clock, A. M., when the enemy had got his artillery to the rear of our left flank, and some change became absolutely necessary. Two regiments of Hildebrand's brigade — Appler's and Munger's—had already disappeared to the rear, and Hildebrand's own regiment was in disorder. I therefore gave orders for Taylor's battery—still at Shiloh —to fall back as far as the Purdy and Hamburgh road, and for McDonald and Buckland to adopt that road as their new line. I rode across the angle, and met Behr's battery at the cross roads, and ordered it immediately to come into action, battery right. Captain Behr gave the order, but he was almost immediately shot from his horse, when drivers and gunners fled in disorder, carrying off the caissons, and abandoning five out of the six guns without firing a shot. The enemy pressed on after gaining this battery, and we were again forced to choose a line of defence. Hildebrand's brigade had substantially disappeared from the field, though he himself bravely remained. McDowell's and Buckland's brigades still maintained their organization, and were conducted by my aids so as to join on McClernand's right, thus abandoning my original camps and line.

"This was about half-past ten o'clock, A. M., at which time the enemy had made a furious attack on General McClernand's whole front. He struggled most determinedly, but finding him pressed, I moved McDowell's brigade directly against the left flank of the enemy, forced him back some distance, and then directed the men to avail themselves of every cover, trees, fallen timber, and a wooded valley to our right. We held this position for four long hours, sometimes gaining, and at others losing ground, General McClernand and myself acting in perfect concert, and struggling to maintain this line. While we were so hardly pressed, two Iowa regiments approached from the rear, but could not be brought up to the severe fire that was raging in our front, and General Grant, who visited us on that ground, will remember our situation about three P. M. But about four o'clock P. M. it was evident that Hurlbut's line had been driven back to the river, and knowing that General Wallace was coming with reinforcements from Crump's Landing, General McClernand and I, on consultation, selected a new line of defence, with its right covering a bridge by which General Wallace had to approach. We fell back as well as we could, gathering, in addition to our



Painted by Alonzo Chappel.

BATTLE OF SHILOH.

RECAPTURE OF ARTILLERY BY A PORTION OF GEN. ROSSEAU'S COMMAND.

own, such scattered forces as we could find, and formed the line. During this change the enemy's cavalry charged us, but were handsomely repulsed by an Illinois regiment, whose number I did not learn at that time or since. The 5th Ohio cavalry, which had come up, rendered good service in holding the enemy in check for some time, and Major Taylor also came up with a new battery, and got into position to get a good flank fire upon the enemy's column, as he pressed on General McClernand's right, checking his advance; when General McClernand's division made a fine charge on the enemy, and drove him back into the ravines to our front and right. I had a clear field about two hundred yards wide in my immediate front, and contented myself with keeping the enemy's infantry at that distance the during rest of the day. In this position we rested for the night. My command had become decidedly of a mixed character. Buckland's brigade was the only one that retained its organization. Colonel Hildebrand was personally there, but his brigade was not. Colonel McDowell had been severely injured by a fall of his horse, and had gone to the river, and the regiments of his brigade were not in line. The 13th Missouri, Colonel Crafts J. Wright, had reported to me on the field, and fought well, and it formed a part of my line during Sunday night and all Monday. Other fragments of regiments and companies had also fallen into my division, and acted with it during the remainder of the battle. * * My division was made up of regiments perfectly new, nearly all having received their muskets for the first time at Paducah. None of them had been under fire, or beheld heavy columns of an enemy bearing down on them as they did on last Sunday. To expect of them the coolness and steadiness of older troops would be wrong. They knew not the value of combination and organization; when individual fear seized them the first impulse was to get away."

General Hurlbut's division being stationed on the left, in the rear of that of General Prentiss, where the most successful attack of the enemy was made, was called upon to bear a proportionate share of the engagement. Early informed by General Sherman of the enemy's assault, he promptly sent the 2d brigade of Colonel Veatch to his aid; and receiving a pressing request for aid from General Prentiss, put himself at the head of Colonel Williams' and Brigadier-General Laumann's 1st and 3d brigades, of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky troops, with a detachment of Ohio cavalry and three batteries, and advanced to his relief. "As we drew near the rear and left of General Prentiss' line," says General Hurlbut in his official report, "his regiments, in broken masses, drifted through my advance, that gallant officer making every effort to rally them. I formed my line of battle—the 1st brigade thrown to the front on the southerly side of a large open field—the 3d brigade continuing the line with an obtruse angle around the other side of the field, and extending some distance into the brush and timber. Mann's battery was placed in the angle of the lines, Ross's battery, some distance to the left, and the 13th Ohio battery on the right, and somewhat advanced in cover of the timber, so as to concentrate the fire upon the open ground in front, and waited for the attack. A single shot from the enemy's batteries struck in Meyer's 13th Ohio battery, when officers and men, with a common impulse of disgraceful cowardice, abandoned the entire battery—horses, caissons, and guns—and fled, and I saw them no more until Tuesday. I called for volunteers from the artillery, the call was answered, and ten gallant men from Mann's battery and Ross's battery, brought in the horses, which were wild, and spiked the guns.

"The attack commenced on the 3d brigade through the thick timber, and was met and repelled by a steady and continuous fire, which rolled the enemy back in confusion after some half hour of struggle, leaving many dead and wounded. The glimmer of bayonets on the left and front of the 1st brigade showed a large force of the enemy gathering, and an attack was soon made on the 41st Illinois and the 28th, on the left of the brigade, and the 32d Illinois and 3d Iowa on the right. At the same time a strong force of very steady and gallant troops formed in columns, doubled on the centre and advanced over the open field in front. They were allowed to approach within four hundred yards, when fire was opened from Mann's and Ross's batteries, and from the two right regiments of the 1st brigade, and the 17th and 25th Kentucky, which were thrown forward slightly, so as to flank the column. Under this withering fire they vainly attempted to deploy, but soon broke and fell back under cover, leaving not less than one hundred and fifty dead and wounded as evidence how our troops maintained their position. The attack on the left was also repulsed, but as the ground was covered with brush, the loss could not be judged. General Prentiss having succeeded in rallying a considerable portion of his command, I permitted him to pass to the front of the right of my 3d brigade, where they redeemed their honor by maintaining that line for some time while ammunition was supplied to my regiments. A series of attacks upon the right and left of my line were readily repelled, until I was compelled to order Ross's battery to the rear, on account of its loss in men and horses. During all this time, Mann's battery maintained its fire steadily, effectively, and with great rapidity, under the excellent handling of Lieutenant E. Brotzmann.

"For five hours these brigades maintained their position under repeated and heavy attacks, and endeavored with their thin ranks to hold the space between Stewart's and McClernand's, and did check every attempt to penetrate the lines. When about three o'clock, Colonel Stewart, on my left, sent me word that he was driven in, and that I would be flanked on the left in a few moments, it was necessary for me to decide at once to abandon either the right or left. I considered that General Prentiss could, with the left of General McClernand's troops, probably hold the right, and sent him notice to reach out toward the right, and drop back steadily parallel with my 1st brigade, while I rapidly moved General Laumann from the right to the left, and called up two 20-pounder pieces of Major Cavender's battalion to check the advance of the enemy upon the 1st brigade. These pieces were taken into action by Dr. Corvine, the surgeon of the battalion, and Lieutenant Edwards, and effectually checked the enemy for half an hour, giving me time to draw off my crippled artillery, and to form a new front with the 3d brigade. In a few minutes, two Texan regiments crossed the ridge separating my line from Stewart's former one, while other troops also advanced. Willard's battery was thrown into position, under command of Lieutenant Wood, and opened with great effect on the Lone Star flags, until their line of fire was obstructed by the charge of the 3d brigade, which, after delivering its fire with great steadiness, charged full up the hill, and drove the enemy three hundred or four hundred yards. Perceiving that a heavy force was closing on the left between my line and the river, while heavy fire continued on the right and front, I ordered the line to fall back. The retreat was made quietly and steadily, and in good order. I had hoped to make a stand on the line of my camp, but masses of the enemy were pressing rapidly on each flank, while their light artillery was closing rapidly in the rear. On reaching the 24-pounder siege guns in battery, near the river, I again succeeded in forming line of battle in rear of the guns, and by direction of Major-General Grant I assumed command of all troops that came up. Broken regiments and disordered battalions came into line gradually upon my division. Major Cavender posted six of his 20-pound pieces on my right, and I sent my Aid to establish the light artillery, all that could be found, on my left. Many officers and men unknown to me, and whom I never desire to know, fled in confusion through the line. Many gallant soldiers and brave officers rallied steadily on the new line. I passed to the right, and found myself in communication with General Sherman, and received his instructions. In a short time the enemy appeared on the crest of the ridge, led by the 18th Louisiana, but were cut to pieces by the steady and murderous fire of the artillery. Dr. Corvine again took charge of one of the heavy 24-pounders, and the line of fire of that gun was the one upon which the other pieces concentrated. General Sherman's artillery also was rapidly engaged, and after an artillery contest of some duration the enemy fell back. Captain Gwin, U.S.N., had called upon me by one of his officers, to mark the place the gunboats might take to open their fire. I advised him to take position on the left of my camp-ground, and open fire as soon as our fire was within that line. He did so, and from my own observation and the statement of prisoners, his fire was most effectual in stopping the advance of the enemy on Sunday afternoon and night. About dusk the firing ceased. I advanced my division one hundred yards to the front, threw out pickets, and officers and men bivouaced in a heavy storm of rain."

There was yet another division warmly engaged on this disastrous Sunday, that of General Smith on the right—Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri troops—commanded, in the absence of that officer, by Brigadier-General W. H. L. Wallace. After gallantly maintaining its ground against repeated attacks for six hours, from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon, when it was fairly surrounded by the enemp, it was compelled to retire. General Wallace passing through the cross fire fell mortally wounded, when the command of the division devolved upon Brigadier-General John McArthur. He too was wounded, when Colonel Tuttle of the 1st brigade assumed command, being the ranking officer. He rallied the broken fragments of the various regiments, drew them together in line on the road, "and held the enemy in check until the line was formed that resisted the last charge just before dark of Sunday."

The two gunboats bore an important part in arresting the disasters of the day. The Tyler and Lexington were both at Pittsburg, or in its neighborhood, at the commencement of the engagement, and early in the forenoon had taken a good position to support the troops above the Landing. The Lexington then went down to Crump's Landing, to assist the command of General Wallace at that point. It was about half-past one in the afternoon when Capt. Gwin sent to General Hurlbut, requesting permission to open fire. About three o'clock, having received the necessary orders, he opened fire, and for an hour played with effect upon the enemy's batteries on the left. The Tyler was then joined by the Lexington, and taking a new position together, about three-quarters of a mile above Pittsburg, opened a heavy fire in the direction of the rebel batteries on their right, with the enemy's missiles falling all around them. The batteries were silenced in thirty-five minutes. About half-past five o'clock, "the rebels," says Captain Gwin, "having succeeded in gaining a position on the left of our line, an eighth of a mile above our landing at Pittsburg, and a half mile from the river, both vessels opened a heavy and well-directed fire on them, and in a short time, in conjunction with our military on shore, succeeded in silencing their artillery, driving them back in confusion. At six P. M. the Tyler opened deliberate fire in the direction of the rebels' right wing, throwing five and ten-second shells, and at twenty-five minutes past six o'clock ceased firing."*

General Grant, at the opening of the battle, in the morning, was at his headquarters at Savannah. Leaving the necessary orders for forwarding the reinforcements, coming up or at hand, he reached the field early in the day, and with his staff, was fearlessly exposed riding along the lines, directing the movements, and encouraging the men to persevere till aid should come. The arrival of the advance of Gen. Buell's army at a critical moment in the afternoon, together with the opportune aid of the gunboats, doubtless saved the army of General Grant from utter discomfiture. General Buell, leaving Columbia on the 2d instant, reached Savannah with General Nelson's division on the evening of the 5th, the day before the battle. The other divisions were following at intervals of six miles. Hearing the firing of musketry and cannon from the direction of Pittsburg on the morning of the 6th, General Buell dispatched orders to the divisions in the rear to leave their trains and push forward by forced marches, and in accordance with instructions left by General Grant, sent General Nelson's division as rapidly as possible to the scene of action, the troops by land to the ferry at Pittsburg Landing, the artillery by water. "The impression," says General Buell, in his official report, "existed at Savannah that the firing was merely an affair of outposts, the same thing having occurred for two or three previous days; but as it continued I determined to go to the scene of action, and accordingly started with my chief of staff, Colonel Fry, on a steamer which I ordered to get under steam. As we proceeded up the river, groups of soldiers were seen upon the west bank, and it soon became evident that they were stragglers from the engaged army. The groups increased in size and frequency, until, as we approached the landing, they numbered whole companies and almost regiments; and at the landing, the banks swarmed with a confused mass of men of various regiments. There could not have been less than 4,000 or 5,000. Late in the day it became much greater. Finding General Grant at the landing, I requested him to send steamers to Savannah to bring up General Crittenden's division, which had arrived during the morning, and then went ashore with him. The throng of disorganized, demoralized troops increased continually by fresh fugitives from the battle, which steadily drew nearer the landing, and with these were intermingled great numbers of teams, all striving to get as near as possible to the river. With few exceptions, all efforts to form the troops and move them forward to the fight utterly failed. In the mean time the enemy had made such progress against our troops that his artillery and musketry began to play into the vital spot of the position, and some persons were killed on the bank of the very landing. General Nelson arrived with Colonel Ammen's brigade at this opportune moment. It was immediately posted to meet the attack at that point, and with a battery of artillery, which happened to be on the ground, and was brought into action, opened fire on the enemy and repulsed him. The action of the gunboats also contributed very much to that result. The attack at that point was not renewed. Night having come on, the firing ceased on both sides." The day, indeed, closed on a discomfited host. Overpowered by greatly superior numbers, and by the fury of the assailants—the picked troops of the southwest, hardy, desperate, inured to conflict, —the newly raised regiments of the Union ranks—though for the most part offering a gallant resistance, and inflicting heavy losses on their adversaries, had been

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[*] Lieutenant Commanding William Gwin, to Flag Officer A. H. Foote, commanding Naval Forces on Western Waters. Pittsburg, Tenn., April 8, 1862.

driven, in some instances in confusion, to the shelter of the gunboats, the defence of the bluffs, and a narrow line in the vicinity of the river. The enemy, in the enumeration by General Beauregard, boasted the possession of all the Union "encampments of the morning between Owl and Lick creek but one, nearly all the field artillery [thirty-six was the number claimed in a subsequent dispatch], about 30 flags, colors, and standards, over 3,000 prisoners, including a division commander, General Prentiss, several brigade commanders, thousands of small arms, an immense supply of subsistence, forage, and munitions of war, and a large amount of means of transportation—all the substantial fruits of a complete victory—such, indeed, as rarely have followed the most successful battles; for never was an army so well provided as that of our enemy." The Confederate general admits that the result was accomplished "only by a sustained onset of all the men we could bring into action," a force estimated at 60,000 opposed to little more than half the number; while he had to mourn the loss of the commander-in-chief, General Johnston, who "fell mortally wounded, and died on the field at half-past two, P. M., after having shown the highest qualities of the commander, and a personal intrepidity that inspired all around him, and gave resistless impulsion to his columns at critical moments." The same day General Beauregard sent the following dispatch from "the battle field of Shiloh," the name given to the engagement by the Confederates, to Adjutant-General Cooper at Richmond:—"We have this morning attacked the enemy in a strong position in front of Pittsburg, and after a severe battle of ten hours, thanks to Almighty God, gained a complete victory, driving the enemy from every position. The loss on both sides is heavy, including our commander-in-chief, General Albert S. Johnston, who fell gallantly leading his troops into the thickest of the fight."

Thus ended the first day's fight at Pittsburg, to be resumed on the morrow under new auspices, and with different results. The night was one of anxious preparation by the Union troops, surrounded by the wounded and the dead—the field deluged by a heavy thunder storm—and with the more fearful discouragements of the broken regiments. The great body of the army, however, was sound, and intent upon the work before it. Captain Gwin was busy with his gunboats throughout the night. The Tyler opening fire at nine P. M., and "throwing five, ten, and fifteen-second shells, and an occasional shrapnel shell from the howitzer, at intervals of ten minutes, in the direction of the rebel right wing until one A. M., when the Lexington continued the fire, at intervals of fifteen minutes, until five A. M., when our land forces having attacked the enemy, forcing them gradually back, it made it dangerous for the gunboats to fire."*

The official report of General Buell records the arrival of his troops in the night, and the dispositions of his army the following day. "After examining," says he, "the ground as well as was possible at night, in front of the line on which General Grant's troops had formed, and as far to the right as General Sherman's division, I directed Nelson's and Crittenden's divisions to form in front of that line, and move forward as soon as it was light in the morning. During the night, and early the following morning, Captain Bartlett's Ohio battery, Captains Mendenhall and Terrell's regular batteries arrived. General McCook, by a forced march, arrived at Savannah during the night of the 6th, and reached the field of battle early in the morning of the 7th. I knew that the other divisions could not arrive in time for the action that day.

"The patch of country on which the battles of the 6th and 7th were fought, is called Shiloh, from the little church of that name which stands in its midst. It consists of an undulating table land, elevated

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* Report of Lieutenant Commanding Gwin.

some eighty or one hundred feet above the road bottom. Along the Tennessee river, to the east, it breaks into abrupt ravines, and, towards the south, runs along Lick creek, which empties into Tennessee river some three miles above Pittsburg Landing, into a range of hills of some height, whose slopes are gradual toward the battle-field, and somewhat abrupt toward Lick creek. Owl creek, rising near the source of Lick creek, flows to the north-east, around the battle-field, into Snake creek, which empties into Tennessee river some miles below Lick creek. The drainage is mainly from Lick creek ridge and the table land, into Owl creek. Coming from Corinth, the principal road crosses Lick creek at two points, some twelve miles from its mouth, and separates into three or four principal branches, which enter the table land from the south, at a distance of about a mile apart. Generally, the face of the country is covered with woods, through which troops can pass without great difficulty, though occasionally the undergrowth is dense. Small farms and cultivated fields, of from seventy-five to eighty acres, occur here and there, but as a general thing the country is a forest. My entire ignorance of the various roads, and of the character of the country at the time, rendered it impossible to anticipate the probable disposition of the enemy, and the woods were always sufficient to screen his preparatory movements from observation.

"Soon after five o'clock on the morning of the 7th, General Nelson's and General Crittenden's divisions, the only ones yet arrived on the ground, moved promptly forward to meet the enemy. Nelson's division, marching in line of battle, soon came upon his pickets, drove them in, and at about six o'clock received the fire of his artillery. The division was here halted, then Mendenhall's battery brought into action to reply, while Crittenden's division was being put into position on the right of Nelson's. Bartlett's battery was posted in the center of Crittenden's division, in a commanding position, opposite which the enemy was discovered to be in force. By this time McCook's division arrived on the ground, and was immediately formed on the right of Crittenden's. Skirmishers were thrown to the front, and a strong body of them to guard our left flank, which, though somewhat protected by rough grounds, it was supposed the enemy might attempt to turn, and in fact did, but was repulsed with great loss. Each brigade furnished its own reserve, and in addition, Boyle's brigade, of Crittenden's division, though it formed at first in the line, was kept somewhat back when the line advanced, to be used as occasion might require. I found upon the ground parts of about two regiments, perhaps 1,000 men, and subsequently a similar fragment came up of General Grant's force. The first I directed to act with General McCook's attack, and the second one was similarly employed on the left. I sent other straggling troops of General Grant's force immediately on General McCook's right, as some firing had already commenced there. I had no direct knowledge of the disposition of the remainder of General Grant's force, nor is it my province to speak of them. I regret that I am unable to name those that came under my direction in the way I have stated, for they rendered willing and efficient service during the day.

"The force under my command occupied a line of about a mile and a half. In front of Nelson's division was an open field, partly screened to his right by a skirt of woods, which extended through the enemy's line, with a thick undergrowth in front of the left brigade of Crittenden's division—then an open field in front of Crittenden's right and McCook's left, and in front of McCook's right woods again with a dense undergrowth. The ground, mainly level in front of Nelson's, formed a hollow in front of Crittenden's, and fell into a small creek which empties into Owl creek, in front of McCook's. What I afterward learned was the Hamburg road, which crosses Lick creek a mile from its mouth, passed perpendicularly through the line of battle near Nelson's left. On a line slightly oblique to us, and beyond the open field, the enemy was formed, with a battery in front of Nelson's left; a battery commanding the woods in front of Crittenden's left, and flanking the field in front of Nelson; a battery commanding the same woods and the field in front of Crittenden's right and McCook's left, and a battery in front of McCook's right. A short distance in rear of the enemy's left, on high open ground, were the encampments of McClernand's and Sherman's divisions, which the enemy held.

"While my troops were getting into position on the right, the artillery fire was kept up between Mendenhall's battery and the enemy's second battery, with some effect. Bartlett's battery, put in position before the enemy's third battery, opened fire on that part of the line, and when, very soon after, our line advanced with strong bodies of skirmishers in front, the action became general, and continued with severity during the greater part of the day, and until the enemy was driven from the field. The obliquity of our line upon the left being thrown forward, brought Nelson's division first into action. and it became very hotly engaged at an early hour. A charge of the 19th brigade from Nelson's right, by its commander, Colonel Hazen, reached the enemy's second battery, but the brigade sustained a heavy loss by a cross fire of the enemy's batteries, and was unable to maintain its advantage against the heavy infantry force that came forward to oppose it. The enemy recovered the battery, and followed up his advantage by throwing a heavy force of infantry into the woods in front of Crittenden's left. The left brigade of that division, Colonel W. S. Smith commanding, advanced into the woods, repulsed the enemy handsomely, and took several prisoners. In the meantime, Captain Terrell's battery, which had just landed, reached the field, and was advanced into action near the left of Nelson's division, which was very heavily pressed by the great numbers of the enemy. It belonged properly to McCook's division. It took position near the Hamburg road, in the open ground in front of the enemy's right, and at once began to act with decided effect upon the tide of battle in that quarter. The enemy's right battery was silenced. Ammen's brigade, which was on the left, advanced in good order upon the enemy's right, but was checked for some time by his endeavor to turn our left flank, and by his strong center attack in front. Captain Terrell, who in the meantime had taken an advanced position, was compelled to retire, leaving one caisson, of which every horse was killed or disabled. It was very soon recovered. Having been reinforced by a regiment from General Boyle's brigade, Nelson's division again moved forward, and forced the enemy to abandon entirely his position. This success flanked the enemy at his second and third batteries, from which he was soon driven, with the loss of several pieces of artillery, by the concentrated fire of Terrell's and Mendenhall's batteries, and an attack from Crittenden's division in front. The enemy made a second stand some eight hundred yards in rear of this position, and opened fire with his artillery. Mendenhall's battery was thrown forward, silenced the battery, and it was captured by Crittenden's division, the enemy retreating from it. In the mean time, the division of General McCook on the right, which became engaged somewhat later in the morning than the divisions on the left, had made steady progress until it drove the enemy's left from the hotly contested field. The action was commenced in this division by General Rousseau's brigade, which drove the enemy in front of it from his first position, and captured a battery. The line of attack of this division caused a considerable widening of the space between it and Crittenden's right. It was also outflanked on its right by the line of the enemy who made repeated strong attacks on its flanks, but was always gallantly repulsed. The enemy made his last decided stand in front of this division, in the woods beyond Sherman's camp. Two brigades of General Wood's division arrived just at the close of the battle, but only one, that of Colonel Wagner, in time to participate actively in the pursuit, which it continued for about a mile, and until halted by my order. Its skirmishers became engaged for a few minutes with skirmishers covering the enemy's rear guard, which made a momentary stand. It was also fired upon by the enemy's artillery on its right flank, but without effect. It was well conducted by its commanders, and showed great steadiness.

"The pursuit was continued no further that day. I was without cavalry, and the different corps had become a good deal scattered in a pursuit in a country which secreted the enemy's movements, and of the roads of which I knew practically nothing. In the beginning of the pursuit, thinking that the enemy had retired principally by the Hamburg road, I had ordered Nelson's division to follow as far as Lick creek on that road, from which I afterwards learned the direct Corinth road was separated by a difficult ravine which empties into Lick creek. I therefore occupied myself with examining the ground, getting the different divisions into position, which was not effected until some time after dark. The following day, in pursuance of the directions of General Grant, General Wood was sent forward with two of his brigades, which arrived the previous evening, and a battery of artillery, to discover the position of the enemy, and to press him if he should be found in retreat. General Sherman, with about the same force from General Grant's army, was on the same service, and had a spirited skirmish with the enemy's cavalry, driving it back. The main force was found to have retreated beyond Lick creek, and our troops returned at night." In recounting the trophies of the day, General Buell enumerates "twenty pieces of artillery, a greater number of caissons, and a considerable number of small arms. Many of the cannon were recaptured from the loss of the previous day. Several stands of colors were also recaptured."

Resuming the official report by General Sherman, after his narrative of the first day's battle, we find the sequel of the engagement thus narrated: "General Wallace arrived from Crump's Landing shortly after dark, and formed his line to my right and rear. It rained hard during the night, but our men were in good spirits, and lay on their arms, being satisfied with such bread and meat as could be gathered at the neighboring camps, and determined to redeem on Monday the losses of Sunday. At daylight of Monday, I received General Grant's orders to advance and recapture our original camps. I dispatched several members of my staff to bring up all the men they could find, and especially the brigade of Colonel Stuart, which had been separated from the division, or, rather, what remained of it. With the 13th Missouri and other fragments, we moved forward and reoccupied the ground on the extreme right of General McClernand's camp, where we attracted the fire of a battery located near Colonel McDowell's headquarters. Here I remained patiently awaiting the sound of General Buell's advance upon the main Corinth road. About ten A. M. the heavy firing in this direction, and its steady approach, satisfied me, and leaving General Wallace to hold our right flank with his well-conducted division, I led the head of my column to General McClernand's right, formed line of battle facing south, with Buckland's brigade on its right, in the woods, and thus advanced steadily and slowly under a heavy fire of musketry and artillery. Taylor had just got to me from the rear, where he had gone for ammunition, and brought up three guns, which I ordered into position to advance by hand firing.

"These guns belonged to Company A, Chicago light artillery, commanded by Lieutenant P. P. Wood, and did most excellent service. Under cover of their fire we advanced till we reached the point where the Corinth road crosses the line of McClernand's camp, and here I saw for the first time the well-ordered and compact columns of General Buell's Kentucky forces, whose soldierly movements at once gave confidence to our newer and less disciplined forces. Here I saw Willich's regiment advance upon a point of water-oaks and thicket, behind which I knew the enemy was in great strength, and enter it in beautiful style. Then arose the severest musketry fire I ever heard, which lasted some twenty minutes, when this splendid regiment had to fall back. This green point of timber is about five hundred yards east of Shiloh meeting-house, and it was evident here was to be the struggle. The enemy could also be seen forming his lines to the south. General McClernand sending to me for artillery, I dispatched to him the three guns of Wood's battery, with which he speedily drove them back; and seeing some others to the rear I sent one of my staff to bring them forward, when, by almost Providential decree, they proved to be two 24-pound howitzers, belonging to McAllister's battery, and served as well as ever guns could be. This was about two P. M. The enemy had one battery close to Shiloh, and another near the Hamburg road, both pouring grape and canister upon my column of troops that advanced upon the green point of water-oaks. Willich's regiment had been repulsed, but a whole brigade of McCook's division advanced beautifully, deployed, and entered this dreaded wood. I ordered my second brigade, then commanded by Colonel T. Kilby Smith (Colonel Stewart being wounded), to form on its right, and my fourth brigade, Colonel Buckland, on its left, all to advance abreast with the Kentucky brigade before mentioned, which I afterwards found to be Rousseau's brigade of McCook's division. I gave personal direction to the 24-pounder guns, whose well-directed fire first silenced the enemy's guns to the left, and afterwards at the Shiloh meeting-house. Rousseau's brigade moved in splendid order steadily to the front, sweeping everything before it, and at four P. M. stood upon the ground of our original front line, and the enemy was in full retreat."

General Lewis Wallace's 3d division of Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri troops, composed of the three brigades commanded by Colonels Morgan L. Smith, John M. Thayer, and Charles Whittlesey, after an arduous day's march from Crump's Landing on Sunday, in which they had been compelled to change their course by the falling back of the forces they were coming to support, were about one o'clock of Monday morning ready for battle on the extreme right. Shortly after daybreak a portion of his artillery drove a battery of the enemy from an opposite bluff, and the division moved forward over the ground gained. "I was then," says General Wallace in his official report, "at the edge of an oblong field that extended in a direction parallel with the river. On its right was a narrow strip of wood, and beyond that lay another cleared field, square and very large. Back of both fields to the north was a range of bluffs, overlooking the swampy low grounds of Snake creek, heavily timbered, broken by ravines, and extending in a course diagonal with that of my movement. An examination satisfied me that the low grounds afforded absolute protection to my right flank, being impassable for a column of attack. The enemy's left had rested upon the bluffs, and as it had been driven back, that flank was now exposed. I resolved to attempt to turn it. For that purpose it became necessary for me to change a front by a left half wheel of the whole division. While the movement was in progress, across a road through the woods at the southern end of the field we were resting by, I discovered a heavy column of rebels going rapidly to reinforce their left, which was still retiring, covered by skirmishers, with whom mine were engaged. Thompson's battery was ordered up and shelled the passing column with excellent effect, but while so engaged he was opened on by a full battery planted in the field just beyond the strip of woods on the right. He promptly turned his guns at the new enemy. A fine artillery duel ensued, very honorable to Thompson and his company. His ammunition giving out in the midst of it, I ordered him to retire, and Lieutenant Thurber to take his place. Thurber obeyed with such alacrity that there was scarcely an intermission in the fire, which continued so long and with such warmth as to provoke the attempt on the part of the rebels to change the position. Discovering the intention, the 1st brigade was brought across the field to occupy the strip of woods in front of Thurber. The cavalry made the first dash at the battery, but the skirmishers of the 8th Missouri poured an unexpected fire into them, and they retired pell-mell. Next the infantry attempted a charge; the 1st brigade easily repelled them. All this time my whole division was under a furious cannonade, but being well masked behind the bluff or resting in the hollows of the wood, the regiments suffered but little.

"A handsome line of battle now moved forward on my left to engage the enemy. I supposed it to be Sherman's troops, but was afterward otherwise informed. Simultaneously mine was ordered to advance, the 1st brigade leading. Emerging from the woods, it entered the second field I have mentioned, speedily followed by the 2d brigade, when both marched in face of the enemy aligned as regularly as if on parade. Having changed front, as stated, my movement was now diagonal to the direction originally started on, though the order was still in echelon, with the centre regiment of each brigade dropped behind its place in line as a reserve. While thus advancing, Colonel Whittlesey, as appears from his report, in some way lost his position, but soon recovered it. The position of the enemy was now directly in front, at the edge of the woods fronting and on the right of the open field my command was so gallantly crossing. The ground to be passed getting at them dipped gradually to the centre of the field, which is there intersected by a small run well fringed with willows. Clearing an abrupt bank beyond the branch, the surface ascends to the edge of the woods held by the enemy, and is without obstruction, but marked by frequent swells that afforded protection to the advancing lines, and was the secret of my small loss. Over the branch, up the bank, across the rising ground, moved the steady 1st brigade—on its right, with equal alacrity, marched the 2d; the whole in view, their banners gayly decking the scene. The skirmishers in action all the way cleared the rise, and grouped themselves behind the ground swells within seventy-five yards of the rebel lines. As the regiments approached them, suddenly a sheet of musketry blazed from the woods, and a battery opened upon them. About the same instant, the regiments supporting me on my left fell hastily back. To save my flank, I was compelled to order a halt. In a short time, however, the retiring regiments rallied, and repulsed the enemy, and recovered their lost ground. My skirmishers meanwhile clung to their hillocks, sharp-shooting at the battery. Again the brigades advanced, their bayonets fixed for a charge. But, pressed on their flank, and so threatened in front, the rebels removed their guns, and fell back from the edge of the woods. In this advance Lieutenant-Colonel J. Gerber was killed, and it is but justice to say of him, 'No man died that day with more glory;' yet many died, and there was much glory. Captain McGaffin and Lieutenant Southwick, of the same regiment, also fell — gallant spirits, deserving honorable recollection. Many soldiers equally brave perished, or were wounded on the same field.

"It was now noon, and the enemy having been driven so far back, the idea of flanking them further had to be given up. Not wishing to interfere with the line of operations of the division to my left, but relying on it for support, my front was again changed, the movement beginning with the 1st brigade, taking the course of attack precisely as it had been in the outset. While the maneuver was being effected, a squadron of rebel cavalry galloped from the woods on the right, to charge the flank temporarily exposed. Colonel Thayer threw forward the 23d Indiana, which, aided by an oblique fire from a company of the 1st Nebraska, repelled the assailants with loss. Scarcely had the front been changed, when the supporting force on the left again gave way, closely followed by masses of the enemy. My position at this time became critical, as isolation from the rest of the army seemed imminent. The reserves were resorted to. Colonel Woods, with his regiment, was ordered into line on the left. The remnant of a Michigan regiment sent me by General McClernand was dispatched to the left of Woods'. Thurber galloped up, and was posted to cover a retreat, should such a misfortune become necessary. Before the dispositions could be effected, the 11th Indiana, already engaged with superior numbers in its front, was attacked on its left flank; but backward wheeling three companies of his endangered wing, Colonel McGinniss gallantly held his ground. Fortunately, before the enemy could avail themselves of their advantage by the necessary change of front, some fresh troops dashed against them, and once more drove them back. For this favor my acknowledgments are especially due Colonel August Willich and his famous regiment. Pending this struggle, Colonel Thayer pushed on his command and entered the woods, assaulting the rebels simultaneously with Colonel Smith. Here the 58th Ohio and 23d Indiana proved themselves fit comrades in battle with the noble 1st Nebraska. Here, also, the 76th Ohio won a brilliant fame. The 1st Nebraska fired away its last cartridge in the heat of the action. At a word, the 76th Ohio rushed in and took its place. Off to the right meanwhile arose the music of the 20th and 78th Ohio, fighting gallantly in support of Thurber, to whom the sound of rebel cannon seemed a challenge no sooner heard than accepted. From the time the wood was entered, forward was the only order. And step by step, from tree to tree, position to position, the rebel lines went back, never stopping again —infantry, horse, and artillery all went back. The firing was grand and terrible. Before us was the Crescent regiment of New Orleans—shelling us on the right was the Washington Artillery of Manassas renown, whose last stand was in front of Colonel Whittlesey's command. To and fro, now in my front, then in Sherman's, rode General Beauregard, inciting his troops, and fighting for his fading *prestige* of invincibility. The desperation of the struggle may be easily imagined. While this was in progress, far along the lines to the left the contest was raging with equal obstinacy. As indicated by the sounds, however, the enemy seemed retiring everywhere. Cheer after cheer rang through the woods. Each man felt the day was ours. About four o'clock the enemy to my front broke into rout, and ran through the camps occupied by General Sherman, on Sunday morning. Their own camp had been established about two miles beyond.

There, without halting, they fired tents, stores, etc. Throwing out the wounded, they filled their wagons full of arms (Springfield muskets and Enfield rifles), ingloriously thrown away by some of our troops the day before, and hurried on. After following them until nearly nightfall, I brought my division back to Owl creek, and bivouaced it. The conduct of Colonel M. L. Smith and Colonel John M. Thayer, commanding brigades, was beyond the praise of words. Colonel Whittlesey's was not behind them. To them all belong the highest honors of victory."

From these details which might be readily multiplied from the reports of the division and brigade commanders, the interesting narratives of Generals Rousseau, McCook, Nelson, and others, may be gathered some adequate idea of the resolute and determined conflicts of the 6th and 7th of April, by far the most serious engagement yet fought in the war.

The account of the second day's engagement, from the official report of the Confederate General Beauregard, will complete the narrative of this memorable battle. After the death of General Johnston on the afternoon of Sunday, General Beauregard had taken the chief command on the field, "a responsibility," says he, "which, in my physical condition, I would have gladly avoided, though cast upon me when our forces were successfully pushing the enemy back upon the Tennessee river, and though supported on the immediate field by such corps commanders as Major-Generals Polk, Bragg, and Hardee, and Brigadier-General Breckinridge commanding the reserve. It was after six o'clock P. M., when the enemy's last position was carried, and his forces finally broke and sought refuge behind a commanding eminence covering Pittsburg Landing, not more than half a mile distant, and under the guns of the gunboats, which opened on our eager columns a fierce and annoying fire with shot and shell of the heaviest description. Darkness was close at hand. Officers and men were exhausted by a combat of over twelve hours without food, and jaded by the march of the preceding day, through mud and water; it was therefore impossible to collect the rich and opportune spoils of war scattered broadcast on the field left in our possession, and impracticable to make any effective dispositions for their removal to the rear. I accordingly established my headquarters at the church of Shiloh, in the enemy's encampment, with Major-General Bragg, and directed our troops to sleep on their arms, in such positions in advance and rear as corps commanders should determine, hoping, from news received by a special dispatch, that delays had been encountered by General Buell in his march from Columbia, and that his main forces, therefore, could not reach the field of battle in time to save General Grant's shattered fugitive forces from capture or destruction on the following day.

"During the night the rain fell in torrents, adding to the discomfort and harassed condition of the men; the enemy, moreover, had broken their rest by a discharge, at measured intervals, of heavy shells, thrown from the gunboats; therefore, on the following morning, the troops under my command were not in condition to cope with an equal force of fresh troops, armed and equipped like our adversary, in the immediate possession of his depots, and sheltered by such an auxiliary as the enemy's gunboats. About six o'clock on the morning of the 7th of April, however, a hot fire of musketry and artillary opened from the enemy's quarter on our advanced line, assuring me of the junction of his forces, and soon the battle raged with a fury that satisfied me I was attacked by a largely superior force. But from the onset, our troops, notwithstanding their fatigue and losses from the battle of the day before, exhibited the most cheering, veteran-like steadiness. On the right and centre the enemy was repulsed in every attempt he made with his heavy column in that quarter of the field; on the left, however, and nearest to the point of arrival of his reinforcements, he drove forward line after line of his fresh troops, which were met with a resolution and courage of which our country may be proudly hopeful. Again and again our troops were brought to the charge, invariably to win the position at issue, invariably to drive back their foe. But hour by hour thus opposed to an enemy constantly reinforced, our ranks were perceptibly thinned under the unceasing, withering fire of the enemy, and by twelve, meridian, eighteen hours of hard fighting had sensibly exhausted a large number, my last reserves had necessarily been disposed of, and the enemy was evidently receiving fresh reinforcements after each repulse; accordingly about one P. M., I determined to withdraw from so unequal a conflict, securing such of the results of the victory of the day before as was then practicable.

"About two o'clock, P. M., the lines in advance, which had repulsed the enemy in their last fierce assault on our left and centre, received the order to retire; this was done with uncommon steadiness, and the enemy made no attempt to follow. The line of troops established to cover this movement had been disposed on a favorable ridge commanding the ground of Shiloh church; from this position our artillery played upon the woods beyond for a while, but upon no visible enemy, and without reply. Soon satisfied that no serious pursuit would be attempted, this last line was withdrawn, and never did troops leave a battle-field in better order; even the stragglers fell into the ranks and marched off with those who had stood more steadily by their colors. A second position was taken up about a mile in rear, where the approach of the enemy was waited for nearly an hour; but no effort to follow was made, and only a small detachment of horsemen could be seen at a distance from this last position warily observing our movements. Arranging, through my staff officers, for the completion of the movements thus begun; Brigadier-General Breckinridge was left with his command as a rear guard to hold the ground we had occupied the night preceding the first battle, just in front of the intersection of the Pittsburg and Hamburg roads, about four miles from the former place, while the rest of the army passed to the rear in excellent order. On the following day General Breckinridge fell back about three miles to Mickey's, which position we continued to hold, with our cavalry thrown considerably forward in immediate proximity to the battle-field. Unfortunately, towards night of the 7th instant it began to rain heavily; this continued throughout the night; the roads became almost impassable in many places, and much hardship and suffering now ensued before all the regiments reached their encampments. But despite the heavy casualties of the two eventful days of the 6th and 7th of April, this army is more confident of ultimate success than before its encounter with the enemy."

In a later portion of his report, General Beauregard, after complimenting various officers and men of his command, thus speaks of the conduct of others: "As a contrast to the behavior of most of the army who fought so heroically, I allude to the fact that some officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, abandoned their colors early in the first day, to pillage the captured encampments; others retired shamefully from the field on both days, while the thunder of cannon, and the roar and rattle of musketry told them that their brothers were being slaughtered by the fresh legions of the enemy." In the unsurpassed heroism of this great engagement there were thus examples of failure and delinquency on both sides. In no army are all equally brave and resolute; nor could it be expected that the vast forces hastily gathered from civil life here suddenly brought to the field would exhibit, in all cases, the skill and endurance of veterans. Heroism on both sides was the rule; failure, from whatever cause, in the performance of duty, the rare exception. Among the losses of the Confederates on the second day, General Beauregard records with deep regret, "the death of the Hon. George M. Johnson, Provisional Governor of Kentucky, who went into action with the Kentucky troops, and continually inspired them by his words and example. Having his horse shot under him on Sunday, he entered the ranks of a Kentucky regiment on Monday, and fell mortally wounded towards the close of the day." The entire loss of the Confederates in the two days, as given by General Beauregard, was 1,728 killed outright, 8,012 wounded, 959 missing, making an aggregate of casualties of 10,699. The loss of the Union army in the two days' engagement, as finally reported, was in the six divisions of General Grant's army: General McClernand's, 1st, 251 killed, 1,351 woundded, 236 missing; General W. H. L. Wallace's, 2d, 228 killed, 1,033 wounded, 1,163 missing; General Lewis Wallace's, 3d, 43 killed, 257 wounded, 5 missing; General Hurlbut's, 4th, 313 killed, 1,449 wounded, 223 missing; General Sherman's, 5th, 318 killed, 1,275 wounded, 441 missing; General Prentiss', 6th, 196 killed, 562 wounded, 1,802 missing:—a total of 1,349 killed, 5,927 wounded, 3,870 missing. In the three divisions of General Buell's army in the action, General McCook's, 2d division lost 95 killed, 793 wounded, 8 missing; General Nelson's, 4th division, 90 killed, 591 wounded, 58 missing; General Crittenden's, 5th division, 80 killed, 410 wounded, 27 missing:—making, in both armies, an aggregate of 1,614 killed, 7,721 wounded, and 3,963 missing—a total of 13,508 losses of all kinds. The great number of wounded demanded extraordinary efforts for their care, and most nobly were they met by the contributions and active beneficence of the people of the west; and, indeed, under the organization of the Sanitary Commission throughout the loyal States, ample stores of all kinds were forwarded, hospital steamboats fitted up, in which the wounded were transported to the charitable western cities, and all that could be done under the circumstances was accomplished to relieve and mitigate the enormous human misery; but one item, alas! in the account of this most cruel, merciless rebellion. The loss of officers was heavy on both sides. Besides the commander-in-chief, General Johnston, and the Provisional Governor of Kentucky, Johnson, the Confederates lost Brigadier-General Gladden, and a number of field officers, while Major-General Cheatham, Brigadier-Generals Clark, Hindman, Johnson, and Bowen, were reported among the wounded. General Gladden was from South Carolina, and had achieved some distinction as an officer in Colonel Butler's Palmetto regiment in the Mexican war. The chief officer of the Union ranks who fell was Brigadier-General W. H. L. Wallace, commanding a division. Mortally wounded, as we have seen, in the afternoon of Sunday, he was, after a vain attempt by his aids to lead him away, left on the battle-field, where he was discovered the next day, when the Union troops recovered the ground, still alive, but perfectly senseless. He was removed to Savannah, where he died on Tuesday night.

The Union army also lost an officer of great promise for the future in Colonel Everett Peabody of the Missouri volunteers. A native of Springfield, Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard College in 1849, he had adopted the profession of a civil engineer, and found active and responsible employment as chief engineer of the Memphis and Ohio railway, and subsequently as superintendent on the Hannibal and St. Joseph's. At the breaking out of the rebellion he brought his personal influence and professional knowledge to the service of the government, raised a regiment, rallied loyal citizens in Missouri, and defended the State in its most assailable western portion. He was in command at Lexington previous to the defence of that town by Colonel Mulligan, and was severely wounded during the siege. He had hardly recovered from his injuries when he joined General Grant at Pittsburg. He was in the advance on the morning of the 6th, as acting brigadier in General Prentiss' division, and was the first, before dawn, to send out a scouting party to observe the movements of the enemy, whose coming he anticipated. A skirmish ensued, reinforcements were called for from his command, which he led in person. Driven back by superior numbers, he fell in the first onset of the foe, pierced by five shots.*

Among the wounded in the Union ranks, was acting brigadier, Colonel Williams, of General Hurlbut's, and Colonel Kirk, of McCook's divisions. Major-General Smith, who was prevented by illness taking part in the engagement, did not long survive the battle, in preparation for which he had labored so strenuously. He died at Savannah, Tennessee, on the 25th of April. General Halleck, in communicating the intelligence to the Secretary of War, justly pronounced his death "a great loss to the army." His remains were brought to Philadelphia, and interred with public honors at Laurel Hill.

To the list of honored dead on the battle-field of Pittsburg or Shiloh, is to be added the name of an eminent civilian who met his fate on an errand of mercy to the wounded survivors of the engagement. Governor Louis P. Harvey, of Wisconsin, having left his seat of office after the battle to carry to the field a large amount of hospital stores, given, at his request, by the citizens of Milwaukie, Madison, and Janesville, had just reached Savannah, Tennessee, when on the night of April 19th, in passing from one boat to another, he accidentally fell into the river, and was drowned. Governor Harvey was born at East Haddam, Connecticut, in 1820, and was carried by his parents to Ohio in his boyhood. Educated at Western Reserve College, Hudson, in that State, he removed to Wisconsin at the age of twenty. He was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of the latter State, and was for several years a leading member of the State Senate.

General Prentiss and the prisoners of his division taken by the enemy, about two thousand in number, were marched to Corinth, and thence transported to Memphis by the railroad. They were then carried through Mississippi and Alabama to Mobile, whence the officers were sent to Talladega, and the men to Tuscaloosa. From Talladega the officers were taken to Selma, and then to Montgomery and Atlanta. Finally they were brought to Richmond, and after six months' painful imprisonment, exposed to privation and insult, officers and men were released by exchange. On his arrival at Washington General Prentiss was serenaded at Willard's hotel, where he told the story of his imprisonment, and the hardships which his command had suffered. He characterized the rebel rule at the South as "a reign of terror," forcibly suppressing any expression of Union sentiment, informed his hearers of the strength of the rebellion, and advised the people of the north, if they would overcome an enemy fearfully in earnest that they should endeavor to "persuade officers and men that it was time for them to fight without gloves."*

The day following the second day's battle, General Beauregard addressed the following communication from his headquarters at Monterey, to General Grant: "*Sir:* At the close of the conflict yesterday, my forces, being exhausted by the extraordinary length of the time during which they were engaged with yours, on that and the preceding day, and it being apparent that you had received, and were still receiving reinforcements, I felt it my duty to withdraw my troops from the immediate scene of the conflict. Under these circumstances, in accordance with the usages of war, I shall transmit this under a flag of truce, to ask permission to send a mounted party to the battle-field of Shiloh, for the purpose of giving decent interment to my dead. Certain gentlemen, wishing to avail themselves of this opportunity to remove the remains of their sons and friends, I must request for them the privilege of accompanying the burial party; and in this connection I deem it proper to say I am asking what I have extended to your own countrymen under similar circumstances." To this General Grant replied on the 9th: "Your dispatch of yesterday is just received. Owing to the warmth of the weather I deemed it advisable to have all the dead of both parties buried immediately. Heavy details were made for this purpose, and it is now accomplished. There cannot, therefore, be any necessity of admitting within our lines the parties you desired to send on the grounds asked. I shall always be glad to extend any courtesy consistent with duty, and especially so when dictated by humanity." A few days after this correspondence on the 17th of April, General Beauregard issued the following address from his headquarters at Corinth: "Soldiers of the Army of the Mississippi: You have bravely fought the invaders of your soil for two days, in his own position; fought your superior in numbers, in arms, in all the appliances of war. Your success has been great. His losses have been immense—outnumbering yours in all save personal worth of the slain. You drove him from his camps to the shelter of his iron-clad gunboats, which alone saved him from complete disaster. You captured his artillery, more than twenty-five flags and standards, and took over 3,000 prisoners. You have done your duty. Your commanding general thanks you. Your countrymen are proud of your deeds on the bloody field of Shiloh, and confident of the ultimate success of your valor. Soldiers, untoward events saved the enemy from annihilation. His insolent presence still pollutes your soil. His hostile flag still flaunts before you. There can be no peace as long as these things are. Trusting that God is with us, as he was with our fathers, let us seek to be worthy of His favor, and resolve to be independent or perish in the struggle." In a message "to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States of America," on the 8th of April, after the receipt of the news of the first day's battle, President Jefferson Davis paid a warm tribute to the memory of his friend, the slain commander-in-chief, General Johnston: "The great importance of the news just received from Tennessee," he wrote, "has induced me to depart from the established usages, and to make to you this communication in advance of official reports. From official telegraphic dispatches received from official sources, I am able to announce to you, with entire confidence, that it has pleased Almighty God to crown the Confederate arms with a glorious and decisive victory over our invaders. On the morning of the 6th the converging columns of our army were combined by its commander-in-chief, General Albert Sidney Johnston, in an assault on the Federal army, then encamped near Pittsburg, on the Tennessee river. After a hard-fought battle of ten hours, the enemy was driven in disorder from his position, and pursued to the Tennessee river, where, under cover of the gunboats, he was, at last accounts, endeavoring to effect his retreat by aid of his transports. The details of this great battle are yet too few and incomplete to enable me to distinguish with merited praise all of those who may have conspicuously earned the right to such distinction, and I prefer to delay our own gratification in recommending them to your special notice, rather than incur the risk of wounding the feelings of any by failing to include them in the list. When such a victory has been won over troops as numerous, well disciplined, armed and appointed as those which have just been so signally routed, we may well conclude that one common spirit of unflinching bravery and devotion to our country's cause must have animated every breast, from that of the commanding general to that of the humblest patriot who served in the ranks. There is enough in the continued presence of invaders on our soil to chasten our exultation over this brilliant success, and to remind us of the grave duty of continued exertion until we shall extort from a proud and vainglorious enemy the reluctant acknowledgment of our right to self-government.

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* Squier's Pictorial History of the War, ii., p. 5.

* General Prentiss' account of his captivity. Washington correspondence *New York Tribune*, Oct. 17, 1862.

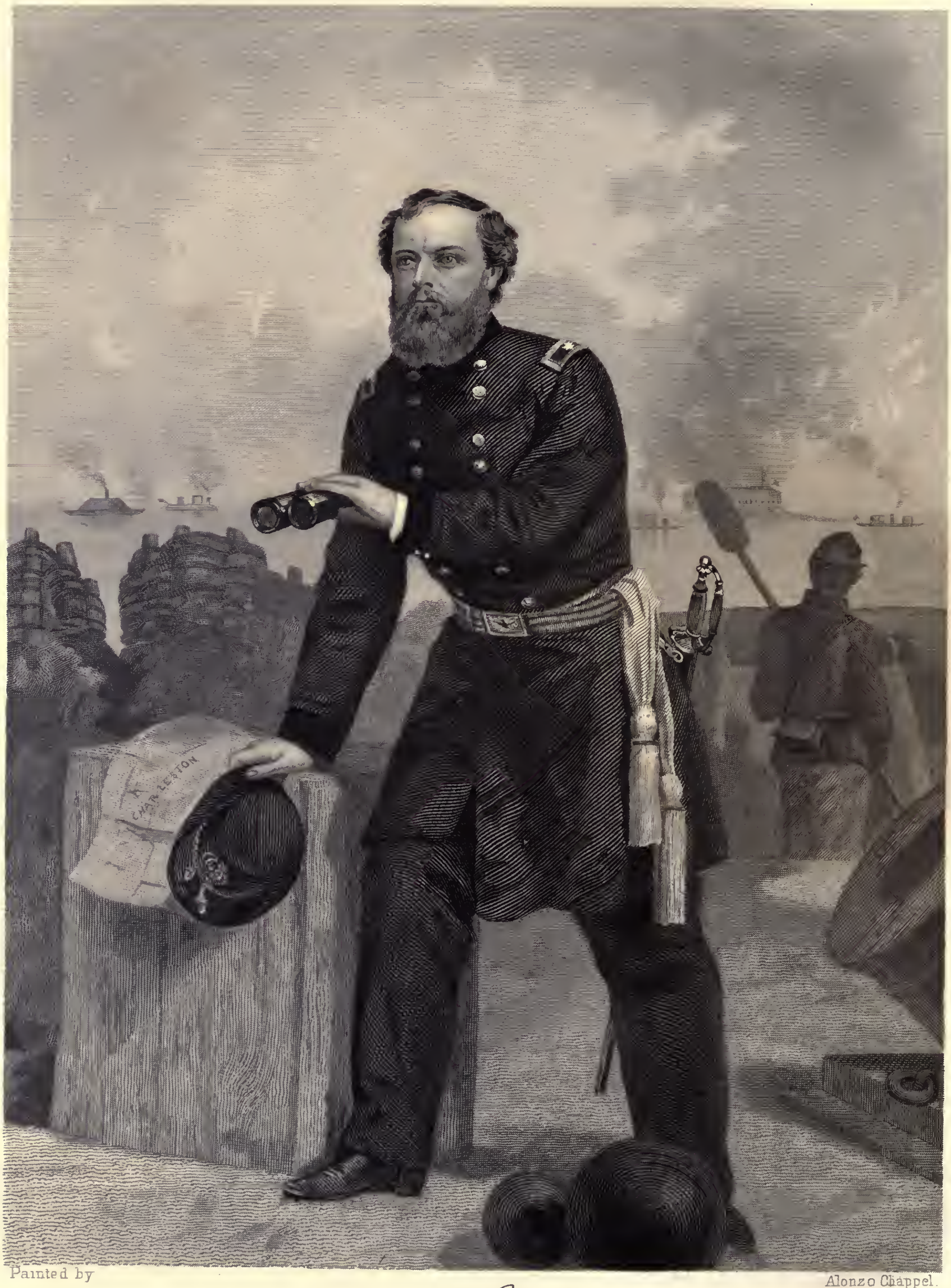
"But an all-wise Creator has been pleased, while vouchsafing to us His countenance in battle, to afflict us with a severe dispensation, to which we must bow in humble submission. The last long, lingering hope has disappeared, and it is but too true that General Albert Sidney Johnston is no more. The tale of his death is simply narrated in a dispatch from Colonel William Preston, in the following words: 'General Johnston fell yesterday at half-past two o'clock, while leading a successful charge, turning the enemy's right, and gaining a brilliant victory. A minié ball cut the artery of his leg, and he rode on until from the loss of blood he fell exhausted, and died without pain in a few moemnts. His body has been entrusted to me by General Beauregard, to be taken to New Orleans, and remain until directions are received from his family.' My long and close friendship with this departed chieftain and patriot forbid me to trust myself in giving vent to the feelings which this sad intelligence has evoked. Without doing injustice to the living, it may safely be asserted that our loss is irreparable. Among the shining hosts of the great and good that now cluster around the banner of our country, there exists no purer spirit, no more heroic soul, than that of the illustrious man whose death I join you in lamenting. In his death he has illustrated the character for which through life he was conspicuous—that of singleness of purpose, and devotion to duty with his whole energies. Bent on obtaining the victory which he deemed essential to his country's cause, he rode on to the accomplishment of his object, forgetful of self, while his very life-blood was fast ebbing away. His last breath cheered his comrades on to victory. The last sound he heard was their shout of victory. His last thought was his country, and long and deeply will his country mourn his loss."

If to Jefferson Davis belonged the privilege of congratulating his command on the honors of the 6th of April at Shiloh, to the Union commanders and the government at Washington fell the grateful task of recording in bulletins and proclamations the more decisive victory, crowning the work of the second day's engagement. On the field, by the head of the Department at Washington, it was everywhere made the subject of generous exultation. General Halleck, from his new headquarters of the army of the Mississippi, at Pittsburg, in a bulletin dated April 13, thus addressed the armies on the ·Tennessee:—"The Major-General commanding this department thanks Major-General Grant and Major-General Buell, and the officers and men of their respective commands, for the bravery and endurance with which they sustained the general attacks of the enemy on the 6th, and for the heroic manner in which, on the 7th inst., they defeated and routed the entire rebel army. The soldiers of the Great West have added new laurels to those which they had already won on numerous fields. While congratulating the troops on their glorious successes, the commanding General desires to impress upon all, officers as well as men, the necessity of greater discipline and order.

These are essential to the success as to the health of the army, and, without them, we cannot long expect to be victorious; but with them, we can march forward to new fields of honor and glory, till this wicked rebellion is completely crushed out, and peace restored to our country." The same day, General Halleck addressed the following communication to Secretary Stanton:—"Sir: It is the unanimous opinion here that Brigadier-General W. T. Sherman saved the fortune of the day on the 6th, and contributed largely to the glorious victory of the 7th. He was in the thickest of the fight on both days, having three horses killed under him, and being wounded twice. I respectfully request that he be made a major-general of volunteers, to date from the 6th inst."

Connecting the battle with the contemporary brilliant successes at Pea Ridge and Island No. 10, Secretary Stanton issued from the War Department, on the 9th of April, the following bulletin:—"*Ordered*—First, That at meridian of the Sunday next after the receipt of this order, at the head of every regiment in the armies of the United States, there shall be offered by its chaplain a prayer giving thanks to the Lord of Hosts for the recent manifestations of his power in the overthrow of the rebels and traitors, and invoking the continuance of his aid in delivering this nation by the arms of patriot soldiers from the horrors of treason, rebellion, and civil war. Second, That the thanks and congratulations of the War Department are tendered to Major-General Halleck for the signal ability and success that have distinguished all the military operations of his department, and for the spirit and courage manifested by the army under his command under every hardship and against every odds, in attacking, pursuing, and destroying the enemy wherever he could be found. Third, That the thanks of the Department are also given to Generals Curtis and Sigel, and the officers and soldiers of their command, for matchless gallantry at the bloody battle of Pea Ridge, and to Major-Generals Grant and Buell, and their forces, for the glorious repulse of Beauregard at Pittsburg, in Tennessee, and to Major-General Pope, and his officers and soldiers, for the bravery and skill displayed in their operations against the rebels and traitors intrenched at Island No. 10, in the Mississippi river. Their daring courage, diligent prosecution, persistent valor, and military achievements are unsurpassed. Fourth, That there shall this day be a salute of one hundred guns from the United States arsenal at Washington in honor of these great victories."

President Lincoln, also, on the 10th of April, issued the following Proclamation, enjoining thanksgiving for the recent victories:—"It has pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe signal victories to the land and naval forces engaged in suppressing an internal rebellion, and at the same time to avert from our country the dangers of intervention and invasion. It is therefore recommended to the people of the United States that at their next weekly assemblages, in their accustomed places of public worship, which shall occur after the notice of this proclamation shall have been received, they especially acknowledge and render thanks to our Heavenly Father for these inestimable blessings; that they then and there implore spiritual consolations in behalf of all those who have been brought into affliction by the casualties and calamities of sedition and civil war, and that they reverently invoke the Divine guidance for our National Counsels to the end that they may speedly result in the restoration of peace, harmony, and unity throughout our borders, and hasten the establishment of fraternal relations among all the Countries of the Earth."



Painted by Alonzo Chappel.

Q. A. Gillmore

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life.

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CHAPTER LXII.

BOMBARDMENT AND SURRENDER OF FORT PULASKI—COMMODORE DUPONT'S OPERATIONS ON THE FLORIDA COAST—FEBRUARY—APRIL, 1862.

As early as the end of November, the month of the occupation of Hilton Head, General Gilmore had, under the orders of General Sherman, made a military reconnoissance of Tybee Island with reference to the reduction of Fort Pulaski, and had, on the 1st of December, reported the undertaking as practicable by batteries of mortars and rifled guns established on the island. "I would have," said he, "enough mortars to throw one shell a minute into the fort, and as many guns as mortars." In a communication a few days later he proposed an armament for the batteries of twenty heavy mortars, eight rifled guns, and eight Columbiads. The project thus submitted was seconded by General Sherman and approved by the War Department, where the necessary preparations were immediately set on foot to carry it into effect. Early in December, Colonel Rosa's 46th regiment, New York volunteers, occupied Big Tybee Island, the base of operations.

Fort Pulaski, which was thus to be invested and reduced, is described in the report of General Gilmore, as a brickwork of five sides or faces, including the gorge; casemated on all sides; walls seven and a half feet thick and twenty-five feet high above high water; mounting one tier of guns in embrasures, and one *en barbette.* The main work was surrounded by a wet ditch forty-eight feet wide. At the time of the siege the fort contained forty-eight guns, of which twenty bore upon the batteries on Tybee. Cockspur Island, on which the fort was built, was composed wholly of marsh, about a mile long and half a mile wide. The situation at the head of Tybee Roads gave to the fort full command of both channels of the Savannah river. There were, however, other means of approach from the ocean, by water to the river above the fort, by creeks, and passages among the sea islands on the north and south. One of these on the north had long been used for an interior communication between Charleston and Savannah. It entered the Savannah by an artificial channel, named Wall's Cut, from New river above, by Wright and Mud rivers on either side of Jones' Island, which was nothing more than a mud marsh, covered with reeds and grass, with its general surface about on the level of ordinary high tide—a mere refuge for alligators and pregnant breeder of miasmata, utterly uninhabitable by any human being. A few spots rose a little higher and were covered only by extraordinary tides. On one of these, called Venus Point, on the Savannah, it was presently resolved to construct a battery to cut off the communication of Savannah with Pulaski by the river. A mixed land and naval force, for the operations in this quarter, was fitted out at Port Royal, and assembled in January at the rendezvous at Dawfuskie Island, at the entrance to the channels which we have described. The land force, commanded by Brigadier-General Egbert L. Viele, consisted of a detachment of the 3d Rhode Island artillery, a detachment of volunteer engineers, a battalion of the 8th Maine regiment, the 6th regiment Connecticut volunteers, the 48th New York volunteers, and a full supply of heavy ordnance, and intrenching tools. A naval force of three gunboats, coöperating with the military expedition, was commanded by Commander John Rogers. Before anything could be undertaken on the Savannah river, it was necessary first to remove a formidable obstruction in the sunken hulk of a brig secured by heavy piles, placed by the rebels in the connecting channel of Wall's cut. To clear away this obstacle so as to admit of the passage of gunboats and light-draught steamers, occupied, General Viele, tells us, three weeks of unintermitting night labor in close proximity to the rebel forces. The work was accomplished by Major O. S. Beard of the 48th New York volunteers, with the aid of a company of the volunteer engineers. The piles were sawed off below the water, on a level with the bottom of the stream, and the hulk swung round against the sides of the cut. This being accomplished, the way appeared open for the passage of the gunboats, and the erection of the batteries on the Savannah river under their protection. Whilst these operations were going on, another mixed force, the troops commanded by Brigadier-General H. G. Wright, the gunboats by Fleet-Captain Davis, were endeavoring to enter the Savannah river by its southern approaches from Warsaw sound.

Planting a battery on Jones' Island, proved an undertaking of no ordinary difficulty. It was at first proposed to carry the guns to Venus point by the river passage of Mud river in flats or lighters, towed by a small steamer, under convoy of the armed vessels. As Mud river, however, was but a foot and a half in depth at low water, the operation could be attempted only at high tide—nor could it be safely undertaken with the risk of interruption from the enemy's gunboats during the day. The first effort to enter it of a dark night failed in consequence of a furious storm, which severely taxed the resources of the naval party, who were glad to get back to their old anchorage in safety. It was then resolved to transport the guns for the battery on Venus point by landing them on the island from Mud river, and hauling them over its marshy surface—an undertaking, it may be imagined, of sufficient difficulty, when a single man could not readily move without sinking knee-deep in the oozy, slimy mud. The low surface of the island, moreover, brought any movement upon it within view of the enemy, whose armed boats were passing up and down the river; and, consequently, whatever was to be done could be undertaken with possible success only in the darkness of the night. The guns to be located on the point were of no mean weight, being three 30-pounder and two 20-pounder Parrott rifles and an 8-inch siege howitzer. They were embarked at the rendezvous of the expedition in lighters, which were towed by row-boats through Mud river to a wharf constructed of poles and sand bags on Jones' island. The guns being landed were to be transported a distance of some thirteen hundred yards across the marsh to their place of destination. The only way to accomplish this was by fatigue parties dragging them over planks laid on the surface of the morass and shifted from the rear to the front of the wheels as progress was made. On the night of the 10th of Februrary, the guns were thus dragged about three hundred yards into the marsh, whilst a platform for the battery at Venus point was commenced by laying planks on a foundation of sand carried in bags to the spot for the purpose. The work, concealed by a covering of reeds and grass, was left at daybreak to be resumed the next night, when "a drenching storm added to the difficulties—the men often sinking to their waists in the marsh, and the guns sometimes slipping from the team-ways."* Early on the morning, however, of the 12th, the skillfully directed laborious undertaking was completed, and the pieces were reported in position. The next day, the rebel steamer Ida descending the Savannah, an opportunity was afforded of trying the battery. Nine shots were fired, all of which, but one, struck astern of the vessel, which ran below to the fort. The afternoon of the 14th, three rebel gunboats, of Commodore Tatnall's fleet, came down the river and opened fire on the battery at the distance of about a mile. The fire was returned, and one of the vessels struck, when the boats withdrew. On the night of the 20th, a second powerful battery was towed through Mud river, and established on Bird island, in the Savannah river, opposite Venus point. These two batteries effectually cut off supplies for Fort Pulaski by the river from above. To the work on Jones' island the name Fort Vulcan was given ; the other was called battery Hamilton. "Although," says General Viele in his report, "the material of which they are composed,—mud, highly saturated with water,—is of the most unfavorable description, they are both creditable specimens of field works, and evidence the great labor and perseverance of the troops, under the most trying circumstances—the fatigue-parties always standing in water twenty-four hours." The readiness and ability shown by the armies of the north and west in various emergencies of engineering operations, are among the most noticeable features of the numerous campaigns. The military duties of the service were largely borne by men frequently of mechanical pursuits, and by a larger class accustomed to subdue forests, build cities, and contend successfully with all the obstacles of nature.

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* General Viele's Report to Lieutenant A. B. Ely, Assistant Adjutant-General. Savannah river, April 11, 1862.

General Gillmore, who had superintended in person the engineering operations already described, was now ordered to Big Tybee island, to complete the investment by stopping the water communication from the South, and to commence operations for the bombardment of the fort. The former he accomplished as far as it was practicable, by stationing a battery on a hulk in a creek forming the inner boundary of Tybee island ; though the facility of transporting boats across the watery marshes of the adjacent islands rendered it impossible altogether to cut off the rebel intercourse with the fort. On the 21st of February, the first vessel with ordnance and ordnance stores for the siege, arrived in Tybee roads, and, from that time until the 9th of April, "all the troops on Tybee island, consisting of the 7th Connecticut volunteers, Colonel Alfred H. Terry, the 46th New York volunteers, Colonel Rudolph Rosa, two companies of the New York volunteer engineers, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel James F. Hall, and, for the most of the time, two companies 3d Rhode Island volunteer artillery, were constantly engaged in landing and transporting ordnance, ordnance stores, and battery materials, making fascines and roads, constructing gun and mortar batteries, service and depot magazines, splinter and bomb-proof shelters, for the relief of cannoniers off duty and drilling at the several pieces."

The armament consisting of thirty-six pieces in all ;—twelve heavy 13-inch mortars : four 10-inch siege mortars ; six 10-inch, and four 8-inch columbiads ; five 30-pounder Parrott rifled guns ; one forty-eight, two sixty-four, and two eighty-four James' rifled guns ;—was distributed in eleven batteries, named, respectively, after the secretary of war, and eminent military officers, Stanton, Grant, Lyon, Lincoln, Burnside, Sherman, Halleck, Scott, Sigel, McClellan, Totten. The batteries were placed on the northern side of the island, at points from a mile to two miles and a half from the landing place, at distances from the fort varying from thirty-four hundred yards to sixteen hundred and fifty, the Parrott and James' guns being at the shortest range.

The narrative of General Gillmore, and

the detailed report of Lieutenat Horace Porter, of the Ordnance Department, exhibit the extraordinary toil of the troops on the island employed in transporting and mounting the guns. "Tybee island," says General Gillmore, "is mostly a mud marsh, like other marsh islands on this coast. Several ridges and hummocks of firm ground, however, exist upon it, and the shore of Tybee roads, where the batteries were located, is partially skirted by low sand banks, formed by the gradual and protracted action of the wind and tides. The distance along this shore, from the landing place to the advanced batteries, is about two and a half miles. The last mile of this route, on which the seven most advanced batteries were placed, is low and marshy, lies in full view of Fort Pulaski, and is within effective range of its guns. The construction of a causeway resting on fascines and brushwood, over this swampy portion of the line; the erection of the several batteries, with the magazines, gun-platforms, and splinter-proof shelters; the transportation of the heaviest ordnance in our service, by the labor of men alone; the hauling of ordnance stores and engineer's supplies, and the mounting of the guns and mortars on their carriages and beds, had to be done almost exclusively at night, alike regardless of the inclemency of the weather, and of the miasma from the swamps.

"No one except an eye-witness, can form any but a faint conception of the Herculean labor by which mortars of eight and one half tons weight, and columbiads but a trifle lighter, were moved in the dead of night, over a narrow causeway, bordered by swamps on either side, and liable, at any moment, to be overturned and buried in the mud beyond reach. The stratum of mud is about twelve feet deep; and, on several occasions, the heaviest pieces, particularly the mortars, became detached from the sling-carts, and were, with great difficulty, by the use of planks and skids, kept from sinking to the bottom. Two hundred and fifty men were barely sufficient to move a single piece, on sling carts. The men were not allowed to speak above a whisper, and were guided by the notes of a whistle. The positions selected for the five most advanced batteries, were artificially screened frnm view from the fort, by a gradual and almost imperceptible change, made little by little, every night, in the condition and appearance of the brushwood and bushes in front of them. No sudden alteration of the outline of the landscape was permitted. After the concealment was once perfected to such a degree as to afford a good and safe parapet behind it, less care was taken; and some of the work in the batteries, requiring mechanical skill, was done in the daytime, the fatigue parties going to their labor before break of day, and returning in the evening after dark."

In addition to the batteries on Tybee island, it was the design of General Benham, the commander of the district, to obtain, if possible, a concentric fire upon the fort, by erecting batteries to be manned by detachments from General Viele's command on Long and Turtle islands, on the west and north at the entrance to the Savannah river; but the heavy ordnance for this purpose not arriving in time, the bombardment from this side was confined to one 10-inch siege mortar on Long island, served by a party of Major Beard's 48th New York volunteers, the fire from which was altogether ineffectual on account of the distance. The fire of the mortars was to be mainly aimed that the shells might explode over the south face of the work, or passing over the parapet, take the gorge and north face in reverse. The rifled guns were to silence the barbette guns, when a concentrated fire of solid shot was to be directed to effect a breach on the south-eastern face of the fort.

On the afternoon of the 9th of April, everything was reported ready for opening fire on the devoted Fort Pulaski.

Major-General Hunter, who had recently assumed command of the Department of the South, and Brigadier-General Benham, commanding the northern district of the department, were present superintending the operations. General Gillmore now issued his orders for the bombardment. Carefully estimating the strength of the several batteries, and parcelling out the work of destruction in the walls and area of the fort, minute directions were given, and with scientific accuracy, to adjust the time of firing, charge of powder, and length of fuse, to produce particular effects.

These last preparations having been made, at sunrise on the morning of the 10th, General Hunter sent to the fort the following demand for its surrender : "To the Commanding Officer, Fort Pulaski : Sir : I hereby demand of you the immediate surrender and restoration of Fort Pulaski to the authority and possession of the United States. This demand is made with a view to avoiding, if possible, the effusion of blood, which must result from the bombardment and attack now in readiness to be opened. The number, calibre, and completeness of the batteries surrounding you, leave no doubt as to what must result in case of refusal ; and as the defence, however obstinate, must eventually succumb to the assailing force at my disposal, it is hoped you will see fit to avert the useless waste of life. This communication will be carried to you under flag of truce, by Lieutenant J. H. Wilson, United States army, who is authorized to wait any period not exceeding thirty minutes from delivery, for your answer. I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant, David Hunter, Major-General commanding." To this, Colonel Charles H. Olmstead, Colonel 1st volunteer regiment of Georgia, commanding the post, briefly answered "In reply, I can only say that I am here to defend the fort, not to surrender it."

On the receipt of this answer at headquarters on Tybee Island, the order was given to open fire, commencing with the mortar batteries, according to the instructions of General Gillmore. The first shot was fired at a quarter past eight o'clock, from battery Halleck. The other mortar batteries opened in succession, followed by the guns and batteries along the whole line, 2,550 yards in length. Within an hour all the batteries were in operation. The range was soon obtained, and the firing was kept up vigorously during the day, over three thousand projectiles, varying in size from the thirteen-inch mortar shell to the thirty-pound Parrot shot, being discharged at the fort. It was observed that the mortar firing was less successful than had been expected, "not one-tenth of the shells thrown appearing to fall within the work;" but that the rifled projectiles had done excellent service, as had been designed, penetrated deeply, and honeycombed the fort on its south-eastern face. The object of effecting a breach in this quarter was to take in reverse the powder magazine located within the opposite angle of the work. An active fire directed against the barbette guns of the fort, had disabled two of them, and three of the casemate guns had been silenced. The fire of the enemy's guns is described by General Benham, as "efficient and accurate, directed with great precision not only at our batteries, but even at the individual persons passing between them, or otherwise exposed." Owing, however, to the excellent precautions in the construction of the works, and the solicitous superintendence of the commanding officers, no injury was inflicted, either on the men or the *matériel.* During the night a firing was kept up from three of the mortars and one of the Parrott guns, at intervals of fifteen or twenty minutes for each piece, for the purpose of fatiguing the garrison. During the first half of the night, to afford General Gillmore necessary rest, after his active exertions of the day, General Benham, having disposed a portion of his forces to guard against any attack by the enemy from the marshes to the west, personally took charge of the batteries. "The shell practice," he says, "especially during the early part of the night, while the moon was up, was reported to be most successful, or fully as accurate as by daylight."

The regular fire from all the batteries one of which, nearest the fort, had been reinforced by a serviceable detachment of a hundred sailors, sent by Flag Officer Dupont, from the Wabash, in the harbor, reopened briskly in the morning. The certainty as to direction and distance, it was observed, was "greatly beyond that of the previous day, especially on the part of the enemy, there being scarcely any exposure of our force that did not draw a close shot, while the embrasures and parapets of our batteries were most accurately reached." The fire of the besieging batteries soon began to tell with fearful effect upon the fort. Commander C. R. P. Rogers, who, with Lieutenant John Irwin, had charge at battery Sigel, of the detachment from the Wabash, reports that, "In spite of a high wind the firing from the rifled guns and columbiads was excellent, the former boring into the brick face of the wall like augers, and the latter striking and breaking off great massess of masonry which had been cut loose by the rifles." On visiting the batteries at noon General Benham found that "an embrasure at the breached point, which was much enlarged on the previous day, was now opened to fully the size of the recessed arch, or some eight or ten feet square, and the adjacent embrasures were rapidly being brought to a similar condition. At about noon the whole mask and parapet wall of the casemate first injured fell into the ditch, raising a ramp quite visible to us, and soon after the corresponding parts of the adjacent casemates began to fall, the Parrott and James' shot passing quite through, as we could see the heavy timber blindage in rear of the casemates, to the rear of the magazine on the opposite angle of the fort."

"In this state of things," he adds, "I felt sure that we would soon be called to peel off the whole scarp-wall from the front of the casemates of the south-east front, making a breach greatly larger than the small garrison could defend, with, probably, another smaller breach upon the opposite side, and I at once determined that, if the resistance was continued, it would be best, and entirely practicable, to storm the fort successfully within thirty to forty hours. And I had given directions to General Gillmore to have suitable scaling ladders prepared for the purpose, and was arranging for the proper forces, boats, etc., when, at about two P. M., we discovered a white flag thrown up, and the rebel flag, after telling out to the winds for a few minutes at *half mast*, came slowly to the ground."

General Benham then, as commander of the district, made preparations to receive the surrender of the fort. In consideration of his eminent services throughout the whole progress of the siege and bombardment, General Gillmore was sent to arrange the terms of capitulation. By the articles, as adjusted and signed by him and Colonel Olmstead "the fort, armament, and garrison were surrendered to the forces of the United States; the officers and men of the garrison were allowed to take with them all their private effects, such as clothing, bedding, books, etc.,—this not including their private weapons; while the sick and wounded, under charge of the hospital steward of the garrison, were to be sent under a flag of truce, to the Confederate lines, and at the same time, the men to be allowed to send any letters they may desire, subject to the inspection of a Federal officer." In communicating the terms of surrender to General Hunter, General Benham reminded him that the day on which they were signed was "the anniversary of the opening of the fire upon Fort Sumter by the rebels last year." The garrison of the fort was found to consist of 385 men, including a full complement of officers. Several of them were severely, and one fatally wounded. The total loss on the Union side was one man killed. None of the pieces on Tybee island were struck.

It is mentioned by General Gillmore as a noticeable circumstance, connected with the siege, that with the exception of the sailors from the Wabash, there were no artillerists of any experience whatever engaged in the bombardment. "Four of the batteries were manned by the Rhode Island volunteer artillery, who were conversant with the manual of the pieces, but had never been practiced at firing. All the other pieces were served by infantry troops, who had been on constant fatigue duty, and who received all their instruction in gunnery at such odd times as they could be spared from other duties, during the week or ten days preceding the action."

The most important deduction from the operations so scientifically carried on in this attack, was the value, in siege operations, of the new rifled ordnance. "This siege," says General Benham, "is, as I would remark, the first trial, at least, on our side the Atlantic, of the modern heavy and rifled projectiles against forts erected, and supposed to be sufficiently strong, prior to these inventions, almost equaling, as it would appear, the revolution accomplished in naval warfare by the iron-clad vessels recently constructed." "The result of this bombardment," says General Hunter, "must cause, I am convinced, a change in the construction of fortifications as radical as that foreshadowed in naval architecture by the conflict between the Monitor and Merrimac. No works of stone or brick can resist the impact of rifled artillery of heavy calibre." A single illustration from the admirable report of General Gillmore, where much interesting information will be found on this subject, puts this matter in a very striking light. Comparing the results at Pulaski with the estimate of Sir W. Dennison of the various siege operations in Spain during the Peninsular War, he concluded that "it may be briefly and safely announced that the breaching of Fort Pulaski at 1,700 yards, did not require as great an expenditure of metal, although but fifty-eight per cent of it was thrown from rifled guns, as the breaches made in Spain with smooth bores exclusively at 500 yards. In the former case the wall was good brick masonry, laid in lime mortar, and backed by heavy piers and arches ; in the latter, rubble masonry backed by earth."*

The reduction of Fort Pulaski was not the only achievement of consequence accomplished in the department this season. An expedition to Florida, set on foot in February, proved entirely successful in its object of taking possession of the forts and chief ports of that State along the sea coast. On the last day of the month a fleet of no less than twenty war vessels, led by the steam frigate Wabash, Commodore Dupont's flag-ship, with seven transports, carrying the brigade of General H. G. Wright, sailed from Port Royal. On reaching St. Andrew's sound, on the coast of Georgia, on the 2d of March, it was the intention of Commodore Dupont to carry the fleet through the inner Cumberland sound, which separates Cumberland island from the main land, with the view of turning the heavy works on the south end of the island, and on the north end of the opposite Amelia island, the two points at the entrance to St. Mary's and Fernandina. Commodore Dupont, however, learning on his arrival at St. Andrew's, where his flag was transferred to the Mohican, "from a contraband who had been picked up at sea, and from the neighboring residents on the Cumberland island, that the rebels had abandoned in haste the whole of the defences of Fernandina, and were seen at that moment retreating from Amelia island, carrying with them such of their munitions as their precipitate flight would allow, detached the gunboats and armed steamers of light draft, and placed them under command of Commander P. Drayton, of the steam sloop Pawnee, and ordered him to push through the sound with the utmost speed, to save the public and private property from threatened destruction, to prevent the poisoning of the wells, and to put a stop to all those outrages by the perpetration of which the leaders of this nefarious war hope to deceive and exasperate the Southern people."* Commander Drayton proceeding on his errand, found the navigation quite intricate, and was compelled to leave a portion of his fleet midway at the flats, where the tides meet in the sound from the north and the South. Continuing on with the Pawnee, the Huron, and Ottawa, all except the last grounded when only three miles distant from Fort Clinch at the extremity of Cumberland island. Commander Drayton then pushed on with the Ottawa, and three armed launches of the Wabash, which had accompanied his squadron, with a company of sailors under command of Commander C. R. P. Rodgers. Finding Fort Clinch, as had been reported, deserted, no stop was made at this point, beyond sending a boat on shore to hoist the American flag as a signal to Commodore Dupont, who was on his way by sea to the St. Mary's. It was, as Commodore Dupont remarks, " the first of the national forts on which the ensign of the Union has resumed its proper place since the first proclamation of the President of the United States was issued."

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* Major-General Hunter to the Hon. E. M. Stanton, April 13, 1862. Brigadier-General Benham to Major-General Hunter, April 12, 1862. General Gillmore's Report to General Totten, Chief Engineer, U. S. A., April 30, 1862.

From the Cumberland Sound, Commander Drayton crossed, in the Ottawa, the mouth of the harbor to Fernandina, where, at the old town, a white flag was displayed on the shore. Soon after, on passing new Fernandina, a short distance beyond, on the Amelia river, inside of the island of that name on which the town is situated, a few rifle shots were fired from some bushes, and a railroad train was perceived, just starting on the road crossing the State to Cedar Keys on the Gulf. "As it was naturally supposed to contain soldiers escaping," says Commander Drayton, "I directed Lieutenant Stevens (commanding the Ottawa) to try and stop it; and the road passing for some distance near the river, and we going at full speed, there was an opportunity of firing several shots at the two locomotives attached to the train, which, however, did not prevent its escape across the railroad bridge, which is four miles from the town, and it was soon lost in the woods on the other side. We afterwards found on the track the bodies of two men who had been killed by our shots, one of whom was a soldier, and the report was that ex-Senator Yulee was on board one of the cars, and had also been struck; but this I think, was a mistake." In the meantime, a small steamer, named the Darlington, was discovered attempting to escape up the narrow creek crossed by the railroad, and passed through the draw just after the train had gone by. The Ottawa, unable to follow her from the shallowness of the stream, and failing to reach her with her guns, Commander Rogers pushed on with his armed launches, and captured her. "There were passengers," says Commodore Dupont, "including women and children, aboard the Darlington, and yet the brutal captain suffered her to be fired upon, and refused to hoist the white flag notwithstanding the entreaties of women. No one was injured. I sent the captain of the steamer home a prisoner. His name is Jacob Brock. He is a native of Vermont, but has been a resident of Florida for twenty-three years."

The same night Commander Rodgers

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* Report of Commodore Dupont. Harbor of Fernandina, March 4, 1862.

went ten miles up the St. Mary's with the Ottawa, and took possession of the town of St. Mary's, driving out a picket of the enemy's cavalry, while Commander Drayton proceeded to bring up the Pawnee and Huron, which had been left in Cumberland sound. In the morning, on his arrival before the town, Fernandina was formally occupied. Most of the inhabitants had fled with the military force at the station, in accordance with the policy of the enemy to abandon the works on the approach of an irresistible force. The forts and batteries of the harbor, if defended, might have given the fleet some trouble. "I visited," says Commander Rogers. "Fort Clinch and the town (Fernandina), and the earthworks on the sea face of the island. It is impossible to look at these preparations for a vigorous defence, without being surprised that they should have been voluntarily surrendered. The batteries on the north and north-east shores are as complete as art can make them. Six are well concealed, and protected by ranges of sand hills on front, contain perfect shelter for the men, and are so small, and thoroughly covered by the natural growth, and by the varied contours of the land, that to strike them from the water would be the mere result of chance. A battery of six guns, though larger, and therefore affording a better mark, is equally well sheltered and masked. The batteries and the heavy guns mounted on Fort Clinch, command all the turnings of the main ship-channel, and rake an approaching enemy. Besides these, there was another battery of four guns on the south end of Cumberland island, the fire of which would cross the channel inside of the bar. The difficulties arising from the indirectness of the channel, and from the shoalness of the bar, would have added to the defences by keeping the approaching vessels a long time exposed to fire, under great disadvantages; and when the ships of an enemy had passed all their defences, they would have to encounter a well-constructed and naturally-masked battery at the town, which commands the access to the inner anchorage. We are told that General Lee pronounced the place perfectly defensible; we are not surprised at this, if true. We captured Port Royal, but Fernandina and Fort Clinch have been given to us." Among the thirteen heavy guns left behind by the enemy, were one 80, and one 120-pounder, rifled. Among other rescued property, two locomotives and three cars were brought in from the railway, and a quantity of rosin, turpentine, and cotton, was preserved from destruction. A liberal policy was pursued toward the inhabitants by General Wright, who was assigned to the command of the station. All persons, whether white or colored, on registering themselves at the office of the provost marshal, would receive protection in person and property.

Lieutenant Commanding Stevens, in the Ottawa, in his reconnoissance up the St. Mary's river, ascended to a point called Woodstock Mills, about fifty miles from Fernandina, in the vicinity of which, near the brickyard, the plantation of a Mrs. Downes, he was assaulted from both sides of the river, there a hundred yards wide, by a force of riflemen. He replied with grape and canister and small arms, "killing and wounding a large number." A large body of cavalry was scattered by a five-second 11-inch shell thrown among them, and the fire of another party of the enemy in ambush on the shore, was effectually anticipated by a heavy discharge from the guns on board. What with soothing the occupants of the plantations which he visited, promising protection to the peacable, and punishing the foe in arms, Lieutenant Stevens returned from his excursion of a few days, impressed with the live oak, and other productions of the country, and sanguine of the future. "I am quite confident," says he, in his report, "that our visit will be productive of good, both to those well disposed, and to our enemies, who have been taught a lesson they will not soon forget. From my observation, such a thing as free speech among them is a tradition, and the reign of terror rules everywhere; still, those I saw were very grateful for the assurances given, and I doubt not many of them will avail themselves of our protection."

In communicating these first results of his expedition to the Navy Department on the 4th of March, Commodore Dupont informed Secretary Welles that one of his leading objects, the control of the whole sea-coast line of Georgia, and consequently, of the State, was already secured. "The report," he wrote, "that the fortifications at St. Simon's, armed with heavy columbiads, had been abandoned, which first reached me at Port Royal, is confirmed. This being the case, the entire sea-coast of Georgia is now either actually in my possession, or under my control, and thus the views of the government have been accomplished." To secure further advantages in this direction, Commander S. W. Godon was sent on the 8th of March, from Fernandina, with the Mohican, Pocahontas and Potomska, from the fleet to St. Simon's Sound. The fort at that place, and at the neighboring Jekyl island, commanding the channel to the port of Brunswick, were, as was expected, found deserted. On approaching Brunswick a fire was seen which proved to be the conflagration of the depot and wharf of the railway leading to Pensacola, set on fire by the retreating soldiers. The cars were moving off at full speed in the woods. Lieutenant Balch, of the Pocahontas, landed with a party of marines and riflemen, with two 12-pounder guns; but found the place deserted. The national flag was then raised. The property found ready for removal was religiously respected, and such houses as were not open, were not even entered. After placing proclamations on the public buildings urging the inhabitants to reoccupy their houses, and promising protection to all good citizens, the party returned to their vessels. A few days later, on the 13th, Commander Godon proceeded up the passage inside of St. Simon's island, toward Darien, on the Altamaha river, hoping to get possession of one or two rebel steamers of which he had heard in that quarter. His vessels, however, being detained by obstructions in the channel, the steamers had time to escape up the Altamaha. Darien, he learnt, was deserted, a company of horsemen only remaining in the town to burn it on the approach of the Union forces.

"I have been," reported Commander Godon to Flag-Officer Dupont, on the 16th of March, "from one end of St. Simon's island to the other. But one white man is left on it. I saw him; he is with his aged mother and child; he had never been in the army, refused to leave his house, and was in moral dread of our coming, as the military had informed him that we came for the purpose of destroying even the women and children. We procured beef for the vessels at this plantation, for which we paid the price he asked, and furnished the family with some articles, such as coffee, salt, etc., which articles they had not even seen for months. All the blacks had been removed from St. Simon's, and at Doboy we met the only negro seen, who was old, and alone in the place. He had been the father of thirteen children, but he informed me that every one had been sold as they reached about eighteen years of age, and, as he graphically expressed it, 'for pocket money for his master.'"

In another direction, Commodore Dupont was pushing his easy conquests. A visit to the St. John's river, about twenty-five miles below along the coast, naturally followed the occupation of Fernandina. The expedition, as organized by Commodore Dupont, embraced the four regular gunboats Ottawa, Seneca, Pembina, and Huron, with the Isaac Smith and Ellen, and was placed in charge of Lieutenant Commanding

Stevens, with directions, after entering the river, to "feel the forts, if still held," proceed to Jacksonville, and thence to Pilatka, eighty miles up the stream, reconnoitering, and "capturing river steamers by the way." The armed launches and cutters of the Wabash were to accompany the gunboats, with a light draught transport carrying the 7th New Hampshire regiment. "After arranging," says Commodore Dupont, "with Brigadier-General Wright on the joint occupation of the Florida and Georgia coasts, including protection from injury to the mansions and grounds of Dungeness on Cumberland island, originally the property of the revolutionary hero and patriot, General Greene, and still owned by his descendants, and leaving Commander Percival Drayton in charge of the naval force, I rejoined the Wabash, waiting for me off Fernandina, and proceeded with her off St. John's." Arriving there on the 9th, he found Lieutenant Stevens, who had preceded him with the gunboats, waiting an opportunity to cross the shallow and difficult bar. He succeeded on the afternoon of the 11th with his vessel, the Ottawa, accompanied by the Seneca, Pembina, and Smith, and having to make some preliminary arrangements for the landing of troops, deferred going on to Jacksonville till the next day. Early in the night an extensive conflagration was observed in the direction of the city, which was afterwards ascertained to be the burning of a number of steam lumber mills, the Judson House, a large hotel well known as the resort of invalids, and other property belonging to northern men, who appear to have constituted the most enterprising men of the place. The mills were burned by order of the rebel General Trapier, or by a body of armed men claiming his authority, "not," says Commodore Dupont, "by the people."

Early on the morning of the 12th the Ottawa left her anchorage, and leading her companions, proceeded up the river to Jacksonville, which was reached without difficulty or interruption. The gunboats were drawn up at the docks to command the chief streets, and the New Hampshire troops were landed and occupied the town. There was no resistance, however, to be apprehended, the mayor having previously conferred with the military authorities, before they abandoned the place, and resolved upon a surrender as the only means left of conciliating protection from the expected Union forces. The corporate authorities, therefore, presented themselves with a flag of truce to Commander Stevens, on his arrival, and gave up the town. "At every house saving one," says this officer in a dispatch to Flag-Officer Dupont, on the 13th, "I found evidences of peaceful demonstrations and returning reason. From conversation with intelligent citizens, I find that the inhabitants are seeking and waiting for the protection of our flag; that they do not fear us, but their own people; and from the occupation of this important point, I am satisfied, if our opportunities are improved, great results will follow." The most liberal policy was adopted by Lieutenant Stevens. Announcing that he came "not to molest private property, nor to disturb the people," he proclaimed that "only those who forcibly, and by arms, resist the constitution and laws of the United States will be interfered with." The city government was to be left in the exercise of its authority, and aid was promised in sustaining it. Peaceable persons who had left were invited to return. General Sherman, who arrived the following week, confirmed these declarations by a proclamation in which he assured the people of East Florida, that the troops of the United States had come amongst them, "to protect loyal citizens and their property from further molestation by the creatures of a rebel and usurped authority; and to enable you to resuscitate a government which they have ruthlessly endeavored to destroy. All loyal citizens who return to, or remain at their homes in quiet pursuit of their lawful avocations, shall be protected in all their rights, within the meaning and spirit of the constitution of the United States. The sole desire and intention of the government is to maintain the integrity of the constitution and laws, and reclaim States which have revolted from their national allegiance to their former prosperous and happy condition." Trusting to the manifestations of Union feeling which had been exhibited, he added, "There is great satisfaction in the fact, now become patent to all, that a large portion of you still cling in your hearts to that mother who first liberated you from the thraldom of a despotic government; who next rescued you from the deathly grasp of the wild savage, at a frightful cost of life and treasure; and who afterwards elevated you from the condition of territorial independence to that of a proud and independent State. I earnestly recommend that in every city, town and precinct you assemble in your primary and sovereign capacity, that you there throw off that sham government which has been forced upon you, swear true fidelity and allegiance to the constitution of the United States, and organize your government, and elect your officers in the good old way of the past. When this is done, then will you see the return of prosperous and happy days, in the enjoyment of that trade and industry to which your extensive coast is so well adapted, and in the immunity from that want and suffering to which you have been so inevitably subjected by the traitorous acts of a few ambitious and unprincipled men; then you will enjoy the fruits of your honest labor, the sweets of happy homes, and the consolation of living under those wise and salutary laws that are due only to an industrious and law-abiding people." This conciliatory and sensible proclamation was issued from "Headquarters Expeditionary Corps, Jacksonville," on the 20th of March, and in accordance with its advice preliminary steps were taken to hold a convention on the 10th of the next month. Previously to that day, however, the town was evacuated by the Union forces, and the measure was for the time abandoned.

When Commodore Dupont reached the St. John's river, finding that there was no probability of the gunboat Huron crossing the bar, he dispatched her to St. Augustine, the next harbor on the coast, whither he himself followed in the Wabash. Arriving on the 11th, he immediately sent on shore Commander Rodgers with a flag of truce, "having," as he says, "reason to believe that if there were any people on this coast likely to remain in their houses, it would be at St. Augustine." The expectation was justified by the result. Not only were a large part of the citizens on hand, but they were ready to restore the government property, and the old flag was doubtless sincerely welcomed by many for its promise of restoration, in due time, of former prosperity. The official report of his reception by Commander Rodgers presents an interesting picture of the condition of the town. "Having crossed the bar with some difficulty, in obedience to your orders," he writes to Flag-Officer Dupont on the 12th, "I approached St. Augustine under a flag of truce, and as I drew near the city a white flag was hoisted upon one of the bastions of Fort Marion. Landing at the wharf and enquiring for the chief authority, I was soon joined by the mayor and conducted to the City Hall, where the municipal authorities were assembled. I informed them that having come to restore the authority of the United States, you had deemed it more kind to send an unarmed boat to inform the citizens of your determination, than to occupy the town at once by force of our arms; that you were desirous to calm any apprehension of harsh treatment that might exist in their minds; and that you should carefully respect the persons and property of all citizens who submitted to the authority of the United States; that you had a single purpose to restore the state of affairs which existed before the rebellion. I informed the municipal authority that so long as they respected the authority of the government we serve, and acted in good faith, municipal affairs might be left in their hands, so far as might be consistent with the exigencies of the times. The mayor and council then informed me that the place had been evacuated the preceding night by two companies of Florida troops, and that they gladly received the assurance I gave them, and placed the city in my hands. I recommended them to hoist the flag of the Union at once, and in prompt accordance with the advice, by order of the mayor, the national ensign was displayed from the flagstaff of the fort. The mayor proposed to turn over to me the five cannon mounted at the fort, which are in good condition and not spiked, and also the few munitions of war left by the retreating enemy. I desired him to take charge of them for the present, to make careful inventories, and establish a patrol and guard, informing him that he would be held responsible for the place until our force should enter the harbor. I called upon the clergymen of the city, requesting them to reassure their people, and to confide in our kind intentions toward them. About fifteen hundred persons remain in St. Augustine, about one-fifth of the inhabitants having fled. I believe there are many citizens who are earnestly attached to the Union, a large number who are silently opposed to it, and a still larger number who care very little about the matter. I think that nearly all the men acquiesce in the condition of affairs we are now establishing. There is much violent and pestilent feeling among the women. They seem to mistake treason for courage, and have a theatrical desire to figure as heroines. Their minds have doubtless been filled with the falsehoods so industriously circulated in regard to the lust and hatred of our troops. On the night before our arrival, a party of women assembled in front of the barracks and cut down the flag-staff, in order that it might not be used to support the old flag. The men seemed anxious to conciliate us in every way. There is a great scarcity of provisions in the place; there seems to be no money, except the wretched paper currency of the rebellion, and much poverty exists. In the water-battery at the fort are three fine army 82-pounders of seven thousand pounds, and two 8-inch sea-coast howitzers of fifty-six hundred pounds, with shot and some powder. There are a number of very old guns in the fort, useless, and not mounted. Several good guns were taken away some months ago, to arm batteries at other harbors. The garrison of the place went from St. Augustine at midnight on the 10th, for Smyrna, where are said to be about eight hundred troops, a battery, the steamer Carolina, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition."

One post was yet left on the sea-coast, Mosquito inlet, fifty miles south of St. Augustine, and the entrance to Smyrna, mentioned in the last paragraph. It was used by the blockade runners from the island of Nassau for the introduction of arms transhipped from English ships and steamers at that colony into small vessels of light draught, and was the depot of large quantities of live oak timber on the government lands, cut and ready for shipment. To protect this property and put an end to the illicit traffic, Commodore Dupont ordered the Penguin, Acting Lieutenant Commanding T. A. Budd, and the Henry Andrew, Acting Master S. W. Mather, to proceed to the spot. On arriving himself in the Wabash, on the 22d, he found that an expedition of four or five light boats, carrying some forty-three men, and commanded by the chief officers of the two vessels, had moved southward through the inland passage leading past Smyrna into Mosquito bayou. The sequel is thus related by the Commodore. "It appears," says he, in his report to the secretary of the Navy, "that after going some fifteen or eighteen miles, without any incident, and while on their return, and within sight of the Henry Andrew, the order of the line being no longer observed, the two commanding officers quite in advance, landed under certain earthworks, which had been abandoned or never armed, now a dense growth of live-oak with underbrush. A heavy and continuous fire was unexpectedly opened upon them from both these covers. Lieutenant Commanding Budd and Acting Master Mather, with three of the five men composing the boat's crew, were killed; the remaining two were wounded and made prisoners. As the other boats came up they were also fired into, and suffered more or less. The rear boat of all had a howitzer, which however, could not be properly secured or worked, the boat not being fitted for the purpose, and could, therefore, be of little use. The men had to seek cover on shore, but as soon as it was dark Acting Master's Mate McIntosh returned to the boats, brought away the body of one of the crew who had been killed, all the arms, ammunition, and flags, threw the howitzer into the river, passed close to the rebel pickets, who hailed, but elicited no reply, and arrived safely on board the Henry Andrew. On hearing of this untoward event, I directed Commander Rogers to send off the launch and cutters of the Wabash to the support of the Andrew. The boats crossed the bar at midnight, and the next morning the vessel was hauled close up to the scene of the late attack, but no enemy could be discovered. The bodies of Lieutenant Budd and Acting Master Mather were received under a flag of truce. The commanding officer, a Captain Bird, who had come from a camp at a distance, made some show of courtesy by returning papers and a watch, as if ashamed of this mode of warfare; for these were the very troops that, with sufficient force, means, and material for a respectable defence, had ingloriously fled from St. Augustine on our approach. Lieutenant Commanding Budd and Acting Master Mather were brave and devoted officers. The former commanded the Penguin in the action of the 7th of November, and received my commendation. The latter, in the prime of life, was a man of uncommon energy and daring, and had no superior, probably, among the patriotic men who have been appointed in the navy from the mercantile marine." Having thus secured the main ends of his Florida expedition, Commodore Dupont returned to Port Royal.

CHAPTER LXIII.

BOMBARDMENT OF FORTS JACKSON AND ST. PHILIP, AND CAPTURE OF NEW ORLEANS, APRIL 18—26, 1862.

From the conquests of the fleet and army on the Atlantic coast, we turn to the brilliant parallel series of operations on the Mississippi ending in the capture of New Orleans. Our last mention of the naval movements in this quarter was in connection with the attack in October, 1861, by Captain Hollins, upon the United States squadron at the passes of the river. That affair, doubtless, brought vividly before the government the necessity of preparations on a larger scale, adequate to the dangers and obstacles which beset the advance up the Mississippi. The first important step was taken in the occupation of Ship island. Lying intermediate between Santa Rosa island and the mouths of the Mississippi, near the entrance to the interior water communication with New Orleans by Lake Borgne and Lake Pontchartrain, this was one of the most valuable stations along the coast. Though but a small barren bank of sand, but seven miles in length, narrow and unequal in width, it afforded sufficient anchorage for the blockading vessels of the gulf, and held in convenient control the water communication between Mobile and New Orleans. It was ninety miles distant from Fort Pickens, forty from Mobile bay, sixty from New Orleans, and at about the same distance from the northernmost pass at the mouth of the Mississippi. Sheltering the shore of Mississippi from the gulf, its value as a harbor to that State had been indicated in the designation of a proposed line of railway, the Gulf and Ship island road, to terminate at the neighboring Mississippi city. Its value as a defensive position was felt by the national government, and the construction of a fort was commenced there by the side of the lighthouse at the west end in 1859. The laborers were busy at this work at the outbreak of the rebellion, when the island, being without protection by the government forces, was abandoned. Soon after a body of insurgents from the mainland burned the few houses of the workmen, and barracks, and destroyed the lighthouse and the fort. At the end of June the island was visited by the United States gunboat Massachusetts, when five schooners were captured in one day. The island was then unoccupied, but the Massachusetts returning about ten days after from the mouths of the Mississippi found that it had been taken possession of by the enemy in the interval, and that entrenchments were being thrown up for its defence. The next day, the 9th of July, a battery on the island opened fire on the steamer which was returned, with little effect, however, for the Massachusetts retired, and the island was left in possession of the enemy till the middle of September, when in anticipation of a more serious attack from the Gulf squadron, they abandoned it for the main land. It was then used, and partly occupied as a station for the United States navy.

On the 3d of December, an advance portion—nearly two thousand—of the newly-levied New England troops which General Butler had been busied in collecting since his return from the Hatteras expedition, were landed on the island from the new transport steamship Constitution, a model of marine architecture constructed for the Pacific Mail Company's service. They were commanded by Brigadier-General John W. Phelps, whom the reader will remember with the rank of Colonel, as the associate of General Butler in his department at Newport News.* One of the first proceedings of this energetic officer, after landing his men, was to issue a remarkable proclamation, of a somewhat startling theoretical character, which made considerable stir on its arrival at the North, but which was of little consequence at the South at the time, since the island where it was dated was occupied only by our own troops, and there was no communication with the neighboring land. The document, in fact, was a counterblast to slavery of a social and political, rather than a military character, denouncing the institution in good set terms, and on fixed principles, from the point of view of a zealous abolitionist. Addressing himself "To the loyal citizens of the south-west," Governor Phelps declared at the outset his belief, "that every State that has been admitted as a slave State into the Union since the adoption of the Constitution, has been admitted in direct violation of that Constitution," adding "that the slave States which existed, as such, at the adoption of our Constitution, are, by becoming parties to that compact, under the highest obligations of honor and morality to abolish slavery." He then proceeded to declare his conviction that monopolies are as destructive as competition is conservative of the principles and vitalities of republican government; that slave labor is a monopoly which excludes free labor and competition; that slaves are kept in comparative idleness and ease in a fertile half of our arable national territory, while free white laborers, constantly augmenting in numbers from Europe, are confined to the other half, and are often distressed by want; that the free labor of the North has more need of expansion into the Southern States, from which it is virtually excluded, than slavery had into Texas, in 1846; that free labor is essential to free institutions; that these institutions are naturally better adapted and more congenial to the Anglo-Saxon race, than are the despotic tendencies of slavery; and, finally, that the dominant political principle of this North American continent, so long as the Caucasian race continues to flow in upon us from Europe, must needs be that of free institutions and free government." Dilating upon these aspects of slavery, he compared the efforts of the Southern slaveholders "to give political character to an institution which was not susceptible of political character" with the cause of the French revolution, which he found in a similar design to establish the church in France—a not over-prudent suggestion in a proclamation to the Catholic inhabitants of Louisiana. Yet, the proclamation contained home truths by which they might have profited. There was evidently a sterling conviction in the mind of the writer when he penned the following glowing statement as an inducement to his hearers "to revolutionize slavery out of existence." "Indeed," said he, "we feel assured that the moment slavery is abolished, from that moment our Southern brethren—every ten of whom have probably seven relations in the North—would begin to emerge from a hateful delirium. From that moment, relieved from imaginary terrors, their days become happy and their nights peaceful and free from alarm; the aggregate amount of labor under the new stimulus of fair competition becomes greater day by day; property rises in value, invigorating influences succeed to stagnation, degeneracy, and decay, and union, harmony, and peace—to which we have so long been strangers—become restored, and bind us again in the bonds of friendship and amity, as when we first began our national career, under our glorious government of 1789."

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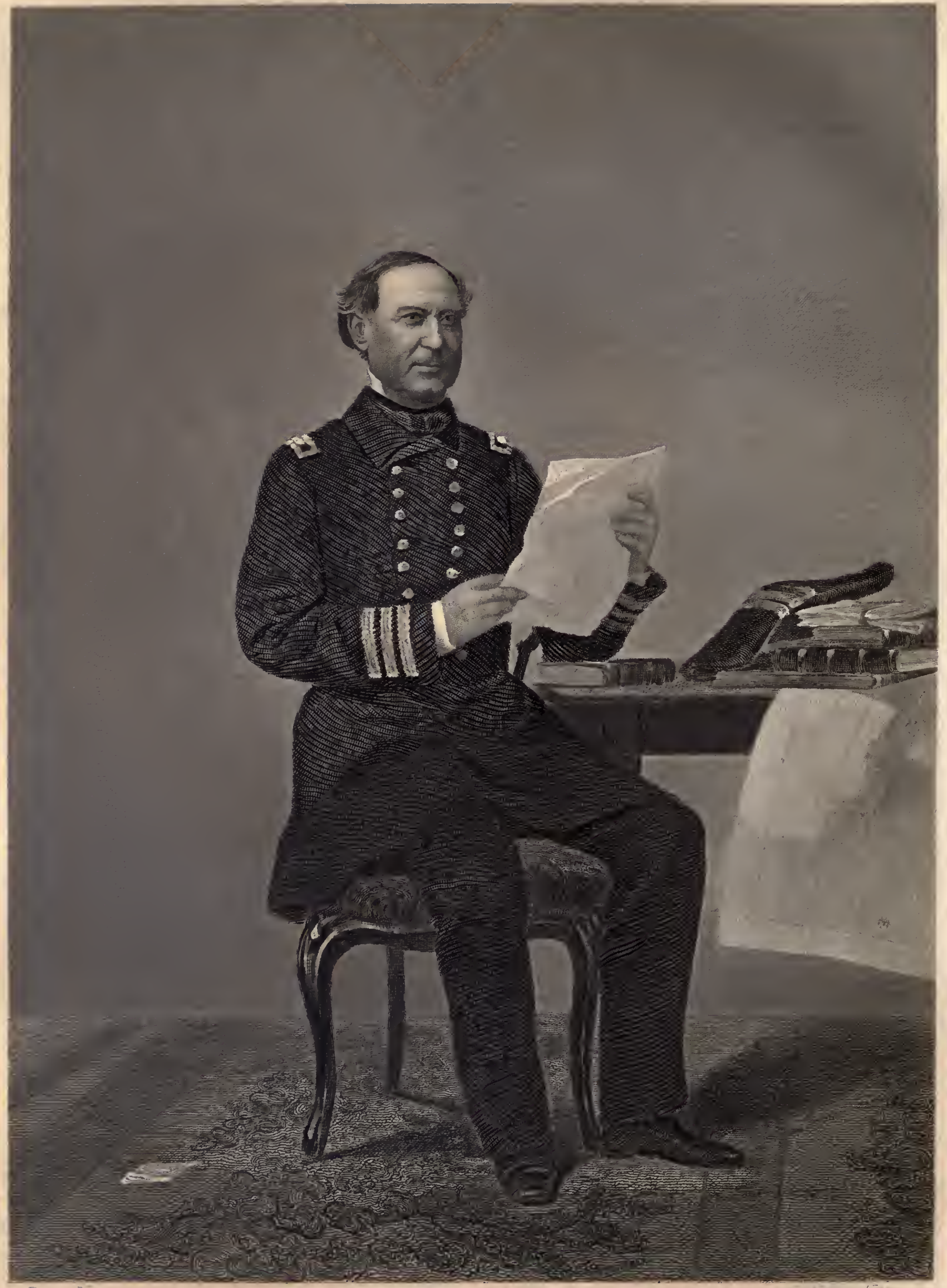
* Vol. I., p. 254.

"It is the conviction of my command," concluded General Phelps, "as a part of the national forces of the United States, that labor—manual labor—is inherently noble, that it cannot be systematically degraded by any nation without ruining its peace, happiness, and power; that free labor is the granite basis on which free institutions must rest; that it is the right, the capital, the inheritance, the hope of the poor man everywhere; that it is especially the right of five millions of our fellow countrymen in the slave States, as well as of the four millions of Africans there; and all our efforts, therefore, however small or great, whether directed against the interference of governments from abroad or against rebellious combinations at home, shall be for free labor. Our motto and our standard shall be, here and everywhere, and on all occasions, Free Labor and Workingmen's Rights. It is on this basis, and on this basis alone, that our magnificent government, the asylum of nations, can be perpetuated and preserved."

On the 31st of December, the town of Biloxi, a watering-place on the shore of the State of Mississippi, was visited by a



Painted by

Alonzo Chappel

D. G. Farragut.

Likeness from the latest Photograph from life

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York

[illegible] A.D. 1863 by Johnson Fry & Co. [illegible]

portion of the national squadron from Ship island, when the place was surrendered without opposition, Captain Melancthon Smith, who had charge of the expedition, bringing off two 6-pounders which had been erected on a sand battery near the light-house. Various observations were sent to the North of the spirit of the population, and their resources. The men capable of bearing arms had mostly gone to the war, leaving a large proportion of women in the town. "The people," wrote a correspondent of the *Boston Journal*, "appeared to be in a very destitute condition, some wanting shoes, some clothing, and others bread. One smart-looking lad said to another, in the hearing of the officers, 'I don't care if I do get taken prisoner,' to which the other replied, 'nor I, either, for then I shall be sure to get enough to eat.' Another chap, of rebellious tendencies, said: "I've heard some talk of starving us into submission, but they'll have to put a blockade on the mullet before they can do this." A little boy approached Midshipman Woodward, and with a wistful air, and beseeching tone, said 'Oh, Mister, if you will only bring me one handful of coffee, I'll give you anything—'lasses, sugar, or anything!' An old man made a similar proposal to Mr. Freeman, who asked him if they were short of anything, to which he made answer: 'My God, we are short of everything. I haven't tasted coffee or tea these four months.' He added, 'If you like, I'll show you some of the stuff we use for tea,' and going off, soon returned with a bunch of dry herbage—large leaves on the stalk, which grows near the ground, and resembles oak leaves."

General Butler, after various delays, having completed his preparations, embarked at Boston on the 25th February, 1862, in the United States steam transport Mississippi, with 1,400 troops, to join the remaining land forces intended for the conquest of New Orleans, who were to assemble at Ship island. Eight days after sailing, the steamer ran aground on Frying-pan shoals, off Wilmington, N. C., from which desperate situation she was fortunately rescued by Commander O. S. Glisson, who happened to be at hand with the United States steamer Mount Vernon. Assistance was given in hauling; the vessel was lightened by throwing over a portion of her freight; three hundred of the troops on board were removed to the Mount Vernon. When she was thus got off the shoal, the troops were again placed on board, and the Mississippi proceeded on her voyage. At the end of March, General Butler had at his command at Ship island about 14,000 men, ready to take part in the projected operations against New Orleans. The force consisted of the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th Maine regiments, the 8th New Hampshire, the 9th, 12th, and 13th Connecticut, the 26th, 30th, and 31st Massachusetts, and the 7th and 8th Vermont, with five batteries of field artillery, and three companies of Massachusetts cavalry unattached. There were also three western regiments from Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. They were all new troops, and more than half of them had been raised by General Butler within the previous three months. The entire number of troops assigned by the department to General Butler's expedition for the capture and occupation of New Orleans, was eighteen thousand. In the middle of April, eight thousand of these troops, all for which there was transportation, were embarked for the Mississippi to coöperate with the naval movement of Captain Farragut, who, arriving from Hampton roads at Ship island on the 20th of February, had superseded Flag-Officer McKean in the command of the Western Gulf blockading squadron. Captain David Glascoe Farragut, to whom this important work was entrusted, was a native of Tennessee. Entering the navy as a midshipman in the war of 1812, at the age of eleven, he was with

Commodore Porter in the remarkable cruise of the Essex in the Pacific, participating in the memorable action which closed the history of this vessel in the harbor of Valparaiso. He had subsequently been engaged in the various duties of our naval officers in active service, at sea and at home, visiting different parts of the world, and had of late, for several years, command of the steam sloop-of-war Brooklyn, of the home squadron. When he was ordered, in January, 1862, to the Gulf of Mexico, he was informed by Secretary Welles that there would be joined to his squadron a fleet of bomb-vessels and armed steamers under command of Commander David D. Porter, the youngest son of his old friend the captain of the Essex, an officer who, for more than thirty years, had been actively employed in the naval service of his country. With this important aid, Captain Farragut was ordered to proceed to "the great object in view—the certain capture of the city of New Orleans. Destroy the armed barriers (was the language of the Secretary) which these deluded people have raised up against the power of the United States government, and shoot down those who war against the Union; but cultivate with cordiality the first returning reason which is sure to follow your success."* In pursuance of these directions, in the beginning of April, Commodore Farragut having assembled his forces, entered the Mississippi river, encountering some considerable difficulties and delays in getting the larger steamers of his command, the Mississippi and Pensacola, over the bar of the river. More than a fortnight was spent in this labor. At last, on the 8th of April, the work was accomplished; Porter's bomb flotilla was ordered up, and General Butler received instructions to forward his land forces. Serious work was evidently expected. In the general orders issued by Commodore Farragut for the government of the squadron, after particular directions had been given, it was enjoined upon the officers: "You must be prepared to execute all those duties to which you have been so long trained in the navy without having the opportunity of practicing. I expect every vessel's crew to be well exercised at their guns, because it is required by the regulations of the service, and it is usually the first object of our attention; but they must be equally well trained for stopping *shot holes* and extinguishing fire. Hot and cold shot will, no doubt, be freely dealt to us, and there must be stout hearts and quick hands to extinguish the one and stop the holes of the other."

The prospect of meeting such obstacles as the rebels had interposed for the defence of their chief city was indeed formidable. The previous encounter of the Union squadron at the passes of the river with the iron-clads and fire-ships of Commodore Hollins, had proved the difficulty of an undertaking which was now a thousand fold enhanced. In addition to a large rebel fleet of some twenty armed steam rams and gunboats, the advancing squadron had to contend with the concentrated fire of two powerful forts. Their progress was threatened to be impeded by a formidable barrier thrown across the river, holding the vessels of the fleet immediately within range of the enemy's guns. Forts Jackson and St. Philip, respectively on the right and left bank of the river, about twenty-five miles above its mouth, and seventy-five from New Orleans, were situated at a bend of the stream, three quarters of a mile distant from each other. The armament which they possessed at the time of their seizure from the United States government had been greatly strengthened by the addition of heavy improved artillery, and now numbered one hundred and twenty-six guns of long range and heavy calibre. Fort Jackson, the most important of the two works, and the first to be encountered, was a regular pentagonal bastioned fortification, with an outside water battery, mounting seventy-five guns in all, including thirty-three 32-pounders on the main parapet. Three of the guns were rifled, and twenty-four were protected by casemates.* Fort St. Philip consisted of a main work with two batteries attached, fully commanding the bend of the stream. A strong chain was extended across the river, here half a mile wide, buoyed by eight hulks from fifty to eighty yards apart. Within these defences the rebel fleet was gathered, including the steam ram Manassas—a species of "turtle," or rounded iron-plated vessel, armed with a single 60-pounder, and a long iron point at her bows beneath the water, and the Louisiana, a formidable iron-covered battery, of great size and heavy armament, upon which much reliance was placed for the defence of the city. There were also various gunboats, and several vessels prepared as fire ships, to carry terror and devastation into the ranks of the assailants. The general command of the coast defences was in the hands of Brigadier-General Johnson K. Duncan, a native of Pennsylvania, and graduate of West Point, who, after reaching the rank of 1st Lieutenant in the 3d artillery, had resigned in 1855, and at the breaking out of the insurrection had entered the Confederate service. The rebel troops at New Orleans, numbering several thousand, were under command of Gen. Mansfield Lovell, a native of the District of Columbia, and also a graduate of West Point. He had served in the Mexican war as aid to General Quitman, whose plans for the acquisition of Cuba he subsequently warmly entered into, resigning, with his friend Gustavus W. Smith, of the engineers, his rank in the army to enter upon that proposed expedition. Both officers were attracted to the Southern cause, and at an early period of the war were placed in responsible positions in the rebel service. The Union forces destined for the attack consisted of Commodore Farragut's fleet, composed of seventeen steamships and gunboats; Commodore Porter's mortar fleet of twenty-one sailing vessels, with seven steamers of light draught, and the troops under General Butler in the transports, of which two only were steamers. A careful reconnoissance of the river to the vicinity of the forts was made by Fleet Captain H. H. Bell, on the 28th of March. He drew the fire of the enemy's guns, estimated their range, and made a satisfactory observation of the position and structure of the hulks and chain.

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* Gideon Welles to Flag-Officer Farragut. Navy Department, Jan. 20, 1862.

On the 16th of April, full supplies of coal and ammunition having arrived, and all preparations being completed, Commodore Farragut ascended the river with the fleet. The mortar flotilla, which it was intended should commence operations, was, after a careful survey of the region, placed in position by Commodore Porter on the right bank of the river, in line under the lee of a thick wood closely interwoven with vines, the foremost vessel at a distance of 2,850 yards from Fort Jackson. The intervening trees in that direction, for a distance of three hundred yards, presented an impenetrable mass through which no shot could pass. To add still further to the protection of this bombarding fleet, Commodore Porter caused the masts of the vessels "to be dressed off with bushes, to make them invisible to the enemy, and intermingle with the thick forest of trees and matted vines behind which they were placed, an arrangement which proved to be an admirable one, for never once during the bombardment was one of the vessels seen from the forts, though their approximate position was known. As the bushes were blown away during the bombardment they were renewed, and the masts and ropes kept covered from view."* Fire was regularly opened from the mortar batteries on the 18th upon

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* Report of Joseph Harris. U. S. Coast Survey, May 4, 1862.

* Official Report of Commodore Porter, April 30, 1862.

Fort Jackson, each vessel firing every ten minutes. The enemy responded with spirit and with effect. Two of the mortar boats being penetrated by shot, and one of the divisions which had been placed by the shore opposite the fort being compelled to retire a short distance, while several gunboats were sent to divert the fire of the foe. In the afternoon, however, the citadel, a structure of brick and wood in the centre of the fort, was set on fire, and a quantity of clothing and stores in it destroyed. 1,400 shells were fired on this first day of the bombardment. The second day one of the mortar boats was sunk by a rifle shell from the fort, while some officers' quarters in the fort were set fire to. The next night Captain Bell was sent with an apparatus of electrical batteries and petards, accompanied by two gunboats, to break up the chain barrier. They advanced under cover of the fire of the whole mortar fleet. One of the vessels, the Pinola, Captain Crosby, carried the operator, who planted his petard but failed to explode it in consequence of the breaking of the wires. The other gunboat, the Itasca, Lieutenant Commanding Caldwell, grappled one of the hulks, and was driven with it by force of the current on the shore, a position from which she was extricated by her consort which had removed a portion of the chain, effectually broken the line of the obstructions, and opened a passage for the Union fleet. On the third and fourth days the mortar practice was somewhat interrupted by the necessary delay in sending for fresh ammunition. On the fifth the fire from the fort was quite annoying, as it obtained the range of the bombarding vessels. During all this time the latter were constantly at work. To avoid fatigue, as far as possible, Commodore Porter divided the divisions into watches of four hours each, firing from one division about 168 times a watch, or altogether, during the 24 hours, 1,500 shell. "This," says he, "I found rested the crews, and produced more accurate firing. Overcome with fatigue, I had seen the commanders and crews lying fast asleep on deck, with a mortar on board the vessel next to them thundering away, and shaking everything around them like an earthquake. The windows were broken at the Balize, thirty miles distant." During this bombardment the five fire rafts were sent down the river by the enemy. They were readily, however, turned aside from the vessels of the fleet, except in one single instance, when from the force of the wind and current two of the gunboats suffered somewhat in a collision, and being dragged across the bows of the Mississippi. Having kept up this *feu d'enfer* for three days without silencing the fire of the fort, Commodore Porter was inclined to despair of taking it, and, indeed, as he himself tells us, "began to lose his confidence in mortars," when a deserter presented himself with such an account of the havoc in the fort, that "he went to work with renewed vigor, and never flagged to the last." For six days this uninterrupted destructive mortar firing was continued, when Commodore Farragut, on the 23d, resolved, according to a plan he had previously formed, to advance with his fleet the following night, with the intention of passing the forts, and proceeding at once to the capture of New Orleans. Lieutenant Caldwell was again sent up early in the night to make an examination of the passage through the obstructions which he had previously opened. He discharged this duty while the enemy were sending down fire rafts, and by means of their watch fires on shore, directing the fire of their guns against him. He accomplished his purpose, however, without injury, and signaled that the passage was still clear. Every preparation had now been made by Commodore Farragut for the impending movement. He had, indeed, taken extraordinary precautions to divert, as far as possible, danger from his fleet in their perilous enterprise. "Every vessel," says he in his official report, "was as well prepared as the ingenuity of her commander and officers could suggest, both for the preservation of life and of the vessel, and, perhaps, there is not on record such a display of ingenuity as has been evinced in this little squadron. The first was by the engineer of the Richmond, Mr. Moore, by suggesting that the sheet cables be stopped up and down on the sides in the line of the engines, which was immediately adopted by all the vessels. Then each commander made his own arrangements for stopping the shot from penetrating the boilers or machinery that might come in forward or abaft, by hammocks, coal, bags of ashes, bags of sand, clothes bags, and, in fact, every device imaginable. The bulwarks were lined with hammocks by some, by splinter nettings made with ropes by others. Some rubbed their vessels over with mud, to make their ships less visible, and some whitewashed their decks, to make things more visible by night during the fight. In the afternoon I visited each ship, in order to know positively that each commander understood my orders for the attack, and to see that all was in readiness. I had looked to their efficiency before. Every one appeared to understand their orders well, and looked forward to the conflict with firmness, but with anxiety, as it was to be in the night, or at two o'clock, A. M."

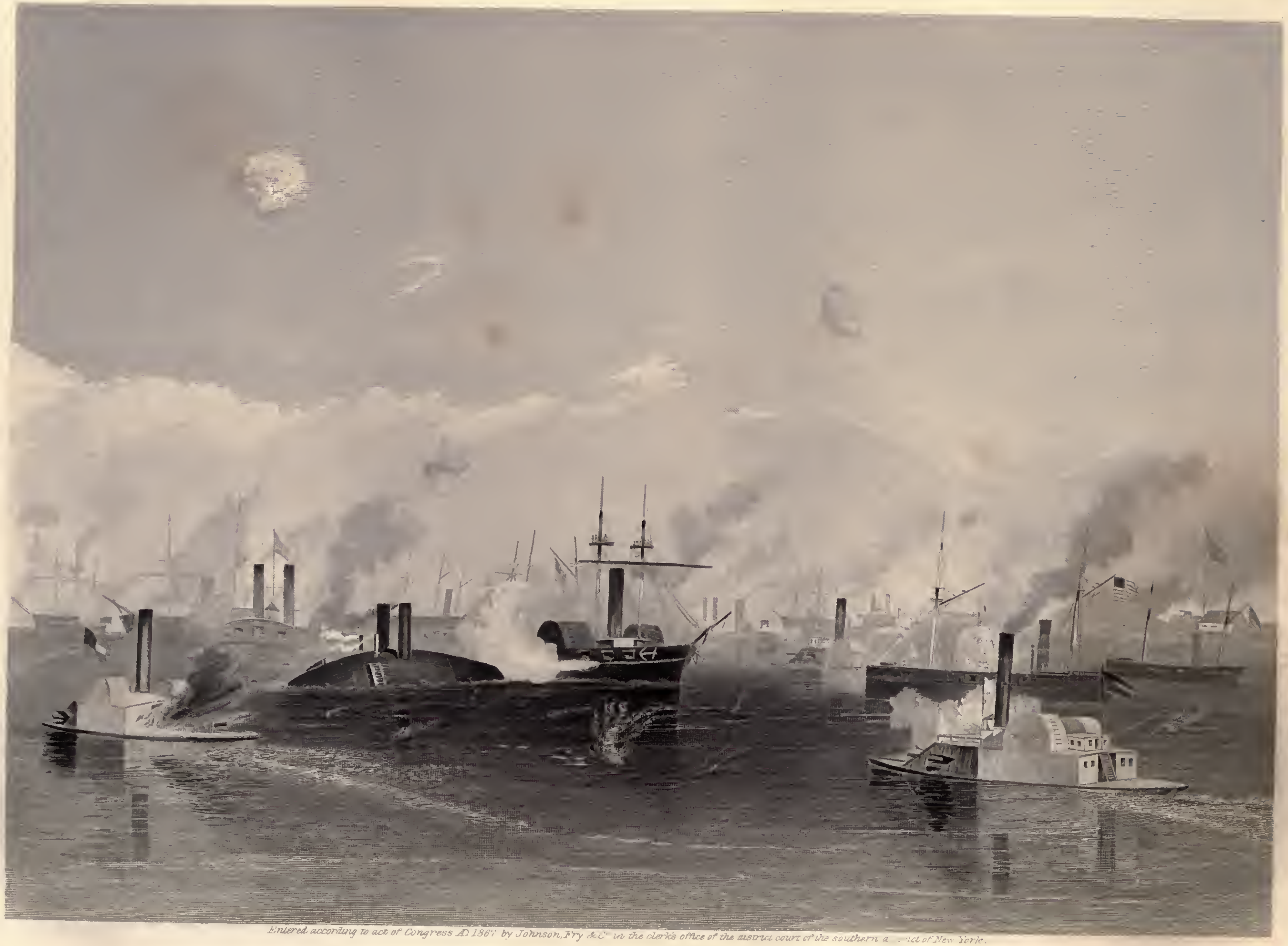
According to a previous general order, Commodore Farragut's fleet was arranged in two divisions, to each of which was assigned six gunboats. The command of the first division, embracing the Cayuga, Lieutenant Commanding N. B. Harrison, the Oneida, Commander Lee, the Varuna, Commander Charles S. Boggs, the Katahdin, Lieutenant Commanding G. H. Preble, the Kineo, Lieutenant Commanding George M. Ransom, and the Wissahickon, Lieutenant Commanding A. N. Smith, was given to Captain Theodorus Bailey, an officer of the United States navy, a native of New York, who had entered the service as a midshipman in 1818, and had been constantly employed in its various duties abroad and at home. His division acted in concert with the ships Mississippi, Commander M. Smith, and the Pensacola, Captain Henry W. Morris. Captain Bell was given the command of the 2d division of gunboats, including the Sciota, Lieutenant Commanding Donaldson, the Iriquois, Commander De Camp, the Kennebec, Lieutenant Commanding John H. Russell, the Pinola, Lieutenant Commanding Crosby, the Itasca, Lieutenant Commanding C. H. B. Caldwell, the Winona, Lieutenant Commanding Edward T. Nichols. In conjunction with this division of gunboats were the ships Hartford, Commander Richard Wainwright, the Brooklyn, Captain T. T. Craven, and the Richmond, Commander Alden. The Hartford was the flag-ship of Commodore Farragut, to whose official report of the action which ensued we now direct our attention.

"At about five minutes of two o'clock, A. M., April 24, signal was made to get under way (two ordinary red lights, so as not to attract the attention of the enemy), but owing to the great difficulty in purchasing their anchors, the Pensacola and some of the other vessels were not under way until half-past three. We then advanced in two columns, Captain Bailey leading the right in the gunboat Cayuga, Lieutenant Commanding Harrison, he having been assigned to the first division of gunboats, which was to attack Fort St. Philip, in conjunction with the 2d division of ships, and the Hartford, the left; Fleet-Captain Bell leading the 2d division of gunboats in the Sciota; Lieutenant Commanding Donaldson to assist the first division of ships to attack Fort Jackson. The enemy's lights, while they discovered us to them, were, at the same time guides to us. We soon passed the barrier chains, the right column taking Fort St. Philip, and the left Fort

Jackson. The fire became general, the smoke dense, and we had nothing to aim at but the flash of their guns; it was very difficult to distinguish friends from foes. Captain Porter had, by arrangement, moved up to a certain point on the Fort Jackson side with his gunboats, and I had assigned the same post to Captain Swartwout, in the Portsmouth, to engage the water batteries to the southward and eastward of Fort Jackson, while his mortar vessels poured a terrific fire of shells into it. I discovered a fire raft coming down upon us, and in attempting to avoid it ran the ship on shore, and the ram Manassas, which I had not seen, lay on the opposite of it, and pushed it down upon us. Our ship was soon on fire half way up to her tops, but we backed off, and through the good organization of our fire department, and the great exertions of Captain Wainwright and his first lieutenant, officers and crew, the fire was extinguished. In the meantime our battery was never silent, but poured in its missiles of death into Fort St. Philip, opposite to which we had got by this time, and it was silenced, with the exception of a gun now and then. By this time the enemy's gunboats, some thirteen in number, besides two iron-clad rams, the Manassas and Louisiana, had become more visible. We took them in hand, and in the course of a short time destroyed eleven of them. We were now fairly past the forts, and the victory was ours; but still here and there a gunboat making resistance. Two of them had attacked the Varuna, which vessel, by her greater speed, was much in advance of us; they ran into her and caused her to sink, but not before she had destroyed her adversaries, and their wrecks now lie side by side, a monument to the gallantry of Captain Boggs, his officers, and crew. It was a kind of guerrilla; they were fighting in all directions. Captains Bailey and Bell, who were in command of the 1st and 2d divisions of gunboats, were as active in rendering assistance in every direction as lay in their power. Just as the scene appeared to be closing, the ram Manassas was seen coming up under full speed to attack us. I directed Captain Smith, in the Mississippi, to turn and run her down; the order was instantly obeyed by the Mississippi turning and going at her at full speed. Just as we expected to see the ram annihilated, when within fifty yards of each other, she put her helm hard aport, dodged the Mississippi, and ran ashore. The Mississippi poured two broadsides into her, and sent her drifting down the river a total wreck. Thus closed our morning's fight."

It would be impossible to do justice to the merits of this extraordinary engagement without citing in detail the special reports of the several commanders, to whose independent action of necessity the work was in a great measure committed. Indeed, Commodore Farragut candidly admits, in his report, that after the organization and arrangements had been made, and the fight had fairly been entered upon, "the density of the smoke from guns and fire rafts, the scenes passing on board our own ship and around us—for it was as if the artillery of Heaven were playing on the earth—rendered it impossible for the flag-officer to see how each vessel was conducting itself." He can judge, he adds, only by the final results and the special reports from the fleet; "but I feel that I can say with truth, that it has rarely been the lot of a commander to be supported by officers of more indomitable courage, or higher professional merit."

The report of Capt Bailey, second in command, on board the Cayuga, which led the column on the right, like the other official statements of this adventurous affair, is a spirited sailor's document, impressed with a certain zest of the new situation. "We led off," he reports to Flag-Officer Farragut, "at two A. M., in accordance with your signal, and steered directly up stream, edging a little to starboard, in order to give room



Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 1867 by Johnson, Fry & Co. in the clerk's office of the district court of the southern district of New York.

CAPTURE OF NEW ORLEANS—ATTACK ON [illegible]

From the original painting [illegible]

for your division. I was followed by the Pensacola in fine style, the remainder of my division following in regular and compact order. We were scarcely above the boom when we were discovered, and Jackson and St. Philip opened upon us. We could bring no gun to bear, but steered directly on. We were struck from stem to stern. At length we were close up with St. Philip, when we opened with grape and canister. Scarcely were we above the line of fire, when we found ourselves attacked by the rebel fleet of gunboats. This was *hot* but more congenial work. Two large steamers now attempted to board, one on our starboard bow, the other astern; a third on our starboard beam. The 11-inch Dahlgren being trained on this fellow, we fired at a range of thirty yards. The effect was very destructive; he immediately steered in shore, ran aground, and burnt himself up. The Parrott gun on the forecastle drove off one on the bow, while we prepared to repel boarders, so close was our remaining enemy. About this time Boggs and Lee came dashing in, and made a finish of the rebel boats—eleven in all."

Fleet-Captain Bell, on board the Sciota, the flag-officer's division on the left, reports having run safely through the batteries of the forts and rebel steamers when two of the latter were set fire to and burned by Captain Donaldson. Delaying to take possession of another which had surrendered, and which was found to be fast ashore, the Sciota was brought within half a mile of the ram Manassas, when Captain Bell had the satisfaction to witness "the decided manner in which the noble old steamship Mississippi, Commander Melancthon Smith, met that pigmy monster. The Mississippi made at her, but the Manassas sheered off to avoid the collision, and landed on the shore, when her crew escaped over her roof into the swamp. The Mississippi pelted her meanwhile with her heavy guns. After a while she slipped off the bank, and was last seen by some of the officers floating down the stream, passing the Mississippi without smoke-stack. I counted nine of the enemy's steamers of all kinds destroyed; all but two being well armed on the bow and stern."

Captain Craven records an adventure of his steam sloop Brooklyn with this famous ram, which, certainly, during her short career in this engagement, displayed a wonderful activity. At the beginning of the action, the Brooklyn, in the darkness and smoke, was entangled with the hulks and rafts of the chain barrier, when she fell athwart the stream, her bow grazing the shore, and in this situation was exposed to a pretty severe fire from Fort St. Philip. Escaping this danger she resumed her course, when, in the humorous and graphic language of her commander, "she was feebly butted by the celebrated ram Manassas. She came butting into our starboard gangway, first firing from her trap-door, when within about ten feet of the ship, directly towards our smoke-stack, her shot entering about five feet above the water-line and lodging in the sand-bags which protected our steam-drum. I had discovered this queer-looking gentleman while forcing my way over the barricade, lying close into the bank, and when he made his appearance the second time I was so close to him that he had not an opportunity to get up his full speed, and his efforts to damage me were completely frustrated, our chain armor proving a perfect protection to our sides. He soon slid off, and disappeared in the darkness. A few moments thereafter, being all the time under a raking fire from Fort Jackson, I was attacked by a large rebel steamer. Our port broadside, at the short distance of only fifty or sixty yards, completely finished him, setting him on fire almost instantaneously. Still groping my way in the dark, or under the black cloud of smoke from the fire raft, I suddenly found myself abreast of St. Philip, and so close that the leads-man in the starboard chains gave the soundings "thirteen feet, sir." As we could bring all our guns to bear, for a few moments we poured in grape and canister, and I had the satisfaction of completely silencing that work before I left it—my men in the tops witnessing, in the flashing of their bursting schrapnells, the enemy running like sheep for more comfortable quarters. After passing the forts we engaged several of the enemy's gunboats; and, being at short range—generally from sixty to a hundred yards—the effects of our broadsides must have been terrific. This ship was under fire about one hour and a half. We lost eight men killed, and had twenty-six wounded, and our damages from the enemy's shot and shell are severe."

The fortunes of the Varuna, and the gallant exploits of her crew, are among the most heroic incidents of the day. The vessel was lost, indeed, but not until a number of the enemy's fleet had been destroyed by her, and as she sank, her guns were fought level with the water. This is the official report of her share in the action of the morning, from the pen of her commander, Captain Boggs, a native of New Brunswick, and a nephew of the celebrated Captain Lawrence of the Chesapeake. He had been long employed in the navy, having entered the service in 1826. "After passing the batteries," says he, "finding my vessel amid a nest of rebel steamers, I started ahead, delivering her fire, both starboard and port, at every one that she passed. The first on her starboard beam that received her fire appeared to be crowded with troops. Her boiler was exploded, and she drifted to the shore. In like manner three other vessels, one of them a gunboat, was driven ashore in flames, and afterwards blew up. At six A. M. the Varuna was attacked by the Morgan, iron-clad about the bow, commanded by Beverly Kennon, an ex-naval officer. This vessel raked us along the port gangway, killing four and wounding nine of the crew, butting the Varuna on the quarter, and again on the starboard side. I managed to get three 8-inch shells into her abaft her armor, as also several shots from the after rifled gun, when she dropped out of action partially disabled. While still engaged with her, another rebel steamer, iron-clad, with a prow under water, struck us in the port gangway, doing considerable damage. Our shot glanced from her bow. She backed off for another blow, and struck again in the same place, crushing in the side; but by going ahead fast, the concussion drew her bow around, and I was able, with the port guns, to give her while close alongside, five 8-inch shells abaft her armor. This settled her, and drove her ashore in flames. Finding the Varuna sinking, I ran her into the bank, let go the anchor, and tied up to the trees. During all this time the guns were actively at work crippling the Morgan, which was making feeble efforts to get up steam. The fire was kept up until the water was over the gun-trucks, when I turned my attention to getting the wounded and crew out of the vessel. The Oneida, Captain Lee, seeing the condition of the Varuna, had rushed to her assistance, but I waived her on, and the Morgan surrendered to her, the vessel in flames. I have since learned that over fifty of her crew were killed and wounded, and she was set on fire by her commander, who burned his wounded with his vessel. I cannot award too much praise to the officers and crew of the Varuna for the noble manner in which they supported me, and their coolness under such exciting circumstances, particularly when extinguishing fire, having been set on fire twice during the action by shells. In fifteen minutes from the time the Varuna was struck she was on the bottom, with only her top-gallant forecastle out of the water. The officers and crew lost everything they possessed, no one thinking of leaving his station until driven thence by the water." We might cite other details of the rapid series of actions which ended in the discomfiture of the rebel fleet, but referring the reader for full particulars to the ample record published by the government, must proceed with Flag-Officer Farragut in his ascent of the river. Resuming his report at this period of the day's work, we are told: "Captain Bailey, who had preceded me up to the quarantine station, had captured the Chalmette regiment, Colonel Szymanski; and not knowing what to do with them, as every moment was a great loss to me, I paroled both officers and men, and took away all their arms, munitions of war, and public property, and ordered them to remain where they were until the next day. I sent some of the gunboats to precede me up the river, to cut the telegraph wire in different places. It now became me to look around for my little fleet, and to my regret I found that three were missing—the Itasca, Winona, and Kennebeck. Various were the speculations as to their fate, whether they had been sunk on the passage or had put back. I therefore determined immediately to send Captain Boggs, whose vessel was now sunk, through the Quarantine bayou, around to Commodore Porter, telling him of our safe arrival, and to demand the surrender of the forts, and to endeavor to get some tidings of the missing vessels. I also sent a dispatch by him to General Butler, informing him that the way was clear for him to land his forces through the Quarantine bayou, in accordance with previous arrangements; and that I should leave gunboats there to protect him against the enemy, who, I now perceived, had three or four gunboats left at the forts—the Louisiana, an iron-clad battery of sixteen guns, the McCrea, very similar in appearance to one of our gunboats, and armed very much in the same way, the Defiance, and a river steamer transport.

"We then proceeded up to New Orleans, leaving the Wissahicon, and Kineo to protect the landing of the general's troops. Owing to the slowness of some of the vessels, and our want of knowledge of the river, we did not reach the English turn until about half-past ten A. M. on the 25th; but all the morning I had seen abundant evidence of the panic which had seized the people in New Orleans. Cotton-loaded ships on fire came floating down, and working implements of every kind, such as are used in shipyards. The destruction of property was awful. We soon descried the new earthwork forts on the old lines on both shores. We now formed, and advanced in the same order, two lines, each line taking its respective work. Captain Bailey was still far in advance, not having noticed my signal for close order, which was to enable the slow vessels to come up. They opened on him a galling fire, which caused us to run up to his rescue; this gave them the advantage of a raking fire on us for upwards of a mile, with some twenty guns, while we had but two 9-inch guns on our forecastle to reply to them. It was not long, however, before we were enabled to bear away and give the forts a broadside of shells, shrapnell, and grape, the Pensacola at the same time passing up and giving a tremendous broadside of the same kind to the starboard fort; and by the time we could reload, the Brooklyn, Captain Craven, passed handsomely between us and the battery and delivered her broadside, and shut us out. By this time the other vessels had gotten up, and ranged in one after another, delivering their broadsides in spiteful revenge for their ill-treatment of the little Cayuga. The forts were silenced, and those who could run were running in every direction. We now passed up to the city and anchored immediately in front of it, and I sent Captain Bailey on shore to demand the surrender of it from the authorities, to which the mayor replied that the city was under martial law, and that he had no authority. General Lovell, who was present, stated that he should deliver up nothing, but in order to free the city from embarrassment, he would restore the city authorities and retire with his troops, which he did. I then seized all the steamboats and sent them down to quarantine for General Butler's forces. Among the number of these boats is the famous Tennessee, which our blockaders have been so long watching, but which, you will perceive, never got out.

"The levee of New Orleans was one scene of desolation. Ships, steamers, cotton, coal, etc., were all in one common blaze, and our ingenuity was much taxed to avoid the floating conflagration. I neglected to mention my having good information respecting the iron-clad rams which they were building. I sent Captain Lee up to seize the principal one; the "Mississippi," which was to be the terror of these seas, and no doubt would have been to a great extent; but she soon came floating by us all in flames, and passed down the river. Another was sunk immediately in front of the custom-house; others were building in Algiers, just begun. I next went above the city eight miles to Carrolton, where I learned there were two other forts; but the panic had gone before me. I found the guns spiked, and the carriages in flames. The first work on the right reaches from the Mississippi nearly over to Pontchartrain, and has twenty-nine guns; the one on the left had six guns, from which Commander Lee took some fifty barrels of powder, and completed the destruction of the gun-carriages, etc. A mile higher up there were two other earthworks, but not yet armed. We discovered here, fastened to the right bank of the river, one of the most herculean labors I have ever seen—a raft and chain to extend across the river to prevent Foote's gunboats from descending. It is formed by placing three immense logs of not less than three or four feet in diameter, and some thirty feet long; to the centre one or two inch chain is attached, running lengthwise the raft, and the three logs and chain are then frapped together by chains from one-half to one inch, three or four layers, and there are ninety-six of these lengths composing the raft; it is at least three-quarters of a mile long.

"On the evening of the 29th Captain Bailey arrived from below, with the gratifying intelligence that the forts had surrendered to Commander Porter, and had delivered up all public property, and were being paroled; and that the navy had been made to surrender unconditionally, as they had conducted themselves with bad faith, burning and sinking their vessels while a flag of truce was flying, and the forts negotiating for their surrender, and the Louisiana, their great iron-clad battery, blown up almost alongside of the vessel where they were negotiating; hence their officers were not paroled, but sent home to be treated according to the judgment of the government. General Butler came up the same day, and arrangements were made for bringing up his troops. I sent on shore and hoisted the American flag on the custom-house, and hauled down the Louisiana State flag from the city hall, as the mayor had avowed that there was no man in New Orleans who dared to haul it down; and my own convictions are that if such an individual could have been found he would have been assassinated."

Commander Porter, to whom the capture of the forts was left by Flag-officer Farragut, gives us a particular and most interesting account of his proceedings. "Immediately on the passage of the ships," says he, "I sent Lieutenant Commanding Guest up with a flag of truce, demanding the surrender of the forts. The flag of truce was fired on, but apologized for afterwards. The answer was, 'The demand is inadmissible.' Giving the men that day to rest, I prepared to fill up the vessels with ammunition and commence the bombardment again. Having in the meantime heard from Flag-Officer Farragut that he had safely passed the batteries, I determined to make another attempt on these deluded people in the forts to make them surrender, and save the further effusion of blood. Flag-Officer Farragut had unknowingly left a troublesome force in his rear, consisting of four steamers and a powerful steam battery of 4,000 tons and 16 heavy guns, all protected by the forts. I did not know in what condition the battery was, only we had learned that she had come down the night before, ready prepared to wipe out our whole fleet. If the enemy counted so surely on destroying our whole fleet with her, it behooved me to be prudent, and not let the mortar vessels be sacrificed like the vessels at Norfolk. I commenced, then, a bombardment on the iron-clad battery, supposing it lay close under Fort Jackson, and also set the vessels to work throwing shells into Fort Jackson again, to let them know that we were still taking care of them; but there was no response: the fight had all been taken out of them. I sent the mortar vessels below to refit and prepare for sea, as also to prevent them from being driven from their position in case the iron battery came out to attack them. I felt sure that the steamers alone could manage the battery. Six of the schooners I ordered to proceed immediately to the rear of Fort Jackson, and blockade all the bayous, so that the garrison could not escape or obtain supplies. I sent the Miami and Sachem to the rear of Fort St. Philip, to assist in landing troops. These vessels all appeared at their destination at the same time, and when morning broke the enemy found himself hemmed in on all sides. It was a military necessity that we should have the forts. Our squadron was cut off from coal, provisions and ammunition; our soldiers had but little chance to get to New Orleans through shallow bayous; the enemy in the city would hesitate to surrender while the forts held out; communication was cut off between them, and neither party knew what the other was willing to do. So I demanded a surrender again, through Lieutenant Commanding Guest, offering to let them retain their side-arms, and engage not to serve against the United States during the rebellion until regularly exchanged, provided they would honorably deliver up, *undamaged*, the forts, guns, muskets, provisions, and all munitions of war, the vessels under the guns of the fort, and all other public property. The answer was civil, and hopes were held out that, after being instructed by the authorities of New Orleans, they would surrender. In the meantime their men became dissatisfied at being so surrounded; they had no hope of longer holding out with any chance of success, and gave signs of insubordination.

"On the 28th a flag of truce came on board the Harriet Lane, proposing to surrender Jackson and St. Philip on the terms proposed, and I immediately proceeded to the forts, with the steamers Westfield, Winona, and Kennebec in company, and sent a boat for General Duncan and Lieutenant-Colonel Higgins, and such persons as they might see fit to bring with them. These persons came on board, and proceeding to the cabin of the Harriet Lane, the capitulation was drawn up and signed. The officers late commanding the forts informed me that the vessels would not be included in the capitulation, as they (the military) had nothing to do with the naval officers, and were in no way responsible for their acts. There was evidently a want of unanimity between the different branches of the rebel service. I afterwards found out that great ill-feeling existed, the naval commander having failed, in the opinion of the military, to coöperate with the forts; the true state of the case being that they were both sadly beaten, and each laid the blame on the other. While engaged in the capitulation, an officer came below and informed me that the iron floating battery (the Louisiana) had been set on fire by two steamers which had been lying alongside of her. This was a magnificent iron steam floating battery of four thousand tons, and mounting sixteen heavy guns, and perfectly shot-proof. She had been brought down from New Orleans the day before, and on it the hopes of their salvation seemed to depend. I was in hopes of saving this vessel as a prize, for she would have been so materially useful to us in all future operations on the coast, her batteries and strength being sufficient to silence any fort here, aided by the other vessels. Seeing her lying so quiet, with colors down, and the two steamers under our guns, I never dreamed for a moment that they had not surrendered. The forts and ourselves had flags of truce flying, and I could not make any movement without violating the honor of the United States, and interrupting the capitulation which was being drawn up. The burning of the vessels was done so quietly that no one suspected it until the battery was in a blaze. I merely remarked to the commanders of the forts that the act was in no way creditable to the rebel commander. The reply was, 'we are not responsible for the acts of these naval officers.' We proceeded with the conference, and while so engaged an officer came to inform me that the iron-clad battery was all in flames and drifting down on us, having burnt the ropes that had fastened her to the bank. I inquired of the late commanders of the forts if they knew if the guns were loaded. or if she had much powder on board. The answer was, 'I presume so, but we know nothing about the naval matters here.' At this moment the guns, being heated, commenced going off, with a probability of throwing shot and shell amidst friend and foe. I did not deign to notice it, further than to say to the military officers, 'if you don't mind the effects of the explosion which is soon to come, we can stand it.' If the ever memorable Commander Mitchell calculated to make a stampede in the United States vessels by his infamous act he was mistaken: none of them moved or intended to move, and the conference was carried on as calmly as if nothing else was going on, though proper precautions were taken to keep them clear of the burning battery. A good Providence, which directs the most unimportant events, sent the battery off towards Fort St. Philip, and as it got abreast of that formidable fort it blew up with a force which scattered the fragments in all directions, killing one of their own men in Fort St. Philip, and when the smoke cleared off it was nowhere to be seen, having sunk immediately in the deep waters of the Mississippi. The explosion was terrific, and was seen and heard for many miles up and down the river. Had it occurred near the vessels, it would have destroyed every one of them. This, no doubt, was the object of the arch-traitor who was the instigator of the act. He failed to coöperate like a man, with his military confederates, who looked to the means he had at his disposal to save them from destruction, and who scorned alike his want of courage in not assisting them, as well as the unheard of and perfidious act which might, in a measure have reflected on them. How different was the course of the military commanders, who, though engaged in so bad a cause, behaved honorably to the end. Every article in the fort was delivered up undamaged. Nothing was destroyed, either before the capitulation, or while the capitulation was going on, or afterwards. The most scrupulous regard was paid to their promises. They defended their works like men, and had they been fighting for the flag under which they were born, instead of against it, it would have been honor enough for any man to have said he had fought by their side.

"After the capitulation was signed, I sent Commander W. B. Renshaw to Fort Jackson, and Lieutenant Commanding Ed. Nicholas to Fort St. Philip, to receive the surrender of the forts. The rebel flag was hauled down and the stars and stripes once more floated over the property of the United States. The sun never shone on a more contented and happy looking set of faces than those of the prisoners in and about the forts. Many of them had not seen their families for months, and a large portion had been pressed into a service distasteful to them, subject to the rigor of a discipline severe beyond measure. They were frequently exposed to punishments, for slight causes, which the human frame could scarcely endure, and the men who underwent some of the tortures mentioned on a list of punishments I have in my possession must have been unable afterwards to do any duty for months to come. Instead of the downcast countenances of conquered people, they emerged from the fort (going home on their parole) like a parcel of happy school boys in holiday times, and no doubt they felt like them also. When the flags had been exchanged I devoted my attention to Commander Mitchell, who was lying a half mile above us with three steamers, one of which he had scuttled. Approaching him in the Harriet Lane, I directed Lieutenant Commanding Wainwright to fire a gun over him, when he lowered his flag. I then sent Lieutenant Commanding Wainwright on board to take possession and receive the unconditional surrender of the party, consisting of fourteen naval officers and seven engineers, temporarily appointed; the crew of the iron-clad battery consisted of three hundred men and two companies of marine artillery, nearly all from civil life, and serving much against their will, so they said. Commander Mitchell and the other naval officers were transferred to the Westfield as prisoners of war, and as soon as time would allow, the marines and sailors were sent in one of the captured vessels to Flag-Officer Farragut, at New Orleans. The captured military officers were sent up to New Orleans on their parole; and thus ended the day on which the great Mississippi rejoiced once more in having its portals opened to the commerce of the world. The backbone of the rebellion was broken, and from the appearance and talk of the soldiers we might soon hope to see the people united again under the folds of the flag of the Union. While the capitulation was going on I sent the steamer Clifton down to bring up troops, and when General Phelps came up I turned the forts, guns, and munitions of war over to his keeping.

"My next step was to visit Forts Jackson and St. Philip. Never in my life did I witness such a scene of desolation and wreck as the former presented—it was ploughed up by the thirteen-inch mortars, the bombs had set fire to and burnt out all the buildings in and around the fort; casemates were crushed and were crumbling in, and the only thing that saved them were the sand-bags that had been sent from New Orleans during the bombardment, and when they began to feel the effects of the mortars. When the communication was cut off between them and the city this resource of sand-bags could avail them no longer. It was useless for them to hold out; a day's bombardment would have finished them; they had no means of repairing damages; the levee had been cut by the thirteen-inch bombs in over a hundred places; and the water had entered the casemates, making it very uncomfortable, if not impossible, to live there any longer. It was the only place the men had to fly to out of reach of the bombs. The drawbridge over the moat had been broken all to pieces, and all the causeways leading from the fort were cut and blown up with bomb-shells, so that it must have been impossible to walk there or carry on any operations with any degree of safety. The magazine seems to have been much endangered, explosions having taken place at the door itself, all the cotton-bags and protections having been blown away from before the magazine door. Eleven guns were dismounted during the bombardment, some of which were remounted again and used upon us. The walls were cracked and broken in many places, and we could scarcely step without treading into a hole made by a bomb-shell; the accuracy of the fire is, perhaps, the best ever seen in mortar practice; it seems to have entirely demoralized the men and astonished the officers. A water battery, containing six very heavy guns, and which annoyed us at times very much, was filled with the marks of the bombs, no less than 170 having fallen into it, smashing in the magazine, and driving the people out of it. On the night of the passage of the ships this battery was completely silenced, so many bombs fell into it and burst over it. It had one gun in it, the largest I have ever seen, made at the Tredegar works. I would not pretend to say how many bombs fell into the ditches around the works, but soldiers in the forts say about three thousand; many burst over the works, scattering the pieces of shell all around. The enemy admit but fourteen killed and thirty-nine wounded by the bombardment, which is likely the case, as we found but fourteen fresh graves, and the men mostly stayed in the casemates, which were three inches deep with water and very uncomfortable. Many remarkable escapes and incidents were related to us as having happened during the bombardment. Colonel Higgins stated an instance where a man was buried deep in the earth, by a bomb striking him between the shoulders, and directly afterwards another bomb exploded in the same place, and threw the corpse high in the air. All the boats and scows around the ditches and near the landing were sunk by bombs; and when we took possession the only way they had to get in and out of the fort to the landing was by one small boat to ferry them across. All the lumber, shingles, and bricks used in building or repairs was scattered about in confusion and burned up, and every amount of discomfort that man could bear seemed to have been showered upon those poor deluded wretches. Fort St. Philip received very little damage from our bombs, having fired at it with only one mortar, and that for the purpose of silencing a heavy rifled gun which annoyed us very much; we were fortunate enough to strike it in the middle, and break it in two, and had not much more annoyance from that fort; two guns were capsized by a bomb at one time, but without injuring them; they were soon replaced; some trifling damage was done to the works, though nothing to affect the efficiency of the batteries; it was from Fort St. Philip that our ships suffered most, the men and officers there having had, comparatively, an easy time of it. I felt sure that St. Philip would surrender the moment Jackson hauled down the secession flag, and consequently directed all the attention of the mortar schooners to the latter fort. The final result justified me in coming to this conclusion."

The total number of casualties in the Union fleet, from the commencement of the bombardment on the 18th to the arrival at New Orleans on the 25th, was 38 killed and 159 wounded. The heaviest loss was in the Brooklyn, which reported 9 killed and 26 wounded. The loss of the Varuna was but 3 killed and 9 wounded—altogether an extraordinary preservation of human life in a week's exposure to shot and shell, and the various hazards of the final encounter. We have seen in Commander Porter's report the small number said to have been lost by the enemy in the forts. Their casualties on the river, from the rapid destruction of their rams and gunboats, must have been very heavy. At the surrender of Fort Jackson, 332 privates and 53 non-commissioned officers were paroled.

During the progress of the bombardment, General Butler was with his troops in the transports on the river waiting his opportunity to coöperate with the fleet. On the morning of the grand action he was in the immediate vicinity of the conflict. "I witnessed," says he, in his report to the Secretary of War, "this daring exploit from a point about eight hundred yards from Fort Jackson, and unwittingly under its fire, and the sublimity of the scene can never be exceeded." It was arranged that in case the forts were not immediately reduced by the fleet, General Butler should leave the river by the South West Pass, and make a landing from the Gulf side of the narrow strip of marshy ground through which the Mississippi here ran, and attempt St. Philip on the eastern side of the river by storm and assault. For this purpose he now proceeded with the transports to Sable island, in the Gulf, the nearest practicable point of approach to the fort for the ships, being twelve miles in its rear. A delay occurred of twenty-four hours, in consequence of the Miami, a vessel of light draught, sent to aid the landing of the troops, grounding at the mouth of the Mississippi. When the troops were brought to within six miles of the fort the Miami grounded, compelling "a most fatiguing and laborious row," some four and a half miles further. General Butler, foreseeing the necessity, had provided some thirty boats for the movement. "A large portion of this passage was against a heavy current, through a bayou. At the entrance of Mameel's canal, a mile and a half from the point of landing, rowing became impossible, as well from the narrowness of the canal as the strength of the current, which ran like a mill race. Through this the boats could only be impelled by dragging them singly, with the men up to their waists in water." The troops engaged in this arduous operation were the 26th Massachusetts, a portion of the 4th Wisconsin, and 21st Indiana Volunteers. So difficult was the enterprise that no preparations had been made, as might easily have been done, by the enemy to oppose it. General Butler having thus established himself, with about 3,000 men, in the rear of the fort, and having, in concert with the movements of Captain Porter, already described, got General Phelps in the river below with two regiments, thus effectually blocking the escape of the enemy from the gunboats in front, they despaired of further resistance. On the night of the 27th, as related by General Butler, "the larger portion of the garrison of Fort Jackson mutinied, spiked the guns bearing up the river, came up and surrendered themselves to my pickets, declaring that as we had got in their rear resistance was useless, and they would not be sacrificed. No bomb had been thrown at them for three days, nor had they fired a shot at us from either fort. They averred that they had been impressed, and would fight no longer." The next day the formal surrender was made to Captain Porter, and General Butler, leaving the 26th Massachusetts to garrison the forts, proceeded with the remainder of his troops to take possesion of New Orleans."*

Immediately on his arrival before New Orleans on the 25th, Commodore Farragut, as we have seen, sent Captain Bailey to the mayor of the city, Mr. John T. Monroe, to demand its surrender, when the latter, disinclined to act, referred to the military commander, General Lovell, who announced his intention to retire, leaving the conduct of affairs with the civil authorities. Upon this Commodore Farragut, on the 26th, while he announced that the rights of persons and property would be secure, peremptorily demanded "the unqualified surrender of the city, and that the emblem of sovereignty of the United States be hoisted over the city hall, mint, and custom house, by meridian this day, and that all flags and other emblems of sovereignty other than those of the United States, shall be removed from all public buildings by that hour." In reference to a scene which had been witnessed on the previous day he added, he particularly demanded that no person should be molested in person or property for professing sentiments of loyalty to their government. "I shall speedily and severely punish," he said, "any person or persons who shall commit such outrages as were witnessed yesterday, armed men firing upon helpless women and children for giving expression to their pleasure at witnessing the old flag."

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* General Butler to Secretary Stanton. Headquarters Department of the Gulf, Forts Jackson and St. Philip, April 29, 1862.

To this Mayor Monroe sent an extraordinary reply, the tone and temper of which little befitted the necessities of the situation, to say nothing of the penitence properly due from the discomfited rebellion. It was, in fact, arrogant and insulting throughout, and cruelly aimed, by its false appeal, to inflame the Southern mind, and to perpetuate the wanton and ruinous hostilities of the insurrection. The city was declared to be "without means of defence, and utterly destitute of the force and material that might enable it to resist the overpowering armament displayed in sight of it. I am no military man, and possess no authority beyond that of executing the municipal laws of the city of New Orleans. It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to lead an army to the field, if I had one at my command, and I know still less how to surrender an undefended place, held as this is at the mercy of your gunners and mouths of your mortars. To surrender such a place were an idle and unmeaning ceremony. The city is yours by the power of brutal force, and not by any choice or consent of its inhabitants. It is for you to determine what shall be the fate that awaits her. As to the hoisting of any flag than the flag of our own adoption and allegiance, let me say to you, sir, that the man lives not in our midst whose hand and heart would not be palsied at the mere thought of such an act, nor could I find in my entire constituency so wretched and desperate a renegade as would dare to profane with his hand the sacred emblem of our aspirations. Sir, you have manifested sentiments which would become one engaged in a better cause than that to which you have devoted your sword. I doubt not but that they spring from a noble though deluded nature, and I know how to appreciate the emotions which inspire them. You will have a gallant people to administer during your occupation of this city; a people sensitive of all that can in the least affect its dignity and self-respect. Pray, sir, do not allow them to be insulted by the interference of such as have rendered themselves odious and contemptible by the dastardly desertion of the mighty struggle in which we are engaged, nor of such as might remind them too painfully that they are the conquered and you the conquerors. Peace and order may be preserved without a resort to measures which could not fail to wound their susceptibilities and fire up their passions. The obligations which I shall assume in their name shall be religiously complied with. You may trust their honor, though you might not count on their submission to unmerited wrong. In conclusion, I beg you to understand that the people of New Orleans, while unable at this moment to prevent you from occupying this city, do not transfer their allegiance from the government of their choice to one which they have deliberately repudiated, and that they yield simply that obedience which the conqueror is enabled to extort from the conquered." Simultaneously with this communication came the decision of the common council to make no resistance to the forces of the United States, with a resolution approving the letter of the mayor, who was "respectfully requested to act in the spirit manifested by the message."

On the morning of this day, the 26th, at six o'clock, Commodore Farragut sent to Captain Morris, whose ship, the Pensacola, commanded the mint, to "take possession of it, and hoist the American flag thereon, "which was done, and the people cheered it."*

The flag thus erected was pulled down by one of the desperadoes with which New Orleans abounded, one William B. Mumford, who, a month or so after, under the administration of General Butler, was tried for the offence by a military commission, and having been condemned to death, was executed on the 7th of June on a gallows projecting from a window of the second story of the very building beneath the flagstaff from which he had torn the national colors.

In consequence of the removal of the flag from the Mint, the insults shown to his officers and men when they were sent to communicate with the authorities, and the continued display of the flag of Louisiana on the court-house, Commodore Farragut, on the 28th, threatened the bombardment of the city within forty-eight hours, "if," as he wrote to the Mayor, "I have rightly understood your determination." To this Mayor Monroe again replied in effect that the city was at the disposal of the superior force, but that it must not be humbled and disgraced by the performance of an act—the substitution of the national for the local or Confederate flags — "against which our nature rebels. This satisfaction you cannot expect to obtain at our hands. We will stand your bombardment, unarmed and undefended as we are. The civilized world will consign to indelible infamy the heart that will conceive the deed, and the hand that will dare to consummate it." Commodore Farragut the next day, the 29th, enforcing his requisition, with the view of the surrender of the forts, repeated his demand, and announced his intention to raise the flag of the United States on the Custom-house. In reply to the letter of the Mayor, touching the bombardment which he had threatened under certain conditions, "This," he wrote on the 30th, "you have thought proper to construe into a determination on my part to murder your women and children, and made your letter so offensive that it will terminate our intercourse; and so soon as General Butler arrives with his forces I shall turn over the charge of the city to him, and assume my naval duties." The coming of General Butler, indeed, quite altered the aspect of the rebellion in New Orleans. "I find the city under the dominion of the mob," he wrote on his arrival to the Secretary of War:—"They have insulted our flag—torn it down with indignity. This outrage will be punished in such manner as in my judgment will caution both the perpetrators and abettors of the act, so that they shall fear the *stripes* if they do not reverence the *stars* of our banner." There proved, however, to be little call for any great severity. General Butler adroitly dispersed the small force which he brought up, 2,000 in all, at the beginning, as guards about the town, marching and maneuvering so as to give the impression of a much larger number, and was speedily employed not in any vindictive exercise of military authority, but in finding ways and means to feed a starving population.

With the fall of the forts on the river, Forts Pike and Wood, at the entrance of Lake Pontchartrain, were also surrendered. The capture of New Orleans, so brilliantly executed, and in a great degree an unexpected success to the nation, was hailed in the loyal States with unqualified admiration. By prompt and vigorous action, the designs of the enemy to fortify their position beyond, perhaps, the reach of assault, had been anticipated; their formidable defences, actually constructed, overcome—a result which was not the less thought of when other similar attempts proved afterwards from various causes less successful. The victory at

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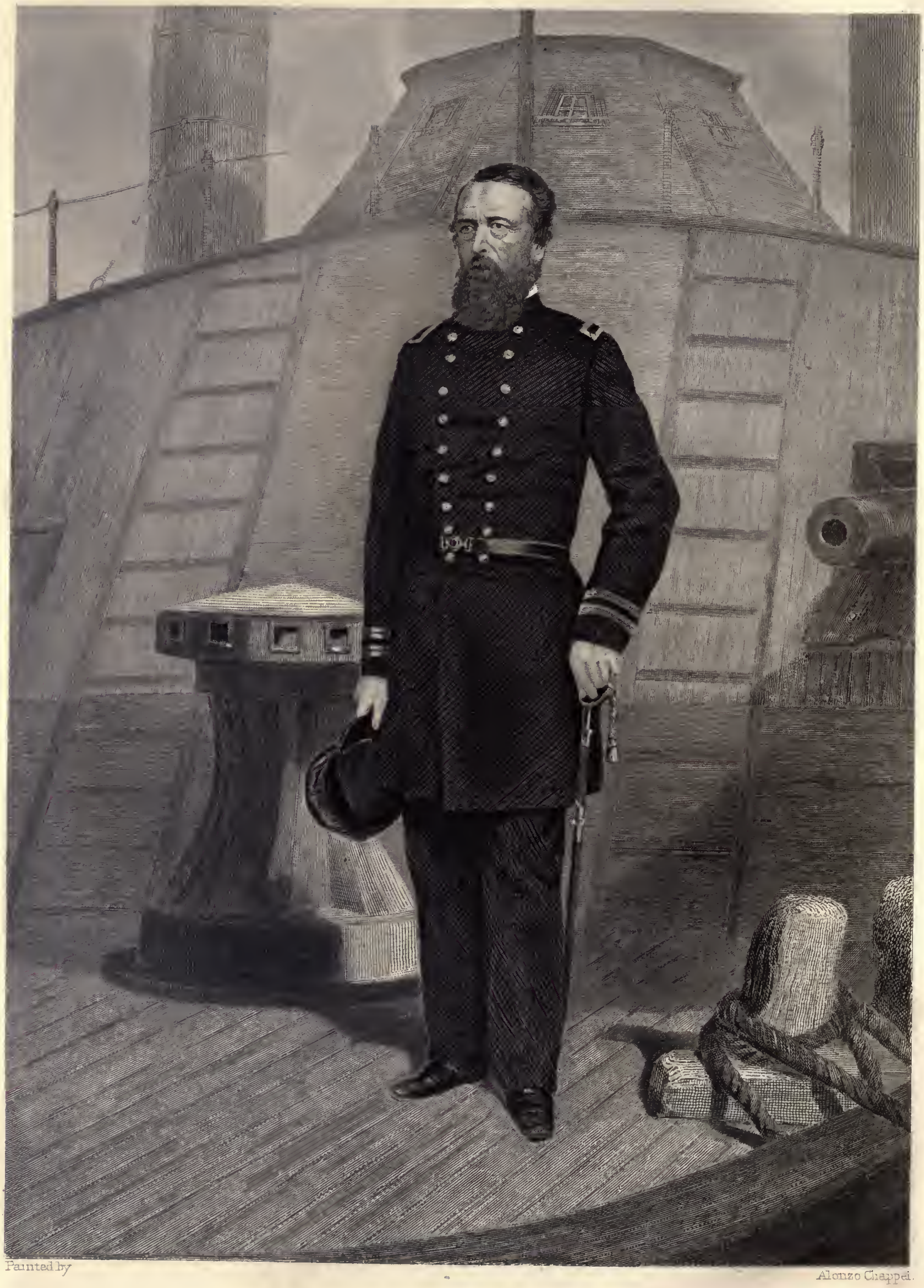
* Letter of Commodore Farragut to Assistant Secretary of Navy, G. V. Fox. *New York Tribune*, May 10, 1862.

New Orleans was in every way a great triumph, and was so acknowledged throughout the world. At home its importance could hardly be over-estimated. On the arrival, at Washington, of Captain Bailey, who had been sent north immediately, on the conclusion of the engagement, as bearer of dispatches, and who bore with him a number of Confederate flags as trophies, Secretary Welles issued the following congratulatory orders:

"Our navy, fruitful with victories, presents no more signal achievement than this, nor is there an exploit surpassing it recorded in the annals of naval warfare. In passing, and eventually overcoming Forts Jackson and St. Philip, the batteries above and below New Orleans, destroying the barriers of chains, steam rams, fire rafts, iron-clad vessels, and other obstructions, capturing from the rebel forces the great southern metropolis, and obtaining possession and control of the lower Mississippi, yourself, your officers, and our brave sailors and marines, whose courage and daring bear historic renown, have won a nation's gratitude and applause. I congratulate you and your command on your great success in having contributed so largely towards destroying the unity of the rebellion, and in restoring again to the protection of the national government and the national flag the important city of the Mississippi valley, and so large a portion of its immediate dependencies. Your example and its successful results, though attended with some sacrifice of life and loss of ships, inculcate the fact that the first duty of a commander in war is to take great risks for the accomplishment of great ends."

Commodore Porter, a fortnight after the surrender of New Orleans and its defences, left Ship island with his mortar fleet for the vicinity of Mobile, with a view to preparations for an entrance at some future time into the harbor. The design, however, proving for the time inexpedient, he continued his cruise to the eastward, in the Harriet Lane, "in hopes of picking up some vessel trying to run the blockade," when at two o'clock on the morning of the 9th of May he saw "a brilliant light illuminating the sky," and discovered that the Navy Yard at Pensacola, Fort McRae, the Naval Hospital, Warrington, and some parts of Pensacola were in flames. Proceeding to the spot, he passed Fort Pickens, and entered Pensacola at daylight. It seems that on the previous night the rebels, in greatly diminished numbers, under command of General Thomas Jones,—General Bragg, as we have seen, having left the place with most of his forces, in March, for the defence of the Confederacy at the Battle of Shiloh—having heard of the approach of the steamers to Mobile Bay, and fearing the arrival of the naval forces which had wrought such destruction at New Orleans, resolved to destroy all the public works which the previous cannonading had spared, and finally evacuate the place. On perceiving their intention, in the general spreading of the conflagration, the guns at Fort Pickens were opened upon them to arrest the work of destruction, and compel its authors to retire. This final bombardment was continued for five hours, when General Arnold, in command at the Fort, sent his aid, Captain Jackson, to Pensacola, to call upon the town to surrender. On landing, he was met by a number of people of the place, who hailed his arrival with pleasure, and obeyed his directions in extinguishing the flames on the wharf. The negroes, as usual, displayed a great deal of exhilaration. The timely arrival of Commodore Porter in the Harriet Lane gave the authorities at Fort Pickens much needed assistance in transporting troops to the mainland, and the old flag was presently raised amid the ruins of the deserted works. The Confederate soldiers, in number about a thousand, had retired in haste on the road to Mobile.


Painted by

Alonzo Chappel.

David D Porter

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life.

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The evacuation had evidently been a settled purpose, most of the heavy guns having been previously removed. Fort McRae was entirely consumed in the interior; Fort Barancas was less injured, the enemy having been driven away from their work of destruction by the fire from Pickens. The Naval Hospital, said to be the finest structure of the kind in the United States, was entirely consumed. The storehouses and workshops at the Navy Yard had suffered the same fate. The Custom House and a few other small buildings were left uninjured, but in general the ruin was complete. It was the boast of a writer from Pensacola, to the *Mobile Register*, the day after the conflagration, that General Jones had most admirably performed his task of destruction, and that he had left to the Federals but an inhospitable sand-beach. The land, however, and the harbor with its refuge for the Gulf squadron, remained; the Government was freed from the necessity of keeping up a large force with perpetual vigilance, as in previous months at Pickens, and it was much that the United States flag once more waved in its old seat of authority in this important station in Florida.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE REDUCTION OF FORT MACON, N. C., APRIL 25, 1862.

Following close upon the capture of Fort Pulaski and the bombardment of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on the Mississippi, came the reduction of Fort Macon, in North Carolina. The position of this work rendered its possession of no slight importance, were it only to secure the valuable seaport and harbor at Beaufort. Great as were the advantages of the previous conquests of the army and navy at Hatteras, Roanoke island and Newbern, there was still wanting for the fleet a naval station in North Carolina of ready access from the ocean. The capture of Newbern effectually cut off Beaufort from direct communication by land with the interior. General Burnside was in possession of the railway which led to the city, and the enemy had no sufficient force on the spot to resist its capture. Indeed, so obviously appeared the place at his disposal, that within ten days after his occupation of Newbern, it was currently reported that Beaufort was evacuated in advance of the arrival of his troops, Fort Macon, blown up by the rebel garrison, and the troublesome Confederate steamer Nashville, which, since its successful passage from Southampton, had been blockaded in the harbor, burnt to escape capture. The news was premature in some of its particulars, and far from prophetic in others; but the main result was speedily attained. So far from being burnt, the Nashville, improving her opportunity while there were but two sailing vessels blockading the harbor, ran by them uninjured on the night of the 17th of March, and escaped to Georgetown, S. C. Fort Macon, named after the Honorable Nathaniel Macon, was a regularly constructed work, hexagonal in form, mounting two tiers of guns—one in casemated bomb-proof, the other en barbette. Its full armament consisted of about sixty guns. When it was taken possession of by the troops of the State of North Carolina, about the middle of April, 1861, it was ungarrisoned, mounted but four 24-pounders, on weak carriages, and was generally out of repair. It is situated on the eastern extremity of

Bogue island, in full command of the channel to Beaufort, distant a mile and three quarters across the bay in a north-easterly direction. Bogue sound separates the island on which the fort is built from the mainland.

The preliminary steps for the capture of Fort Macon were taken by General Burnside immediately after the battle of Newbern. That event occurred on the 14th of March; on the 19th General Parke was ordered, with his brigade, to advance towards Beaufort. The railway being broken up by the rebels, the troops were transported by water to Slocum's creek, their former landing place, and marched thence across the country over swampy roads and long stretches of sand, to Carolina city, on Bogue sound, a few miles west of Morehead city, at the termination of the railway opposite Fort Macon. Both these places, with Beaufort on the opposite side of the Newport river, which here enters the bay, were occupied by the Rhode island troops without opposition. The only rebel force in arms in the neighborhood was the garrison at Fort Macon, commanded by Colonel Moses J. White, a nephew, it was said, of Jefferson Davis. After destroying the railway bridge of Newport and opposing, as far as possible, the advance of the Union army, he awaited, with some five hundred men in the fort, the operations for its reduction. General Parke, from his headquarters at Carolina city, having, on his arrival, offered the garrison liberal terms of surrender, which were refused, lost no time in directing the movement. The siege material, transported with difficulty from Newbern along the route taken by the troops, was brought to Bogue sound, and thence ferried across the shallow water to a point some four or five miles west of Fort Macon, on the island or spit of sand on the eastern termination of which that work was situated. A wide marsh lay between the landing-place and the station for the batteries, which were to be placed in full command of the fort in its rear. The trouble of effecting this transit was, of course, considerable. When the marsh was passed, the ground was broken by a number of loose sand-hills, which, without greatly diminishing the difficulties of transportation, afforded an excellent protection to the troops sheltered behind them. The ground was cleared of the enemy by laborious picket duty of Colonel Rodman's 4th Rhode Island volunteers, Major Wright's battalion of the 5th Rhode Island, and Major Appleman's 8th Connecticut. "Captain Williamson, topographical engineer of General Burnside's staff, surveyed the vicinity for the purpose of ascertaining the most desirable places for the location of the batteries. In this duty he was assisted by Lieutenant Flagler, ordnance officer of General Burnside's staff; Captain Lewis O. Morris, Company C, 1st United States artillery (regulars); Lieutenant Prouty, 25th Massachusetts volunteers, (acting assistant ordnance officer), and Captain Ammon, of battery I, 3d New York artillery. The site for the first battery (of four 10-inch mortars), was chosen under the cover of a large sand-hill, near the edge of the marshes which line the northern side of the 'spit,' distant 1,400 yards from the fort. The working of this battery was particularly allotted to Lieutenant Flagler, by whose name it was known during the siege, though he devoted himself generally to the erection and working of all three. This battery was manned by a portion of battery I, 3d New York artillery. The next battery was placed one hundred yards in advance, and nearly in the centre of the island, It was built and worked by Captain Morris, assisted by Lieutenants Gowan and Pollock. Its armament was three long 30-pound siege Parrott guns, rifled. The shot used in this battery was of a novel character. Each projectile was made of solid cast iron, conically shaped, with a blunt point some three inches in diameter, and the more especial object of the battery was to dismount the guns on the fort. For this object the flat, impinging surface of the shot was peculiarly adapted, as it was less liable to glance, a fault common with sharp-pointed shot. The next and last battery was that of four 8-inch mortars. It was located one hundred yards further on, or twelve hundred yards from the fort, under a sand hill near the beach. It was in charge of Lieutenant Prouty, and manned by a detachment of battery I, 3d New York artillery. In addition to the above, rifle pits had been dug in various parts of the 'spit,' on the flanks and in front of the battery, in which our pickets were posted to repel any sortie which the enemy might make. The batteries, again, were connected with each other by trenches sunk in the sand and skirting the hills. Communication was thus kept open between the various positions by this means, while they also served as a protection to the pickets and reliefs sent from one point to another during the progress of the bombardment. The siege train employed for the reduction of the fort, it will be seen, embraced only eleven pieces—four 10-inch mortars, four 8-inch mortars, and three siege guns. In view of the work accomplished, the facts themselves will tell how admirably and effectively the batteries were managed. It entered into the plan originally to have batteries at the westerly side of Beaufort, and on Shackleford banks, on the opposite shore of the inlet, so that the fort would be surrounded in a semicircle. With their fire and that of the gunboats and blockading fleet, the fort would have been a target for shot and shell from all points of the compass. But they were not erected, as the investment was deemed sufficiently complete for the opening of the bombardment. Had the fort made a protracted resistance their construction would have been occasioned as a means to its speedier reduction."*

These various preparations for the bombardment were completed on the 23d of April, when General Burnside arrived from Newbern on board the steamer Alice Price, through the inner waters of Cove sound, bringing with him two barges fitted up as floating batteries—the Shrapnel, in command of Captain Nichols of the navy, and the Grenada, Lieutenant Baxter. Each was armed with two 30-pound Parrott guns; and the former had, in addition, a 12-pound Wiard steel rifled cannon. They were protected by bales of cotton and hay as breastworks. These vessels, with the gunboat Ellis, armed with a 100-pounder, under the command of Captain Franklin, were intended to operate against the fort from the inner waters of the bay, in the direction of Beaufort. In addition there was the blockading fleet off the harbor, under command of Commander Samuel Lockwood, which we shall find taking part in the action.

Immediately after his arrival General Burnside sent the Ellis toward the fort bearing a flag of truce. Captain Briggs, an old classmate of West Point of Colonel White, proceeded from the steamer when it came to anchor in the channel, in a small boat, and was met midway by a sailboat from the fort, with a similar flag of truce. On board the latter was Captain Stephen D. Pool, of the Beaufort Grays, accompanied by other officers of the garrison. Captain Briggs submitted to them the demand of General Burnside for the surrender of the fort. The message was communicated to Colonel White, who, after some hours' delay, returned an answer declining to surrender. An arrangement was at the same time made that the two commanders should meet the following day.

Accordingly, early on the morning of the 24th, General Burnside, accompanied by Captain Briggs, was landed on the beach before the fort, and held a courteous interview with Colonel White, when permission was asked and readily obtained for the garrison to send open letters to their friends at Beaufort. No concessions were made to arrest the impending bombardment. General Burnside returned to his quarters, and order was given by telegraph to General Parke on the island to open fire at once. One of the batteries not being quite ready, the action was postponed till the morrow.

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* Beaufort Correspondence *N. Y. Herald*, April 27, 1862.

About six o'clock in the clear morning of that day, Friday, the 24th—it was noticed that Friday was General Burnside's lucky day, the victories of Roanoke and Newbern having been fought on that day—the fire from the batteries was opened by Captain Morris's Parrott guns, followed by a discharge from Lieutenant Flagler's and Prouty's mortars. The fort did not respond immediately, but after some little delay, the guns bearing on the Federal batteries were brought into action, and at eight o'clock, both parties improving in the range, the firing was in general well directed; the works of the fort, affording the better target, evidently suffering most in the operation.

Commander Lockwood, in the mean time, was getting the blockading vessels under way to take part in the action. "When within range," says he, in his report, "and as near as the shoals allowed us to approach, the Daylight opened fire, followed in succession by the State of Georgia, Commander James F. Armstrong, the gunboat Chippewa, Lieutenant Commanding A. Bryson, and the bark Gemsbok, Acting Lieutenant Edward Cavendish. The three steamers kept under way, steaming around in a circle, delivering their fire as they came within range, at a mile and a quarter distant from the fort. The bark was anchored. After firing a number of rounds of shot and shell, finding that the sea, from a southwest wind which was blowing on shore, caused the vessels to roll so quick and deep as to render our guns almost unmanageable to our range and the accuracy of our aim, I reluctantly withdrew after being engaged about an hour and a quarter, hoping that the wind and sea would subside so as to enable us to renew our firing in the afternoon; and the more readily adopted that course, as we did not contemplate to be continuously engaged, but occasionally open fire on the enemy, whom we expected would hold out for several days. The wind and sea increasing rendered the renewal of the engagement impracticable that afternoon by the gunboats. We expended nearly one-half of our fifteen-second fused shells, and, I am happy to say, with good effect; and our time of attack was most opportune, as we drew the fire of the enemy from an important land battery, which enabled our forces to repair damages caused by the concentrated fire thereon. The fire of the enemy on the vessels from guns of greater range was excellent. Their shot and shell fell around us in every direction. Many good line shots passed just over and beyond us as we successively passed their line of fire, and we were exceedingly fortunate in receiving so little damage. The Daylight was struck by an 8-inch solid shot on the starboard quarter, below the spar deck, passing through several bulkheads and the deck below, to the opposite side of the vessel in the engine-room, about six inches above the machinery, among which it dropped. A splinter fractured the small bone of the right fore-arm of Acting Third Assistant Engineer Eugene J. Wade, and I am happy to state that this was the only casualty that occurred."

After the gunboats had retired, the two armed barges were brought within three miles of the fort, and threw about thirty shots from the Parrott guns. By the afternoon the guns of the Federal batteries—the range being now fully secured—told upon the fort with destructive effect, and shortly after four o'clock, a white flag on the west front announced that the surrender was at hand. It was an odd medley of the association of war and peace that while the bombardment was going on, a boat was sent under a flag of truce to the fort from Beaufort, bearing the answers to the letters which had been transmitted from the garrison the day before. "Many of the letters," it is said, "contained exhortations and entreaties to officers and soldiers to prevail upon Colonel White to surrender the place without resistance. Others exhibited more pluck on the part of the feminine correspondents. They besought their friends to fight a little while and then surrender, to show that they were not cowards." This tender mail, however, carrying the prayers and anxieties of the relatives and friends of the volunteer soldiery of Beaufort, was not admitted till the further defence of the fort was abandoned.

It remained now only to adjust the terms of surrender. The exhibition of the white flag at the fort was succeeded by the appearance of two of the officers of the garrison, Captains Pool and Guion, with a number of attendants, coming toward the batteries. They were met by Captain Pell and Lieut. Hill, of the staff, and Lieutenant Prouty, "all three begrimed with dust and powder smoke." After the usual civilities, Captain Guion stated that he was charged with a proposal from Colonel White for a cessation of hostilities with relation to the surrender of the fort. General Parke was then sent for, and on his arrival a truce was agreed upon till the next morning. A consultation was meanwhile held with General Burnside on board the Alice Price, and early in the forenoon of the following day, the 26th, the steamer again approached the fort, when Colonel White came on board, and together with the two generals and Commander Lockwood, of the squadron, agreed upon the articles of capitulation. They were embraced in two short articles, "The fort, armament and garrison to be surrendered to the forces of the United States. The officers and men of the garrison to be released on their parole of honor not to take up arms against the United States of America until properly exchanged, and to return to their homes, taking with them all their private effects, such as clothing, bedding, books, etc." The three officers were landed at the fort, when Colonel White, summoning the garrison, informed them of the terms of capitulation, and prepared for the final act of surrender. In the meantime, General Burnside, General Parke, Captains Briggs and King, advanced on the beach toward the batteries. The 5th Rhode Island was ordered up to march into Fort Macon. Happily, a new set of colors bearing the words "Roanoke," "Newbern," a present from their State, had just been received by the regiment. General Burnside then unfurled them for the first time, and walking at the head of the troops, they marched onward by the ocean surf in the clear morning sunlight, to raise the national flag once more on the fort which their arms had restored to the United States. The rebel flag which had been raised on the fort, it was observed, was made of the old United States flag of the garrison, mutilated and altered to meet the requirements of treason, "the red and white stripes ripped apart and arranged in the broad bars of the new dispensation. Of the thirty-four stars in the field, those which were not needed to represent the traitorous sister States of the Confederacy were cut out, and the holes left unsewn. The flag which was hoisted in place of this patchwork ensign was found in the fort in one of the casemates. It had been taken from the wreck of the steamer Union, which went ashore on Bogue Beach, and was wrecked at the time of the Port Royal expedition."*

By the direction of General Burnside, who was solicitous to spare the feelings of the rebel garrison still within the fort, the Union troops were requested to make no demonstration of applause on the elevation of the national flag. The voice of the multitudes who thronged the opposite shores was, however, not to be repressed. They sent up three loud cheers at the sight of the banner, which were heard distinctly within the fort.

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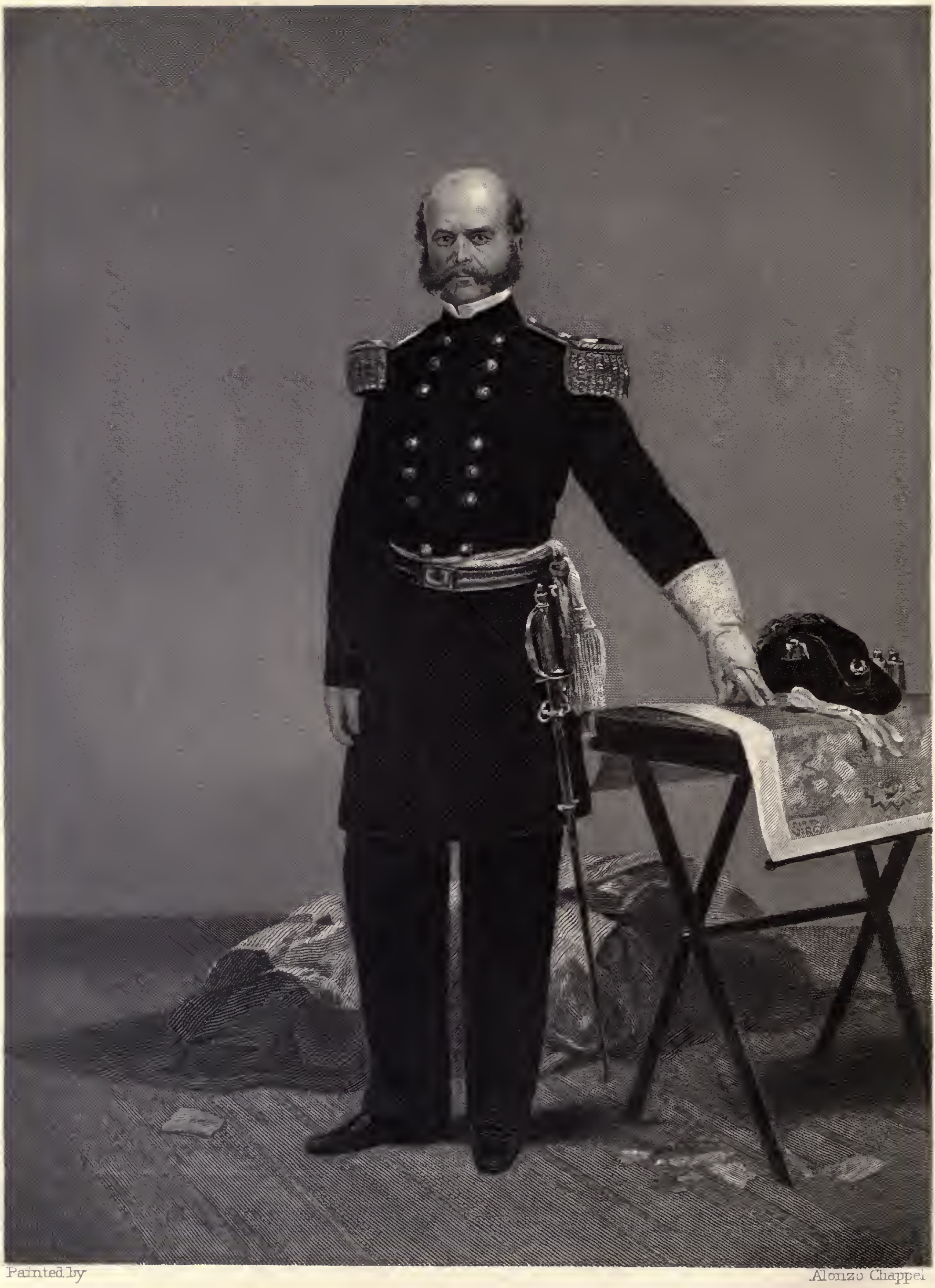
* Correspondence *New York Tribune.* Fort Macon, April 26, 1862.

There were comparatively few casualties in the reduction of Fort Macon. The Union loss at the batteries was but one killed, William Dart of the 3d artillery, killed, and two wounded; and that of the enemy within the fort, eight killed and twenty wounded, out of a garrison of four hundred and fifty. "It is remarkable," says Commander Lockwood, "that so important a victory should have been achieved with so little loss of life, particularly as the interior of the fort was literally covered with the fragments of the bombs and shells, and many of their guns were disabled."

By a general order dated Beaufort harbor, April 26, General Burnside paid his tribute to the officers and men who had secured this victory: "The general commanding takes peculiar pleasure in thanking General Parke and his brave command for the patient labor, fortitude, and courage displayed in the investment and reduction of Fort Macon. Every patriot heart will be filled with gratitude to God for having given to our beloved country such soldiers. The regiments and artillery companies engaged have earned the right to wear upon their colors and guidons the words 'Fort Macon, April 25, 1862.'"

While General Parke, with his brigade, was engaged in the capture of Fort Macon, General Reno, by order of General Burnside, departed from Newbern on an expedition to the upper waters of Albemarle sound, in the rear of Norfolk. He left Newbern on the 17th of April with the 21st Massachusetts and 51st Pennsylvania regiments, stopped at Roanoke island, and was there joined by a brigade commanded by Colonel Hawkins, composed of part of his 9th New York and portions of the 89th New York and 6th New Hampshire. They immediately proceeded to Elizabeth city and commenced disembarking on the 19th inst., at midnight, at a point about three miles below on the east side. Colonel Hawkins' brigade was landed by three o'clock in the morning, when he was ordered to proceed at once against South Mills. General Reno remained to bring up the other two regiments, which had been detained by the transports which carried them getting aground at the mouth of the river. They came up at daylight, and were landed by 7 A. M., when General Reno proceeded directly toward South Mills. About twelve miles out he met Colonel Hawkins' brigade, which, owing "either to the treachery or incompetency of the guide," had been led some miles out of their way, thus defeating the chances of a surprise, and wearying the men before they arrived at the scene of action. The tired brigade then fell behind General Reno's fresher regiments, and advanced with them four miles further, to within a mile and a half of South Mills, or Camden. Here the enemy were unexpectedly discovered, with a battery of four guns in a line across the road on which the expedition was advancing. There was a clear open space in front of the guns, and behind was the protection of a dense wood. A better position for defence could not be desired. The 51st Pennsylvania and the 21st Massachusetts were ordered to pass over by the edge of a wood on the right to turn the enemy's left, and Colonel Hawkins was presently sent with the 9th and 89th New York to support the movement. The 6th New Hampshire was placed to the left to support four small howitzers in the advance on the road, under charge of Colonel Howard, of the coast guard, who rendered most efficient service in the engagement. "As soon," continues General Reno, in his officical report, "as the 51st Pennsylvania and 21st Massachusetts had succeeded in turning their left, they



Painted by Alonzo Chappel

A. E. Burnside

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life.

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 1862 by John [illegible]

opened a brisk musketry fire, and about the same time the 9th New York also coming in range, and being too eager to engage, unfortunately charged upon the enemy's artillery. It was a most gallant charge, but they were exposed to a most deadly fire of grape and musketry, and were forced to retire, but rallied immediately upon the 89th New York. I then ordered both regiments to form a junction with the 21st Massachusetts. In the meantime the 51st Pennsylvania and 21st Massachusetts kept up an incessant fire upon the rebels, who now had withdrawn their artillery, and had commenced to retreat in good order. The 6th New Hampshire had steadily advanced in line to the left of the road, and when within about 200 yards poured in a most deadly volley, which completely demoralized the enemy and ended the battle. Our men were so completely fagged out by the intense heat and their long march that we could not pursue them.

"The men rested under arms in line of battle, until about ten o'clock, P. M., when I ordered a return to our boats, having accomplished the principal object of the expedition, conveying the idea that the entire Burnside expedition was marching upon Norfolk. Owing to a want of transportation I was compelled to leave some sixteen of our most severely wounded men. Assistant Surgeon Warren was left with the men. I sent a flag of truce the next day to ask that they might be returned to us. Commander Rowan kindly volunteered to attend to it. We took only a few prisoners, some ten or fifteen. Most of them belonged to the 3d Georgia regiment. The 9th New York suffered most severely, owing to their premature charge. * * The return march was made in perfect order, and few, if any, stragglers were left behind. Considering that during the advance the weather was intensely hot, and that on the return a severe rain rendered the roads very muddy, and that a portion of the command had to march forty-five miles, and the others thirty-five, and fight a battle in the meantime, and that all this was accomplished in less than twenty-four hours, I think that the commanding general has every reason to be satisfied with his command. Brigadier-General Albert Blanchard, the Confederate commander, promptly acceded to the request to parole the wounded, and their surgeon who had been left with them."*

The Union loss in this affair was 14 killed, 96 wounded, and 2 taken prisoners. That of the enemy was not ascertained. The chaplain of the New York regiment left in charge of the wounded, reported having seen on the field thirty killed, besides several wounded, the main body of the wounded having been taken from the field when the enemy retreated.† General Burnside, in a congratulatory order expressed his satisfaction in the courage and endurance shown by the troops in carrying out his directions and ordered that the regiments engaged in the affair inscribe upon their respective colers, "Camden, April 18," a day, he remarked, "already memorable in the history of our country." It was the day of Lexington, 1775, and of Baltimore, 1861.

A few days after, on the 23d, a naval expedition under Lieutenant Flosser was sent to the Dismal Swamp canal, when the entrance was obstructed by sinking a schooner, and placing other impediments in the way. There was another engagement on the 6th of June in the vicinity of Washington, when the 24th Massachusetts, stationed there, sustained a sharp conflict with the enemy, with the loss of seven killed and eleven wounded. In July General Burnside was called, with a considerable portion of his force, to Newport News, to the aid of the Army of the Potomac.

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* Brigadier-General J. L. Reno to Capt. Lewis Richard, A. A. G. Newbern, N. C., April 22, 1862.

† General Burnside to Secretary Stanton. Newbern, April 29, 1862.

A permanent foothold having been gained at various important points in North Carolina, and numerous representations having from time to time been made, as we have recorded in the demonstrations on Hatteras island, of the Union feeling of at least a portion of the inhabitants, the administration at Washington, with a view of conciliation, determined to supplement the authority of General Burnside, by the appointment of a so-called military governor, with powers similar to those conferred on Andrew Johnson in Tennessee. The Honorable Edward Stanley, who was selected for this appointment, belonged to an old and honored family in North Carolina, and had gained considerable distinction as a Whig representative from the State in Congress, during the administration of President Van Buren. He had, for some years past, pursued his profession of the law in California, where he received the commission calling him once more to his native State. On his arrival at Washington in May, 1862, he received his instructions from the War Department and at the close of the month made his appearance in his new character at Newbern. "It is obvious to you," wrote Secretary Stanton in a letter of instructions, "that the great purpose of your appointment is to reëstablish the authority of the national government in the State of North Carolina, and to provide the means of maintaining peace and security to the loyal inhabitants of that State, until they shall be able to establish a civil government. Upon your wisdom and energetic action much will depend in accomplishing that result. It is not deemed necessary to give any specific instructions, but rather to confide in your sound discretion to adopt such measures as circumstances may demand."

The mission, in fact, was a conciliatory expedient, and depended for its force altogether upon the loyal disposition of the inhabitants. If there were any whose pride would be wounded by submission to the arms of General Burnside and his divisions, here was an old friend who would receive the oath of allegiance, and smooth the way in the most agreeable manner possible, to the return of the people to the beneficent government of the United States. Unfortunately, the minds of the people were so perverted; they were so much under the influence or control of the rebel authorities at Richmond; or they were so uncertain of the events of the war, that little or nothing was to be done outside of the limited area occupied by the United States forces. The commander-in-chief, in fact, was the inevitable and only genuine military governor of North Carolina. Governor Stanley could add nothing to the territory subjected to the Union. In vain, in an address on the 17th of June, at Washington, when the citizens of the neighboring counties were freely admitted within the Union lines to the assembly, he called upon the people of the State to return to their allegiance, and warned them of the danger of persisting in the rebellion. They either could not, or would not, contend against the usurpation of Jefferson Davis. A conference proposed by Governor Stanley to Governor Vance, who was thought not to be on the best of terms with the Confederate government, met with as little success, the rebel governor declining the interview.

There was some excitement at Newbern immediately upon Governor Stanley's arrival, in reference to the treatment of the negro population. Entertaining the hope of freedom, they had welcomed the Union army and rendered it many important services. Placed in a dependent position, they were necessarily cared for by the military authorities. It happened opportunely that there was present with the army a gentleman peculiarly suited to attend to their welfare. This was Mr. Vincent Colyer, an estimable artist of New York, who had been induced by his philanthropy to proceed to

Washington at an early period of the war, as an unpaid, voluntary agent to the army, by the Young Men's Christian Association. There he had ministered in camps and in hospitals to the physical and moral wants of the soldiers; and thence, after the battle of Roanoke island, he was sent to North Carolina, amply provided. by the bounty of the Northern cities, to relieve the necessities of the sick and wounded in that region. General Burnside was not the man to suffer a Christian philanthropist, the representative of the benevolence of thousands, to perform his work of mercy in his army unnoticed. He appreciated those services most bountifully exhibited on the battle field of Newbern, and when the city was occupied, and a superintendent of the poor was needed to attend to the absolute necessities of. a population suddenly deprived of their usual means of subsistence, General Burnside appointed Mr. Colyer to the office. In this capacity, beside the care of the "contrabands," he supplied rations to the indigent white population, numbers of whom belonged to families whose fathers and sons were in the rebel army. Some four hundred white families, numbering 1,800 persons, were thus provided for. 7,500 colored people were in one way or another under Mr. Colyer's supervision. They furnished 1,500 able-bodied laborers, who were employed on the fortifications, in service about the transports, and other useful occupations.*

In addition, with the aid of several well-disposed officers of the army, he opened elementary schools for both white and black, where reading and writing were taught, and sound religious instruction was given. Governor Stanley, on his arrival, witnessed these proceedings, and expressed to Mr. Colyer a doubt of the propriety of teaching negroes to read and write, when it was forbidden by the laws of North Carolina. The governor evidently looked to the restoration of the negroes to a state of slavery, and indeed occupied himself in authorizing various owners to reclaim this species of human property. Mr. Colyer, fully appreciating the powers of a military governor, and wishing to do nothing in conflict with the laws, without waiting for an order to suppress the schools, voluntarily closed them, and taking a pathetic farewell of his pupils left for the north. The course of Governor Stanley excited much comment, and his conduct was severely commented upon in those journals which saw in slavery the main source and vitality of the rebellion, and were eagerly waiting the slow, reluctant hand of the government in dealing it a deadly wound. When a simple, religious act of kindness to the slave was interrupted by an officer of the government they rigidly held that government to account. Mr. Colyer was called upon to address various public meetings on the subject in New York and elsewhere, and was admitted to an interview at Washington with President Lincoln, who listened with interest to his recital, remarking that, as he had no power to interfere with the instruction of negroes in North Carolina, it could hardly be derived from him by a delegated governor. Mr. Colyer, in fact, fortified by a vigorous expression of public opinion, was left at liberty to reopen his schools. Much feeling, however, had been excited on the subject; Governor Stanley had been roughly handled by the press, and there was some soreness in consequence; the mischief had been done at Newbern, and it was thought the part of courtesy to yield for a time, and not endanger the peaceful interests of religion and learning by exposing them unnecessarily to strife and contention. If the step had been in the right direction, it would not be permanently arrested; and, indeed, in less than a year, when the government, in the progress of the war, had been compelled to exert its authority in behalf of the emancipation of the slave, the people of Newbern themselves, learning to appreciate the situation, became engaged in teaching the negroes, that they might be better members of society, and on better terms with the whites in the change of law and society already apparent.

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* Report of the Christian Mission to the United States army, by Vincent Colyer.

There was no occasion to judge harshly of Governor Stanley. He left California with patriotic intentions, and was, doubtless, disappointed at finding his native State so entirely out of reach of his friendly authority. In his efforts at conciliation he was naturally governed by old friendships and traditions. He could not be expected to introduce the new revolutionary policy which the rebellion had made a necessity in the State. This was more especially felt by him when the President's emancipation proclamation of the 1st of January, 1862, came into effect, and new military operations cast his limited powers into the shade. He then resigned his position, nor did the Government think it necessary to appoint a successor in his place.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN, BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG, AND CAPTURE OF NORFOLK

APRIL—MAY, 1862.

THE resolution having been fully determined upon to transport the main portion of the army of the Potomac to the lower Chesapeake for active operations against Richmond, the pursuit of the enemy beyond Manassas was discontinued, and the necessary measures were taken for the embarkation from Alexandria, the abandonment by the enemy of their works on the Potomac giving that route, of course, the preference to Annapolis, which had been selected while the passage up the river was interrupted by the rebel batteries. There was some delay for the want of an adequate number of transport vessels, so that a fortnight was consumed in forwarding the troops to Fortress Monroe. The corps of General Heintzelman leading the way, arrived at Fortress Monroe, and was landed on the peninsula on the 23d of March. It was followed by successive detachments till the arrival of General McClellan on the 2d of April. There is a curious question as to the entire number of troops thus gathered under his command. The Prince de Joinville, in his pamphlet reviewing the campaign, estimates the force, consisting of eleven divisions of infantry, 8,000 to 10,000 strong, one division of regulars, infantry and cavalry, 6,000, with 350 pieces of artillery—at, probably, 120,000 men. It was calculated from official returns by the secretary of war, on the 6th of April, that General McClellan had then with him over 100,000. The latter himself says that the whole number before the arrival of Franklin's division, which arrived in transports before Yorktown on the 14th, was 85,800. General Barry, chief of artillery, reports the embarkation for the peninsula between March 15th and April 1st, of 52 batteries of field artillery, of 299 guns. Franklin's and McCall's divisions of McDowell's corps, subsequently sent, added eight batteries of 44 guns, making a grand total* of field artillery at any time with the army of the Potomac on the peninsula, of 60 batteries of 343 guns. The largest number of men General McClellan had at any time fit for duty on the peninsula he has estimated at 107,000 men.* It was his desire at the outset that the number should be increased by the whole number of McDowell's corps, but this was reversed by the President, in accordance with his original instructions for the protection of the capital. General McDowell, in consequence, instead of carrying his force to the peninsula as he expected, presently advanced and occupied the line of the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg.

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* General Barry to A. A. G. General Williams. Washington, Sept. 1. 1862.

Prompt action was expected from the army of the Potomac in its new position; but the public was again destined to be disappointed. When General Heintzelman first landed he obtained information that the enemy had not more than 10,000 troops at Yorktown and on the peninsula. General McClellan states that he estimated the rebel General Magruder's command in that quarter at from 15,000 to 20,000. It became afterwards that officer's title to distinction that, at this important crisis, he baffled the great Union army with so comparatively an inferior force. On the 5th of April, when General McClellan's force was getting in motion toward Yorktown, General Wool, in command at Fortress Monroe, telegraphed to the secretary of war: "All goes on very smoothly. I do not believe the army of the Potomac will find many troops to contend with." The impatience of the country for action, and the danger of delay was well expressed by President Lincoln in a letter to General McClellan, on the 9th, "I suppose the whole force which has gone forward to you is with you by this time, and if so, I think it is the precise time for you to strike a blow. By delay the enemy will steadily gain on you—that is, he will gain faster by fortifications and reinforcements than you can by reinforcements alone. And once more let me tell you that is indispensable to *you* that you strike a blow. I am powerless to help this. You will do me the justice to remember I always wished not going down the bay in search of a field, instead of fighting at or near Manassas, as only shifting, and not surmounting a difficulty; that we should find the same enemy, and the same, or equal intrenchments at either place. The country will not fail to note—is noting now—that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched position is but the story of Manassas repeated."

Yorktown, indeed, was made by the energy and concentration of the rebel resources, in a short time, a little Manassas. When the Union army, traversing the twenty-four miles which lay between it and their landing place, approached the spot, further progress appeared everywhere blocked by defences. The naval entrance to York river was successfully opposed by formidable batteries at the town, and at the opposite Gloucester Point, a line of works immediately defended the town itself on the land side, connected with a chain of defences which, following Warwick creek across the peninsula, rested on James river, which, in turn, was effectively guarded by the power or terror of the redoubtable Merrimac. The first advance of the Union troops was without any formidable opposition. A reconnoisance, previous to General McClellan's arrival, beyond Big Bethel, found the earthworks at that place, the scene of one of the early conflicts of the war, deserted. It was not till the army, moving in two columns, General Keyes with three divisions to the left, toward Warwick, General McClellan, with the rest of the forces on the direct road to Yorktown, came upon the chain of rebel fortifications, that the serious work before them became apparent. It will, probably, long remain a subject of discussion whether a bold push at the outset, charging the enemy's line in force, might not have gained possession of the town. There were difficulties, however, in the way, in the extent, and unexpected strength of the fortifications, and the hastily increased number of their defenders. The Confederates, apprised of their danger, had sent large reinforcements to Yorktown, where General Joseph E. Johnston had arrived the day before the appearance of the Union army in its front. General McClellan, in fact, soon became convinced that the prudent course before him was the more deliberate method of a regular siege. He had intended that the corps of General McDowell should be engaged in turning the position by landing beyond Gloucester Point, and moving on the left bank of York river, to the head of navigation at West Point; but that force, as we have seen, had been employed in another direction.

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* Testimony before the Congressional Committee, Feb. 28, 1863.

From the first arrival of the troops before Yorktown, on the 6th of April there was more or less skirmishing of the sharpshooters—Berdan's notable corps, —with the enemy in their entrenchments in front of the Union line. Days were past in cautiously reconnoitering the enemy's position, and in the various preparations of the camp. To add to the embarrassments, heavy rain storms, unusual for the season, aggravated the ordinary difficulties of a campaign in an enemy's country, which, at the best, afforded few facilities to an invading enemy. The ground, imperfectly drained, would have become entirely impracticable had not the skill and energy of the troops—particularly the Maine and Michigan regiments, conquered the defect by constructing with great toil a series of corduroy roads, over which the artillery could be transported. "The complete absence of all information in regard to the country, and to the position of the enemy, the total ignorance under which we labored in regard to his movements, and the number of his troops," are noticed by the Prince de Joinville, who shared the fortunes of the campaign, as curious traits of the war constantly reproduced. General McClellan, himself, admits that the maps of the peninsula proved entirely inaccurate, frequently misleading the army, while he had quite misapprehended the nature of the soil, expecting to find it more favorable than it was.

In the meantime, on the morning of the 11th, the Merrimac having been repaired at the Norfolk navy yard, and for the last few days stationed at Craney island, came out into the open waters of the bay, accompanied by a fleet of six gunboats, including the Jamestown and Yorktown, and proceeded towards James river. Arriving midway at the entrance to the river, the Jamestown, leaving Newport News on her left, captured two brigs and a schooner anchored near the shore. The prizes, transports laden with hay and sutler's stores, were towed to Elizabeth river. While this was going on, there was a great flutter of expectation at Fortress Monroe of another contest, for which preparation had been made, between the Merrimac and Monitor, the latter, with the Naugatuck, Octorara, and other gunboats, lying at hand prepared for action should the famous iron-clad advance to a favorable position. In the afternoon, however, the Merrimac, content with the reconnoisance and spoils of the day, returned to Elizabeth river. Previous to retiring she came down towards the Monitor and Naugatuck, when several shots were exchanged, at too great a distance, however, to be effective. The rebel fleet had shown itself, and its presence in the vicinity appeared to be admitted as a sufficient protection to the Confederates on James river.

The next signal incident in this quarter was an attempt on the centre of the lines of Warwick creek, at a point about a mile above Lee's mills, where the width of the stream being increased by a dam, the enemy had a fortified earthwork, protected to the right and left by a series of rifle pits. A cleared space on the side of the stream opposite the fort offered a convenient position for the Union batteries, while the surrounding woods were favorable for bringing up troops to the attack. The fort being silenced, the stream, though waist deep, it was thought could be passed by the men. Early on the morning of the 16th of April, accordingly, a brigade of Vermont troops, of General W. F. Smith's division, with Mott's battery, were advanced to the spot, the latter taking position about 1,200 yards from the fort. A sharp contest ensued, with skirmishing of musketry on the right and left, between the guns of the battery and the fort, which, in two hours, ended in silencing the rebel work, at an expense to the assailants of three men killed and four wounded. General McClellan then arrived on the ground, and the position of affairs was thought sufficiently favorable to continue the attack in the afternoon. Mott's battery on the right, reinforced by additional batteries on the left, were then advanced to within a thousand yards of the work, and opened a heavy fire, while three Vermont regiments were brought up through the woods. A gallant attempt was made by several companies of the 3d to cross the stream below the dam and charge the intrenchments, but they were driven back by the superior fire of the enemy. The 6th also dashed through the stream, and reached the opposite bank to be repulsed by the enemy's riflemen. The 4th also made a similar unsuccessful attempt. No actions of the war have furnished more striking instances of courage and devotion than this daring passage of the stream by the brave Vermonters. The scene is thus described by a correspondent: "At four o'clock in the afternoon, the four companies of the 3d were called up, formed into line, and told by their colonel, in a pithy speech, that the work expected of them was to charge across the creek and take the enemy's entrenchments. Ayre's guns—all of the batteries, numbering 22 pieces, were under the command of their accomplished artillery officer—covered the Vermonter's advance. They marched steadily at the quick to the edge of the creek, and plunged in, on the run. The water deepened unexpectedly. The men were soon wading to their breasts, their cartridge-boxes slung up on their shoulders and their muskets held up high. The moment they entered the stream, the rebels swarmed on the edge of their rifle-pit, and rained a fire of bullets on the advancing line. The stream, as dammed, was about twelve yards wide. The Vermonters loaded and fired as they waded. Their killed and wounded began to fall from the instant of entering the water. Many of the latter were sustained by their arms and the collars of their coats, and so helped across, and laid down on the opposite side. The 3d, as soon as they emerged and got foot-hold, received the order to 'charge!' With a yell, with true Green Mountain ring in it, they dashed at the extended rifle-pit. At least a regiment of rebels broke from behind it, and ran into the redoubt in the rear, leaving the Vermonters in the pit. For at least an hour they fought from here against overwhelming numbers, receiving reinforcements in that time, first of four companies of the 6th Vermont, and afterwards of four companies of the 4th Vermont. They shot their foe principally through the head, and so superior was their fire, and their pluck so impressive, that the rebels moved two additional regiments into the fort, and into a flanking position on the left of the rifle-pit. Exposed now to a cross-fire, as well as an increased fire in front, the Vermonters, though they wanted to stay, had to go. In good order, covering themselves behind trees, and fighting as they went, they recrossed the stream, carrying with them all their wounded whose condition at all promised survival of their hurts. Many were now shot in the water, and drowned beyond all possibility of help. The language of a Lemoille county boy, not sixteen years old, 'Why, sir, it was just like sap-boiling in that stream—the bullets fell so thick,' is so expressive that I use it as a measure of intensity. These brave men having backed out of the deep water, formed on the dry land, and began the fight anew, while many, not detailed, but volunteering through impulses of soldierly devotion and personal affection, dashed into the stream again and dragged out the wounded, who were clinging to the trees, and sitting with their heads just out of water. Julian A. Scott, of the 3d Vermont, Company E, under sixteen years of age, was one of these heroes. He pulled out no less than nine of his wounded comrades. He twice went under fire way across the stream, and brought back from the slope of the rifle pit John C. Backum, of his own company, who was shot through the lungs. Ephraim Brown, who was helping him, was himself shot through the thigh in the inside, and disabled. Scott waded back, like the boy-hero he is, and brought him safely over. Among the incidents of the fight, was the recovery from a fever of Sergeant Fletcher, of Company E, 3d Vermont, on the sick list, and excused from duty, and the use he made of his temporary health. He crossed the stream and went through the fight—then, on his return, was among those who went back and rescued the wounded. On his return to camp, he went into hospital and resumed his fever, with aggravation. John Harrington, a beardless orphan boy of seventeen, unarmed, went over and rescued out of the rifle-pit a disabled comrade. All will recall the case of private William Scott, of the 3d Vermont, sentenced by McClellan last fall to be shot for sleeping on his post, while on the Potomac, and whom Simon Cameron, then secretary of war, saved from his rigorous fate. Among the foremost across the creek, and the first to be killed yesterday, was this very man—as brave a soldier as ever died on the field of battle."

The Vermonters were saved from utter destruction by the unintermitted and well directed fire of the batteries, which swept the enemy's works with great accuracy. The Union loss in this attack or reconnoisance, as it was afterward called, was 35 killed, 120 wounded, and 9 missing.

After this, the movements of the Union army were confined to the regular operations of a siege. Heavy rifled guns, and mortars of extraordinary calibre, were brought up under cover of the forest, which protected the assailants from the operations of the enemy. The direction of the siege was especially assigned by the commander-in-chief, to General Fitz John Porter, whose activity was manifest in every direction in forwarding the preparations. Balloon ascents, in which he personally made observations of the enemy's works, furnished many a paragraph to the newspapers of the day. In one of these flights, shortly after dawn, it is recorded that "when about one hundred feet above the ground the rope anchoring the balloon broke, and the general sailed off south-westerly toward Richmond, at a greater speed than the army of the Potomac is moving. He was alone, but had sufficient calmness to pull the valve rope, and gradually descended, reaching the ground in safety, about three miles from camp."

General Porter, a native of New Hampshire, was a graduate of West Point, of 1845, when he entered the 2d artillery. He served in Mexico, and was wounded before the capital, and was breveted major for his gallantry in the final actions of the war. He was subsequently engaged at the military academy as an instructor of cavalry and artillery. In 1856 he was appointed assistant adjutant general, with the rank of captain. At the outset of the rebellion he was made colonel of the 5th regular infantry, and shortly after, a brigadier-general of vol-

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* Correspondence *New York Evening Post.* In front of Yorktown, April 11, 1862.

unteers, and entered upon active service with the army of the Potomac.

It was the plan of General McClellan not to open fire upon the enemy's works till his investing line of batteries was thoroughly completed, when the general assault would prove utterly destructive. To this end his efforts were seldom diverted from the main object. One or two incidents, however, diversified the usual reports from the army, which were mainly confined to complaints of the weather, the state of the roads, tributes to the sharpshooters, and the excellence of their telescopic rifles, shrewd hints of the grand preparations in progress, with ever increasing estimates of the strength of the enemy's works, and the numbers of their defenders. On the 26th of April there was a courageous assault on an advanced lunette of the rebels on this side of Warwick river, near its head, by a company of the 1st Massachusetts. "The work," says General McClellan, "had a ditch six feet deep, with a strong parapet, and was manned by two companies of infantry; no artillery. Our men moved over open, soft ground, some six hundred yards, received the fire of the rebels at fifty yards, did not return it, but rushed over the ditch and parapet in the most gallant manner. The rebels broke and ran, as soon as they saw our men intended to cross the parapet. Our loss was three killed, and one mortally and twelve otherwise wounded. We took fourteen prisoners, destroyed the work sufficiently to render it useless, and retired. The operation was conducted by General C. Grover, who managed the affair most handsomely. Nothing could have been better than the conduct of all the men under fire."* On the 30th of April, the battery commanding the rebel water batteries was tried upon the shipping in the harbor, and there was some firing from its heavy guns, 100 and 200-pounder rifled Parrott's—on the 2d of May, when a powerful rifled 68-pounder of the enemy was exploded in their works. As the parallels and batteries of General McClellan advanced to completion the fire of the enemy grew constantly more active. It was taken as an evidence of strength; it was in reality a shelter for retreat. The Confederates, fully aware of the force brought against them, were not disposed to encounter an irresistible attack. The evacuation of Yorktown was accordingly resolved upon in a council of war in the city, at which it was said President Davis assisted. As usual with these movements of the enemy, it was most skillfully conducted.

The final preparations of General McClellan had been made, and all was ready for opening the long expected bombardment. Monday, the 5th of May, exactly one month after the army had begun its march from Hampton, was the day appointed. Early on the morning of Sunday, however, a day of rest in the camp, it was observed by the pickets that the firing which had been kept up all night was intermitted. The enemy had been for several days withdrawing their forces. The guns which had covered their retreat they were, of course, compelled to leave. On entering the works—which proved to be well constructed, and of a formidable character—all was found abandoned. At six o'clock the flag of the Union was again flying on the walls of Yorktown, a second time conquered by the national arms. Would that it had been, as at the surrender to Washington, the crowning and conclusive action of the war. At nine General McClellan telegraphed to the secretary of war: "We have the ramparts. We have guns, ammunition, camp equipage, etc. We hold the entire line of his works, which the engineers report as being very strong. I have thrown all my cavalry and horse artillery in pursuit, supported by infantry. I move Franklin's division and as much more as I can transport by water up to West Point today. No time shall be lost. The gunboats have gone up York river. I omitted to state that Gloucester is also in our possession. I shall push the enemy to the wall." Two hours after he added, "An inspection just made shows that the rebels abandoned in their works at Yorktown two 3-inch rifled cannon, two 4-inch rifled cannon, sixteen 32-pounders, six 42-pounders, nineteen 8-inch columbiads, four 9-inch Dahlgrens, one 10-inch columbiad, one 10-inch mortar, and one 8-inch siege howitzer, with carriages and implements complete, each piece supplied with seventy-six rounds of ammunition. On the ramparts there are also four magazines, which have not yet been examined. This does not include the guns left at Gloucester Point, and their other works to our left." In a third dispatch at seven o'clock of the evening of that memorable Sunday, General McClellan announced to the Department at Washington: "Our cavalry and horse artillery came up with the enemy's rear guard, in their entrenchments, about two miles this side of Williamsburg. A brisk fight ensued. Just as my aid left, Smith's division of infantry arrived on the ground, and I presume, carried his works, though I have not yet heard. The enemy's rear is strong, but I have force enough up there to answer all purposes. We have, thus far, seventy-one heavy guns, and large amounts of tents, ammunition, etc, All along the lines their works prove to have been most formidable, and I am now fully satisfied of the correctness of the course I have pursued. The success is brilliant, and you may rest assured that its effects will be of the greatest importance. There shall be no delay in following up the rebels. The rebels have been guilty of the most murderous and barbarous conduct in placing torpedoes within the abandoned works, near wells and springs, and near flagstaffs, magazines, telegraph offices, in carpet bags, barrels of flour, etc. Fortunately, we have not lost many men in this manner—some four or five killed, and perhaps a dozen wounded. I shall make the prisoners remove them at their own peril."

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* Dispatch to Secretary Stanton. Camp Winfield Scott, April 26, 1862.

A correspondent feelingly describes the fiendish barbarism denounced by General McClellan in the dispatch just cited. "I was riding," says he, "across the field to the right, when certain of the 22d Massachusetts, there stationed, warned me of the infernal truth of a report that had reached our camp half an hour before—that the surface of the ground was mined with torpedoes, which, stricken by the foot of man or horse, would assuredly explode and do their devilish work. Five men had already been killed or mutilated in this manner, and, as the soldiers spoke, I saw another victim carried past on a stretcher. He was a Mr. Lathrop, telegraph operator to General Heintzelman, and not an hour ago I had shaken his hand at the general's headquarters. His foot had been blown off at the ankle joint. I rode cautiously, then, being warned by men posted near the torpedoes which had been discovered, or bits of stick planted in order to indicate their presence, and soon dismounted to cross a plank over a deep but empty ditch into the rebel fortifications. * * * But wander where you will, it is wise to tread carefully, and keep the middle of the road, according to the counsel of the negroes, for there are torpedoes buried inside, as well as outside of Yorktown; and less than fifteen minutes ago I heard the explosion of one, and was told that another soldier had been murdered. Going to get some water from a well, too, near one of the embrasures, I was warned off; the rebels had secreted torpedoes on one side of it."*

General McClellan, as stated in his dispatch, lost no time, on gaining possession of Yorktown, in ordering a pursuit of the fugitive enemy, who had taken the road to Williamsburg, the central avenue through the peninsula to the railway running westerly from West Point, at the head of York river to Richmond. There were two roads by which the Union army might approach Williamsburg; an upper one leading directly from Yorktown a distance of twelve miles, and the road from Warwick court house, joining the other in the vicinity of the town. At the junction of these roads the Confederates had erected a formidable bastioned earthwork named Fort Magruder, flanked by a line of redoubts, protected in front by *abattis;*—extending across the isthmus of dry land to the swamps on either side. Here the enemy was found in force when the troops ordered forward by General McClellan came up. General Stoneman, with the entire cavalry and four batteries of horse artillery, passing rapidly through Yorktown took the lead, to be followed on the same road by the divisions of Hooker and Kearney, while the divisions of Smith, Couch, and Casey were ordered to coöperate with them by a road from Warwick court house. Other divisions of Richardson, Sedgewick and Porter, were moved to the vicinity of Yorktown, to be in readiness, as occasion might require, to support the troops marching forward, or to follow the division of Franklin, which was sent up the York river to cut off the rebel retreat. General Smith's division crossed the Warwick river at Lee's mills, the enemy retreating before them towards Williamsburg. This division came out at a junction with the upper road, on which Stoneman had preceded it, at the site of an old church about six miles distant from Yorktown. Hooker, who left the latter place by this road about noon, on coming up found that Stoneman had fallen upon the enemy in their line of defence, and had met with a vigorous resistance, and been compelled to fall back, and wait for the infantry supports. The cavalry had ridden boldly up to the works before Williamsburg at the cross road, and as they came within range were saluted from Fort Magruder by a shower of shells. The Prince de Joinville, who was with the party, has described the encounter which ensued. "Stoneman," says he, "seeing that the enemy covered the fork of the roads, and perceiving that it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground before them, undertook to dislodge them by a vigorous blow. He threw forward all his horse artillery, which took up its position brilliantly in front of the abattis, and replied to the fire of the redoubts; and he then ordered his cavalry to charge. The 6th Federal cavalry dashed forward gallantly to meet the cavalry of the Confederates, passed directly under the cross fire of the redoubts, and rode into one of those fights with the cold steel which have become so rare in these days. Nevertheless, this was all so much valor thrown away. The enemy did not disturb himself; he had the advantages of number and position. To carry these works with cavalry was impossible. Men, and particularly horses, began to fall. 'I have lost thirty-one men,' said Major Williams, who had led the charge of the 6th, gracefully saluting General Stoneman with his sabre, with that air of determination which says, 'we will go at it again, but it's of no use.' Stoneman then ordered the retreat. We repassed the abattis, and falling back to a clearing about half a mile distant, there awaited the arrival of the infantry to renew the engagement. Unluckily, in traversing the marsh, a gun of the horse artillery got buried in the mud, and could not be extricated. In vain were the teams doubled. The enemy concentrated his fire of shells on that point and killed all the horses. The gun had to be left. It was the first which the army had lost, and the men were inconsolable. In the evening we renewed our efforts to recover it, but the abattis were filled with hostile sharpshooters, who made it impossible to approach."*

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* Special Correspondent *New York Tribune.* Yorktown, May 4, 1862.

On hearing of this repulse, as he approached the ground, General Hooker would have pushed on his troops to the scene of action, had not the road been blocked by the division of General Smith which, as we have stated, had turned into it from a cross road. Finding that Stoneman was thus being supported in this direction, and impatient for action, Hooker applied to General Heintzelman, the superior officer charged with the advance on the Yorktown road, for authority to throw his command on the Hampton road, which, as has been mentioned, intersected that on which Stoneman had halted at the point occupied by the enemy. "Obtaining this permission," says General Hooker, in his official report, "the head of my division left the brick church about dark, and it pressed forward in order, if practicable, to come up with the enemy before morning. This, however, I soon found would be impossible, for the roads were frightful, the night intensely dark and rainy, and many of my men exhausted from loss of sleep, and from labor the night before in the trenches. The troops were halted in the middle of the road between ten and eleven o'clock, P. M,, resolved to stop until daylight, when we started again, and came in sight of the enemy's works before Williamsburg about half-past five o'clock in the morning. Before emerging from the forest the column was halted, while I rode to the front to find what could be learned of the position of the enemy.

"The first work that presented itself was Fort Magruder, and this was standing at the junction of the Yorktown and Hampton roads, and on each side of it was a cordon of redoubts extending as far as could be seen. Subsequently I found their number to be thirteen, and extending entirely across the peninsula, the right and left of them resting on the waters of the York and James rivers. Approaching them from the south, they are concealed by heavy forest until the observer is within less than a mile of their locality. Where the forest had been standing nearer than this distance the trees had been felled, in order that the occupants of the redoubts might have timely notice of the approach of an enemy, and early strike him with artillery. The trees had been felled in this manner on both sides of the road on which we had advanced for a breadth of almost half a mile, and the same was the case on the Yorktown road. Between the edge of the felled timber and the fort was a belt of clear, arable land, six or seven hundred yards in width. This was dotted all over with rifle pits. In connection with the redoubts themselves, I may be permitted to state, that I found them standing near the eastern and southern verge of a slightly elevated plain, the slopes of which were furrowed with widening ravines, with an almost boundless, gently undulating plain, reaching across the peninsula, and extending to the north and west as far as the eye can reach. The landscape is highly picturesque, and not a little heightened by the large trees and venerable spires of Williamsburg, two miles distant. Fort Magruder appears to be the largest of the redoubts—its crest measuring nearly half a mile, with substantial parapets, ditches, magazines, etc. This was located to command the Yorktown and Hampton roads, and the redoubts in its vicinity to command the ravines, which the guns of Fort Magruder could not sweep.

"Being in pursuit of a retreating army I deemed it my duty to lose no time in making the disposition of my forces to attack, regardless of their number and position, except to accomplish the result with the least possible sacrifice of life. By so doing, my division, if it did not capture the army before me, would at least hold them in order that some others might. Besides, I knew of the presence of more than thirty thousand troops not two miles distant from me, and that within twelve miles (four hours' march), was the bulk of the army of the Potomac. My own position was tenable for double that length of time against three times my number. At half-past seven o'clock, Brigadier-General Grover was directed to commence the attack, by sending the 1st Massachusetts regiment as skirmishers into the felled timber on the left of the road on which they were standing—the 2d New Hampshire regiment to the right—both with directions to skirmish up to the edge of the felled timber, and there, under cover, to turn their attention to the occupants of the rifle-pits, and the enemy's sharpshooters and gunners in Fort Magruder. The 11th Massachusetts regiment, and the 26th Pennsylvania, were then directed to form on the right of the 2d New Hampshire, and to advance as skirmishers until they had reached the Yorktown road, and when that was gained to have word sent to me. Under my chief of artillery, Webber's battery was thrown forward in advance of the fallen timber, and brought into action in a cleared field on the right of the road, and distant from Fort Magruder about seven hundred yards. No sooner had it emerged from the forest, on the way to its position, than four guns from Fort Magruder opened on it, and after it was still further up the road, they received the fire from two additional guns from a redoubt on the left. However, it was pushed on, and before it was brought into motion, two officers and two privates had been shot down, and before a single piece of the battery had been discharged, its cannoneers had been driven from it despite the skill and activity of my sharpshooters in picking off the rebel gunners. Volunteers were now called for by my gallant chief of artillery, Major Wainwright, to man the battery now in position, when the officers and cannoneers of Osborne's battery sprang forward, and, in the time I am writing, had those pieces well at work. Bramhall's battery was now brought into action, under that excellent officer, on the right of Webber's, and before nine o'clock every gun in Fort Magruder was silenced, and all the troops in sight on the plain dispersed. Between the sharpshooters and the two batteries the enemy's guns in this fort were not heard from again until late in the afternoon.

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* The Army of the Potomac, etc., by the Prince de Joinville. Hurlbert's translation, pp. 50, 51.

"One of the regiments in Brigadier-General Patterson's brigade—the 5th New Jersey—was charged with the especial care of these batteries, and was posted a little to the rear of them. The remaining regiments of Patterson's brigade, under their intrepid commander, were sent into the left of the road from where they were standing, in anticipation of an attack from that quarter. Heavy forest trees cover this ground and conceal from the view the enemy's earthworks, about a mile distant. The forest itself has a depth of about three-fourths of that distance. It was through this that Patterson led the 6th, 7th, and 8th New Jersey regiments. Bodies of the enemy's infantry were seen drifting in that direction, and the increased musketry fire proved that many others were flocking thither, whom we could not see. Prior to this movement Brigadier-General Emory had reached my position with a light battery and a body of cavalry, which were promptly placed at my disposal by that experienced and gifted soldier; but, as I had no duty on which I could employ those arms of service, and as I was confined for room in the exercise of my own command, I requested that he would dispatch a party to reconnoitre and observe the movements of the rebels to the rear of my left. This was executed to my satisfaction. It was now reported to me that the skirmishers to the right had reached the Yorktown road, where word was sent to Colonel Blaisdell to proceed with the 11th Massachusetts and 26th Pennsylvania regiments cautiously down that road, to destroy any rebel force he might find, and break down any barrier the enemy might have thrown up to check the advance of our forces in that direction, and when this was executed to report the fact to the senior officer with the troops there, and on his return to send me word of the result of his mission. This was done, and word was sent to me through Adjutant Currier, of the 11th regiment. Up to this moment there had been a brisk musketry fire kept up on every part of the field, but its swelling volumes in the direction of Patterson satisfied me from the beginning of the engagement that the enemy had accumulated a heavy force in his front. Grover had already anticipated it, and had moved the main portion of the 1st Massachusetts regiment to receive it, while first, the72d New York regiment, of Taylor's brigade, and soon after the 70th New York regiment, of the same brigade, were ordered to strengthen Patterson. Colonel Averill, of the 3d Pennsylvania cavalry, had, with great kindness and gallantry, tendered me his services, while Lieutenant McAlister, of the engineers, volunteered to make a reconnoissance of such of the enemy's works as were hidden from view, preparatory to carrying them by assault, should a suitable opportunity present itself for that object. For this service I am under many obligations to that accomplished officer. From the earliest moment of the attack, it was an object of deep solicitude to establish a connection with the troops in my immediate neighborhood on the Yorktown road, and as that had been accomplished, and as I saw no signs of their advance, at twenty minutes past eleven A. M. I addressed the subjoined note to the assistant adjutant-general, 3d corps, under the impression that his chief was still there. It was as follows: 'I have had a hard contest all the morning, but do not despair of success. My men are hard at work, but a good deal exhausted. It is reported to me that my communication with you by the Yorktown road is clear of the enemy. Batteries, cavalry, and infantry can take post by the side of mine to whip the enemy.' This found General Heintzelman absent, but it was returned opened, and on the envelope endorsed, 'Opened and read,' by the senior officer on that field. A cavalry man took over the note, and returned with it by the Yorktown road, after an absence of twenty minutes.

"To return, it was now after one o'clock and the battle had swollen into one of gigantic proportions. The left had been reinforced with the 73d and 74th New York regiments—the only remaining ones of my reserve—under Colonel Taylor, and all were engaged; yet its fortunes would ebb and flow despite the most determined courage and valor of my devoted officers and men. Three times the enemy approached within eighty yards of the road which was the centre of my operations, and as often were they thrown back with violence and slaughter. Every time his advance was made with fresh troops, and each succeeding one seemed to be in greater force and determination. The 11th Massachusetts and the 26th Pennsylvania regiments were ordered to the left—the support of the batteries and the 2d New Hampshire regiment were withdrawn from their advanced position in front, to take post where they could look after the front and left at the same time. The orders to the 26th Pennsylvania regiment did not reach it, and it remained on the right. At this juncture word was received from Colonel Taylor that the regiments of his command longest engaged were falling short of ammunition, and when he was informed that the supply-train was not yet up, a portion of his command presented an obstinate front to the advance of the enemy, with no other cartridges than were gathered from the boxes of the fallen. Again the enemy were reinforced by the arrival of Longstreet's division. His troops had passed through Williamsburg, on their retreat from Yorktown, and were recalled to strengthen the rebel forces before Williamsburg. No sooner had they joined, than it was known that they were again moving to drive in our left; after a violent and protracted struggle they were again repulsed with great loss. Simultaneous with the movement an attempt was made to drive in our front, and seize the batteries, by the troops from Fort Magruder, aided by reinforcements from the redoubts on the left. The withdrawal of the supports invited this attack, and it was at this time that four of our guns were captured. They could have been saved, but only at the risk of losing the day. Whatever of dishonor, if any, is attached to their loss, belongs to the brigadier-general commanding the division, and not to his chief of artillery, or to the officers and men serving with the batteries—for truer men never stepped upon the field of battle. While this was going on in front, Captain Smith, by a skillful disposition of his battery, held complete command of the road, which, subsequently, by a few well-directed shots, was turned to good account. The foregoing furnishes a faithful narrative of the disposition of my command throughout this eventful day. Between four and five o'clock, General Kearney, with all his characteristic gallantry, arrived on the ground at the head of his division, and after having secured their positions, my division was withdrawn from the contest, and held as a reserve until dark, when the battle ended, after a prolonged and severe conflict against three times my number, directed by the most accomplished general of the rebel army, Major-General J. E. Johnston, assisted by Generals Longstreet, Pryor, Gohlson, and Pickett, with commands selected from the best troops in their army."

The part so warmly acknowledged by General Hooker, borne in the action by General Kearney's division, is thus narrated in that officer's official report, addressed to Assistant Adjutant-General McKeever, of Heintzelman's corps: "I have the honor to report that, on receiving orders on the 5th inst., at 9 A. M., the divison took up its line of march, and shortly after came upon the crowded columns before us. At half-past ten A. M., an order was received from General Sumner to pass all others and to proceed to the support of General Hooker, already engaged. With difficulty and much loss of time, my division at length made its way through the masses of troops and trains that encumbered the deep, single, muddy defile, until, at the brick church, my route was to the left, the direct road to Williamsburg. At half-past one P. M.—within three and a half miles of the battle-field—I halted my column to rest for the first time, and to get the lengthened files in hand before committing them to action. Captain Moses, of the General's staff, with great energy assisted me in this effort. Almost immediately, however, on orders from General Heintzelman, 'our knapsacks were piled,' and the head of the column resumed its march, taking the double-quick wherever the mud-holes left a footing. Arrived at one mile from the engagement, you, in person, brought me an order for detaching three regiments, one from Berry's, the leading brigade, and two from Birney's, the second, to support Emory's horse to the left of the position. Approaching near the field, word was brought by an aid-de-camp that Hooker's cartridges were expended, and with increased rapidity we entered under fire. Having quickly consulted with General Hooker, and received General Heintzelman's orders as to the point of onset, I at once deployed Berry's brigade to the left of the Williamsburg road, and Birney's on the right of it, taking, to cover the movement, and to support the remaining battery that had ceased to fire, two companies of Poe's 2d Michigan regiment.

As our troops came into action the remnants of the brave men of Hooker's division were passed, and our regiments promptly commenced an unremitting, well-directed fire. However, from the lengthening of the files the gap occasioned by the withdrawal from the column of three regiments, and the silence of this battery, I soon was left no alternative than to lead forward to the charge the two companies of the 2d Michigan volunteers to beat back the enemy's skirmishers, now crowding on our pieces. This duty was performed by officers and men with superior intrepidity, and enabled Major Wainwright, of Hooker's division, to collect his artillerists, and reöpen fire from several pieces. A new support was then collected from the 5th New Jersey, who, terribly decimated previously, again came forward with alacrity. The affair was now fully and successfully engaged along our whole line, and the regiments kept steadily gaining ground. But the heavy strewn timber of the abattis defied all direct approach. Introducing, therefore, fresh marksmen from Poe's regiment, I ordered Colonel Hobart Ward, of the 38th New York volunteers (Scott Life-Guard) to charge down the road and take the rifle-pits on the centre of the abattis by their flank. This duty Colonel Ward performed with great gallantry, his martial demeanor imparting all confidence in the attack. Still, the move, though nearly successful, did not quite prevail; but with bravery every point thus gained was perfectly sustained. The left wing of Colonel Riley's regiment, the 40th New York volunteers (Mozart), was next sent for and the Colonel being valiantly engaged in front came up brilliantly conducted by Captain Mindil, chief of General Birney's staff. These charged up to the open space and silenced some light artillery, and gaining the enemy's rear caused him to relinquish his cover. The victory was ours."

Whilst this determined fighting was thus going on at the left, the day was closing on the right with a brilliant action by a portion of General Smith's division. General Hancock, with his brigade of Wisconsin, Maine, and New York regiments, with Captain Wheeler's battery of volunteer artillery, had, by a toilsome march through the woods in the forenoon, penetrated to the redoubts supporting Fort Magruder. Finding the position at this point feebly defended at the moment, he gained some advantages, which, if his command had been promptly reinforced from the troops in his rear, might, as it would appear, have been speedily followed by a vigorous movement, breaking the Confederate line, and turning the doubtful fortunes of the field into a decisive Union victory. As it was, he was left to sustain a desperate assault of the enemy, who, seeing the peril to which they were exposed, advanced to oust him from his position. General Hancock, relying upon his artillery and the courage of his men, coolly awaited the attack. The foe, North Carolina and Virginia troops, said to be commanded by General Early, came up with great steadiness, shouting, "Bull Run! Bull Run!" undeterred by the fearful cannonade which was sweeping their ranks. A particular account of the scene is thus given by a correspondent:—"General Hancock's position was in an open plain of about two miles in length from north to south, and about a mile in width. He had entered it at the northerly end, and at the other stands Fort Magruder. About a mile and a half above Fort Magruder, and half a mile away from the line of woods that bounds the plain on the left, are a farmhouse and two barns. A fence stretches from this farmhouse to the woods. Between the farmhouse and Fort Magruder are two redoubts, and three hundred yards above the farmhouse is the first redoubt. Around this farmhouse General Hancock's men were posted. Wheeler's battery was in position by the corner of the farm towards the plain, and commanded the whole field below it. Behind and well toward the first redoubt on the left, was the 6th Maine Regiment, and between the farmhouse and the first redoubt on the right were the 5th Wisconsin and 43d New York Regiments. Skirmishers from the latter were thrown out in the woods on our right and far in advance; skirmishers of the 5th Wisconsin were in advance on the open field, and skirmishers of the 6th Maine were in advance, also in the open field, on our left. Under cover of the wood, and directly through it, the enemy advanced from the neighborhood of Fort Magruder, doubtless tempted, as we have said, by the bait of a battery of beautiful field pieces. From the sharp fire of the skirmishers in the woods on our right came the first intimation of a movement in that direction, and this put all on the alert. By the field pieces, the great central point of interest, every man was in his place, and many eyes turned with deep interest on the handsome and intellectual face of their commander, the amiable gentleman and gallant soldier, Captain Wheeler, of the New York Volunteer Artillery. He was not only in his place, but it was eminently the right place, and he was the right man in it. Down the lines, too, of the infantry regiments all was steady, and the jaded men, who had bivouaced the night before in mud and rain, and were drabbled from head to foot with the one and wet to the skin with the other, stood up in their places like heroes, though they did not look exactly as if they were on parade. They did not have the parade dress, nor had they either the parade faces.

"Still the fire grew hotter in the woods, and in a few minutes, at a point fully half a mile away from the battery, the enemy's men began to file out of the cover and form in the open field. It was a bold and proved an expensive way to handle men. Wheeler opened his guns on the instant, and the swath of death that subsequently marked the course of the brigade across the open field began at that spot. At the same moment also the skirmishers in the field began their fire. Still the enemy formed across the opening with admirable rapidity and precision, and as coolly as if the fire had been directed elsewhere, and then came on at the double quick step, in three distinct lines, firing as they came. All sounds were lost for a few moments in the short roar of the field pieces, and in the scattered rattle and rapid repetition of the musketry. Naturally their fire could do us, under the circumstances, but little harm, and thus we had them at a fair advantage, and every nerve was strained to make the most of it. Still they came on. They were dangerously near. Already the skirmishers to the left had fallen back to their line, and the skirmishers to the right had taken cover behind the rail fence that ran from the house to the woods; but from thence they blazed away earnestly as ever. Yet the guns are out there, and they are what those fellows want; and in the next instant the guns are silent. For a moment, in the confusion and the smoke, one might almost suppose that the enemy had them; but in a moment more the guns emerge from the safe side of the smoke cloud, and away they go across the field to a point near the upper redoubt. There again they are unlimbered, and again they play away. Farther back also go the skirmishers. And now for a few moments the rebels had the partial cover of the farm and outbuildings; but they saw that they had all their work to do over, and so they came on again. Once more they are in a fair open field, exposed both to artillery and musketry; but this time the distance they have got to go is not so great. They move rapidly; there, however, is another dangerous line of infantry; they are near to us; but we also are near to them. Scarcely a hundred yards were between them and the guns when our skirmish fire became silent; the lines of the 5th

Wisconsin and the 43d New York formed up in close order to the right of the battery, the long range of musket barrels came to one level, and one terrible volley tore through the rebel line. In a moment more the same long range of muskets came to another level—the order to charge with the bayonet was given, and away went the two regiments with one glad cheer. Gallant as our foes undoubtedly were, they couldn't meet that. But few brigades mentioned in history have done better than that brigade did. For a space which was generally estimated at three-quarters of a mile they advanced under the fire of a splendidly served battery, and with a cloud of skirmishers stretched across their front, whose fire was very destructive; and if, after that, they had not the nerve to meet a line of bayonets that came towards them like the spirit of destruction incarnate, it need not be wondered at. They broke and fled in complete panic. One hundred and forty-five were taken prisoners. Nearly five hundred were killed and wounded. It is to the eternal honour of our own men that they had looked upon this advance of the enemy's line with a spirit of generous admiration, and that they spoke to their prisoners in a different manner from that which they use towards prisoners generally."*

In these actions before Williamsburg the conduct of the engagement appears to have been practically left to the individual commanders, with less concert of action between them than might have been desired in so important a field. General Heintzelman was in command on Sunday, and General Sumner on Monday. On the arrival of General Kearney on the field he outranked General Hooker, who had previously directed the movement on the left. The Prince De Joinville notices the want of a General Staff in the field operations of the day necessary to a proper understanding and coöperation between the different portions of the army.

"The battle of Williamsburg," says the report of the Congressional Committee on the conduct of the war, "appears to have been fought under many and great disadvantages. Nothing was known of the nature of the country, or the defensive works of the enemy, until our troops arrived before them; there was no controlling mind in charge of the movements; there was uncertainty in regard to who was in command; each general fought as he considered best."

The Commander-in-chief, General McClellan, did not arrive on the ground till the close of the day. He was at Yorktown in the morning, engaged in forwarding Franklin's division by the river, and in other duties, not knowing "that there was anything serious involved," till a message was brought him, about one o'clock in the afternoon, by Governor Sprague, urging him to come to the front. He then left for the battle-field, and on his arrival about five o'clock, acquainting himself as rapidly as possible with the state of affairs, ordered reinforcements to General Hancock, who was heavily engaged when he arrived, and endeavored to communicate with General Heintzelman on the left. He heard from the latter during the night of the fortunes of the day. "I felt satisfied," he says, "from what I knew of Hancock's position, that the battle was won; that he had occupied the decisive point, and gained possession of a portion of the enemy's line; and that they must make a night retreat, or we would have greatly the advantage of them in the morning. So fully satisfied was I of that, that I countermanded orders that I had given in the afternoon for the advance of Richardson's and Sedgwick's divisions to the front, and sent them back to Yorktown to go by water; feeling sure that the battle was won."*

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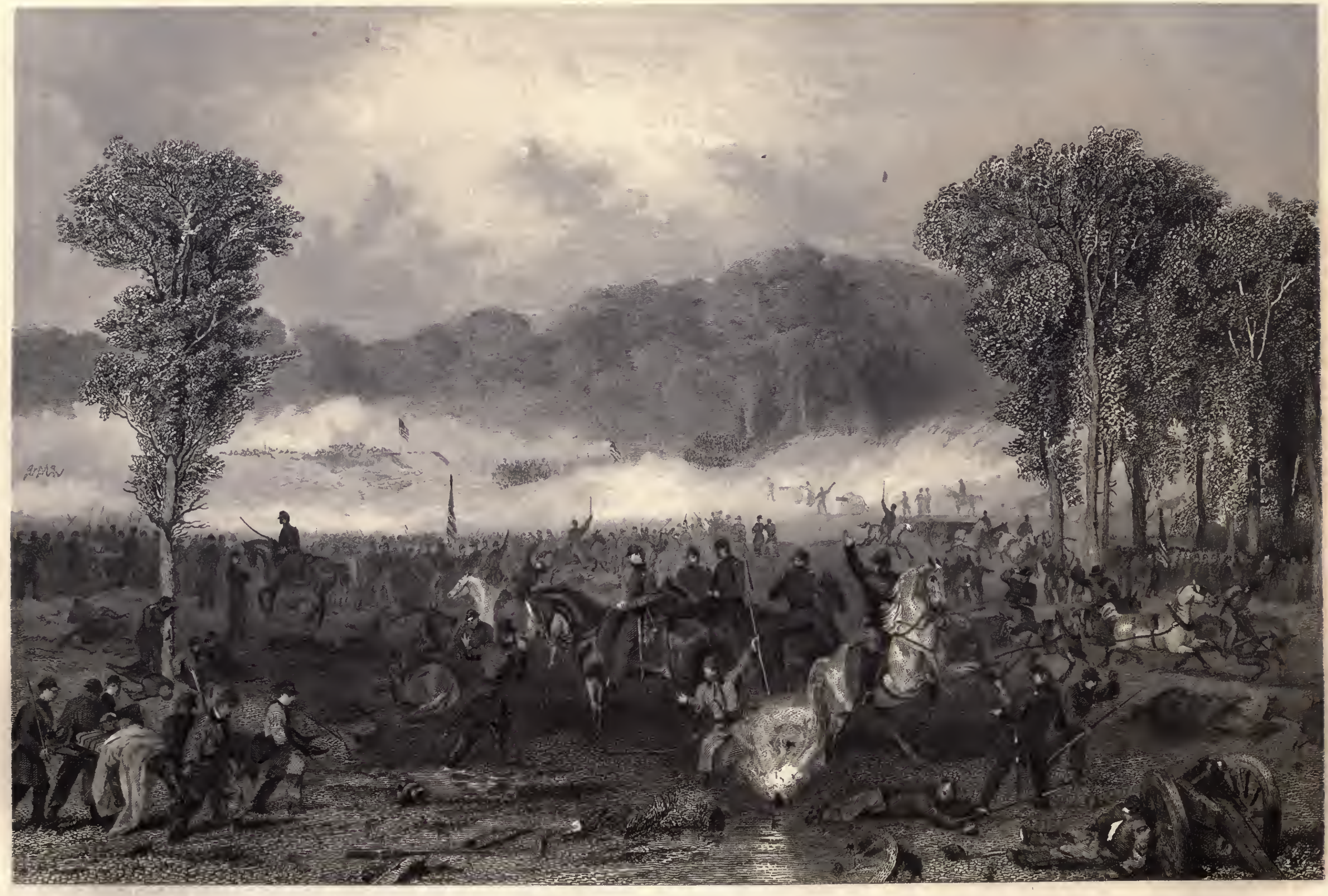
* Correspondence *New York Herald*, May 9, 1862.

* Testimony before the War Committee of Congress, Feb. 28, 1862.



BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers

At ten o'clock P. M., General McClellan sent the following dispatch, dated, "Bivouac in front of Williamsburg," to Secretary Stanton: "After arranging for movements up York river, I was urgently sent for here. I find General Joe Johnston in front of me in strong force, probably greater a good deal than my own. General Hancock has taken two redoubts and repulsed Early's rebel brigade by a real charge with the bayonet, taking one colonel and a hundred and fifty other prisoners, and killing at least two colonels and many privates. His conduct was brilliant in the extreme. I do not know our exact loss, but fear that General Hooker has lost considerably on our left. I learn from the prisoners taken that the rebels intend to dispute every step to Richmond. I shall run the risk of at least holding them in check here, while I resume the original plan. My entire force is undoubedly inferior to that of the rebels, who will fight well; but I will do all I can with the force at my disposal."

The enemy in the night abandoned their position, flying with precipitation, leaving their dead and wounded on the field, and in the town, and the next day, which proved fair, after the desolating storm in which the battle was fought, Williamsburg was occupied by the Union troops. General C. D. Jameson, of Maine, who had gained his promotion from Colonel of the 2d Regiment of Volunteers, from his State, to a Brigadiership, by his conduct at Bull Run, and whose brigade was the first to enter the city in the morning, was made military governor. General McClellan having made his head-quarters at the venerable William and Mary's College, in the town, thus announced the events of the day to the Secretary of War:—"I have the pleasure to announce the occupation of this place as the result of the hard-fought action of yesterday. The effect of Hancock's brilliant engagement yesterday afternoon was to turn the left of their line of works. He was strongly reinforced, and the enemy abandoned the entire position during the night, leaving all his sick and wounded in our hands. His loss yesterday was very severe. We have some three hundred uninjured prisoners and more than a thousand wounded. Their loss in killed is heavy. The victory is complete. I have sent cavalry in pursuit. The conduct of our men has been excellent, with scarcely an exception. The enemy's works are very extensive, and exceedingly strong, both in respect to position and the works themselves. Our loss was heavy in Hooker's division, but very little on other parts of the field. Hancock's success was gained with a loss of not over twenty killed and wounded. The weather is good to-day, but there is great difficulty in getting up food, on account of the roads. Very few wagons have yet come up. Am I authorized to follow the examples of other generals, and direct the names of battle to be placed on colors of regiments? We have other battles to fight before reaching Richmond."*

In a subsequent dispatch, a few days later, General McClellan paid a special tribute to the eminent services of Hooker and Kearney, with which, at first, he had been imperfectly acquainted: "Without waiting further for official reports which have not yet reached me," he wrote to Secretary Stanton on the 11th, "I wish to bear testimony to the splendid conduct of Hooker's and Kearney's divisions, under command of General Heintzelman, in the battle of Williamsburg. Their bearing was worthy of veterans. Hooker's division for hours gallantly withstood the attack of greatly superior numbers with very heavy loss. Kearney's arrived in time to restore the fortunes of the day, and came most gallantly into action. I shall probably have occasion to call attention to other commands, and do not wish to do injustice to them by mentioning them now. If I had had the full information I now have in regard to the troops above-named when I first telegraphed, they would have been specially mentioned and commended. I spoke only of what I knew at the time, and I shall rejoice to do full justice to all engaged."

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* General McClellan to Secretary Stanton, Williamsburg, May 6, 1862.

The entire Union loss in the battles before Williamsburg is stated at 455 killed, 1,411 wounded, and 388 missing.* The losses in Hooker's division were 21 commissioned officers killed, and 65 wounded; 317 enlisted men killed, 837 wounded, and 335 missing.

The division of General Franklin had been lying for a fortnight in transports in the Poquosin river, below Yorktown, wating an opportunity to be joined by another division, and land on the north side of the York river, in the rear of Gloucester, and effecting a diversion there, supply, in a measure, the service expected from the corps of McDowell.† On the fall of Yorktown the division being still afloat, was ordered by General McClellan to ascend the York river, and land at West Point, in readiness to cut off the retreat of the enemy, and for ulterior operations in the march to Richmond. The division was brought round to Yorktown, and we have seen General McClellan engaged on Monday, while Hooker was fighting before Williamsburg, in arranging the expedition, providing a convoy of gunboats to protect the transports, and other details. The next day the fleet sailed up the river, and before night a considerable portion of the troops were landed on the right bank of the river, about half a mile below West Point, at a large open plain a mile or more in length along the river, and half a mile in width, an excellent camping ground in itself but exposed to attack from an enemy who might occupy the adjacent heights and surrounding woods. In the evening a portion of General Sedgwick's division came up the river and joined the command of General Franklin, There was some difficulty in disembarking in consequence of the shallowness of the water by the shore; but no troops were at hand to oppose the landing. In the night, however, there was some picket skirmishing, and in the morning it was evident that the enemy would make some resistance to save the flight of the retreating army from Yorktown.

The action which ensued on the morning of the 7th is thus described by a correspondent: "By daylight the plain, which takes in about a thousand acres of ground, running southwest from the York river, presented a striking scene. Long lines of men extended from left to right across the centre of the field, and squads of skirmishers stood marking, in dim outline, their forms against the heavy woods and underbrush, which presents an unbroken front to us on every side except that bounded by the river. Here the men stood for some time, ready to march at a moment's notice; but no foe appeared, and the men were permitted to return to their camps for the purpose of getting their breakfast, and perhaps, some sleep. A strong picket, composed of the New York 32d, 95th and 96th Pennsylvania troops, were left at the edges of the woods to keep a sharp look out for the enemy, who were now believed to be in close proximity to our lines. About this time one of our gunboats discovered a regiment or two of the enemy on the west side of the river, who dispersed in great confusion after having received some half dozen of our heavy shells in their midst. This was communicated to General Slocum, who immediately made strenuous efforts to get the brigade of General Dana on shore, that we might be able to give the enemy a warm reception should he make his appearance. General Dana was indefatigable in his labors to get the troops off the transports, and through his exertions most of the men and horses were off the boats by nine o'clock, and preparations were being made to breakfast the men of this brigade when the order was given for the 16th, 31st, and 32d New York, and the 95th and 96th Pennsylvania regiments, to advance into the woods and drive off some of the rebel scouts who were firing occasional shots at our pickets, and were supposed to be strongly supported by a force concealed in the woods. This supposition proved correct, for no sooner had our men made an advance into the woods than they were received with a volley of musketry from the rebels who were hidden in the dense undergrowth. Our men pressed on, and gave them a volley, after which the enemy retreated further into the woods, with the 32d New York close at their heels; but they were too swift-footed for our boys—being more protected—and they soon left the 32d struggling in the mud.

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* *New York Herald*, Record of the Rebellion for 1862.

† Testimony of General Franklin before the War Committee, March 28, 1863.

"While this scene had been going on on the right centre, another was transpiring on the centre, where the 95th Pennsylvania regiment had entered the woods. In a few moments after they entered they found themselves in a dense swamp, and in their struggles to get across became separated from each other. One of the companies managed to get to the other side, and was climbing the bank on the opposite side when they descried a party of soldiers in ambush. 'Who comes there?' cried the party in ambush. 'Friends,' was the answer. 'What are you?' was the next interrogation. 'A company of the 96th Pennsylvania.' No sooner was this answer returned than the party, whom the captain had mistaken for some of his own regiment, opened a terrible fire upon our men, who returned the fire, and then returned to our reserves. In this affair, Captain Beates, of Company B, was shot through the shoulder, but not dangerously wounded, and one or two privates were killed and carried off the field by their friends, who, before they quit the ground, revenged the fall of their brave comrades by giving the enemy a few well-directed volleys. * * * The fight had now been going on for three hours here without intermission, and a number of men were killed and wounded. At this juncture our men were withdrawn from the wood, where they were evidently getting the worst of it, and the 2d United States artillery, under Captain Arnold, was ordered into position on the right, and Captain Porter's 1st Massachusetts battery took up a position upon the left, and in a few minutes the shell were flying through the air at the rate of about ten a minute. This soon compelled the rebels to make a move more on our left, where the shells flew less thick than upon the ground they were then occupying. No sooner, however, had the rebels moved their forces upon our left, than our gunboats, which up to that time had been unable to have a hand in the affair, opened their batteries upon the foe with so much effect that they drove the enemy out of sight and hearing. As soon as the guns of Captain Porter commenced to fire among them, accompanied by those from the river, the rebels undertook to move one of their batteries which they had got into position. The New Jersey regiment received orders to charge upon this battery, and at it they went, with cheers that made the very forests ring; but the rebels were again too fleet-footed. Before the Jersey boys got through the woods, the enemy had made tall travelling, and got out of sight in the woods." Some fifty of the Union soldiers were reported wounded. and about a third as many killed in this affair.

The enemy, covering their retreat from Yorktown by their spirited resistance at Williamsburg and West Point, had now made good their retreat towards Richmond, in the vicinity of which they were so resolutely to withstand the army of the Potomac. That army, delayed by the state of the roads, and the necessity of bringing up supplies, for more than forty-eight hours after the battle of Williamsburg—General McClellan tells us it was impossible even to feed the men on the ground where they stood—could effect little in pursuit. The march was early pushed forward. On the 9th General McClellan telegraphed to the department, "My troops are in motion, and in excellent spirits. They have all the air and feelings of veterans. It would do your heart good to see them. I have effected a junction with Franklin." It was not, however, till the 16th of May that the different divisions of the army were concentrated at White House, on the Pamunkey, a few miles above West Point, a place named after a famous residence of the Lee family, celebrated in the personal history of Washington, and a locality destined to be the base of operations in the further advance upon Richmond.

In the meantime an important event in eastern Virginia had occurred in the capture of Norfolk. There had been no little talk of this desirable event from time to time, and much had been expected from the operations of the army in North Carolina, which promised seriously to threaten the city in the rear. Nothing, however, was accomplished till the fall of Yorktown, and the advance of McClellan's army toward Richmond, with the gathering forces of the navy in Hampton roads, immediately endangered the position. In accordance, then, with a policy forced upon the Confederates by experience, they prepared to anticipate the possible or impending blow, withdraw their troops and narrow their lines of defence of the beleaguered capital. For some time previously, we are told, General Wool, commanding at Fortress Monroe, had been of opinion that Norfolk might be taken without great cost, but nothing definite had been undertaken for want of a proper coöperation of the land and naval forces, and in accordance with the slow development of the plans of the commander-in-chief. When, however, Yorktown fell, General Wool held himself in readiness for an early demonstration. On Thursday, the 8th, four days after the surrender of Yorktown, as we are informed in a graphic recital of the events which followed, written by one well qualified by his peculiar opportunities to present an accurate narrative of the circumstances, the Honorable Henry J. Raymond, at the time on a visit to Fortress Monroe, "the little steam-tug J. B. White came in from Norfolk, having deserted from the rebel service. She had been sent to bring in a couple of schooners from the mouth of Tanner's creek; the officers in charge of her being Northern men, and having been long desirous of escaping from the rebel *régime*, considered this a favorable opportunity for effecting their object. They slipped past Craney island without attracting any hostile observation, and then steered directly for Newport News. On arriving they reported to General Wool that the rebel troops were evacuating Norfolk—that very many had already gone, and that not over two or three thousand remained, and even these, it was confidently believed, would very speedily be withdrawn. They were men of intelligence and of evident sincerity, and their statements commanded full confidence. Under these circumstances, General Wool decided to make a military demonstration upon Norfolk. A large body of troops was embarked upon the transports lying in the roads, and all preparations were made with a view to a landing on Sewell's Point during Thursday night. Several of our vessels were sent to shell the point during the preceding day, and they did it with a good deal of effect. But they received very vigorous replies from the batteries there, and were finally put to flight by the appearance of the Merrimac, which came up to take part in the conflict. This vigorous demonstration on the part of the rebels satisfied the military authorities that the attack could not safely be made at that time, or at that point. The troops were accordingly disembarked on Friday morning, and the expedition was for the time abandoned.

"On Friday, Secretary Chase, who had been spending several days here, as had also President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, learned from a pilot familiar with the coast, that there was a place where a landing could be effected a mile or so beyond Willoughby point—and that a very good road led directly from that shore to Norfolk. In company with General Wool and Colonel T. J. Cram, of the topographical engineers, Secretary Chase, on Friday, crossed over in the steam revenue-cutter Miami, and sent a boat to sound the depth of water and examine the shore with a view to a landing for troops. While doing so, they perceived signs of a mounted picket guard on the shore above, and not deeming it safe to venture too far, they pulled back for the Miami. On their way, however, a woman was seen in a house on shore waving a white flag. The boat's crew at once returned, and were told by the woman that her husband had fled to the woods to avoid being forced into the rebel service by the mounted scouts who came every day to find him, and that on his last departure he had instructed her to wave a white flag on the approach of any boats from the Union side. She gave the party a good deal of valuable information concerning the roads, and the condition of the country between there and Norfolk. Secretary Chase and Colonel Cram went ashore and satisfied themselves that a landing was perfectly feasible. On returning to Fortress Monroe they found that President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, on examining the maps, had been led to make a similar exploration, and had come to a similar conclusion, though the points at which the two parties had struck the shore proved to have been a mile or two apart.

"The result of all this was that General Wool decided upon an immediate march upon Norfolk from that point, and orders were at once issued to carry it into effect. The steamer Adelaide, which was filled with freight and passengers for Baltimore, was stopped half an hour before her time of sailing, and with half a dozen others, was at once occupied by the infantry and artillery destined for the expedition. They began to embark at about four o'clock, on Friday afternoon, and by midnight several of them had started for the opposite shore. A vigorous bombardment was opened from the Rip Raps upon Sewell's point, and kept up for two hours, to induce the belief that this was the intended point of debarkation. The steamers crossed over, and at daylight preparations were made for landing. The shore is a smooth, sandy beach—the sand being very deep as you leave the water, and suddenly rising into long mounds ten or fifteen feet high, thrown up by the heavy winds blowing in upon the shore, and forming a complete breastwork around the fields which they invade. The water, shallow at the shore line, deepens very gradually, and only at some fifty feet out becomes deep enough for vessels drawing five or six feet of water. Three or four canal boats were towed over, and placed side by side lengthwise of the coast—an inclined platform was constructed to the land, and this served for a temporary wharf across which the troops, cannon, and other indispensables of the expedition were landed. The infantry regiments were landed first, and started at once upon their march. The negroes, who alone remained behind, said that a mounted picket had been there the day before, but had left, saying that the Union men were coming over in a day or two. The troops were landed and started forward in the following order: 20th New York, Colonel Max Weber; 16th Massachusetts, Colonel P. T. Wyman; 99th New York, Colonel Wardrop; 1st Delaware, Colonel J. W. Andrews; 58th Pennsylvania; 10th New York, Colonel Bendix; one hundred mounted riflemen; Follett's battery, light artillery, six pieces; Howard's battery, four pieces.

"One leading object of pushing forward the infantry rapidly was to secure, if possible, the bridge across Tanner's creek, by which the route to Norfolk would be shortened several miles. The route lay through pine woods, and over roads in only tolerable condition. At about one o'clock the leading regiment, under Max Weber, came to the bridge and found it burning, having just been set on fire by a body of men who had planted a couple of small guns on the opposite bank, which they opened upon our advance. General Mansfield, who had come over from Newport News, at General Wool's request, to join the expedition, thought this indicated an intention to resist the further progress of our troops, and that nothing could be done without artillery and a larger force. He accordingly started back to hurry up the batteries, and to provide for bringing over a portion of his command as a reinforcement. General Wool, however, meantime decided to push forward. The column marched back about two miles and a half to a point where a diverging road led around the head of Tanner's creek, and took that route to Norfolk. Nothing further was heard from the party that had fired upon our column, and it was evident that the demonstration was merely intended to protect them in the destruction of the bridge. They fired about a dozen shots, none of which took effect.

"Our troops pushed rapidly forward despite the heat of the day, and at five o'clock reached the intrenched camp, some two miles this side of Norfolk, which had been very strongly fortified with earthworks on which were mounted twenty-nine pieces of artillery. No troops were in the place, and our forces passed through it on their way to the town. Just before reaching it they were met by a flag of truce, to which an officer was at once sent forward to inquire its object. Receiving the information that it was to treat for the surrender of the city, the officer returned, and General Wool and staff, with Secretary Chase, advanced to meet the mayor of the city, who had come out under the flag. Both parties dismounted and entered a cottage by the roadside, when the mayor informed the general of the evacuation of the city, and of the object of his visit. It seems that a meeting was held at Norfolk some days since, not long, probably, after the evacuation of Yorktown was resolved upon, of the rebel secretary of war, General Huger, General Longstreet, and some others of the leading military authorities, at which it was determined not to attempt to hold the city against any demonstration of the national forces to effect its capture. This decision was followed by the withdrawal of the main body of the troops; and this (Saturday) morning, after it was understood that our troops had landed at Ocean View, and were advancing upon the city, General Huger addressed a letter to Mayor Lamb, in which he stated that "the troops which formerly defended this neighborhood having been removed elsewhere by order of the government, I have not the means to defend the city, and have ordered the forces off, and turn over the charge of the city to yourself and its civil officers."

Upon receiving this note, the mayor immediately convened the select and common councils of the city, and a committee was appointed to "coöperate with the mayor in conferring with the Federal military commander, and assuring him that no resistance can or will be made to the occupation of the city by the United States forces, but that the citizens expect and claim protection to persons and property during such occupation."

The committee, accordingly, were now present, with the mayor, surrendering the city and asking protection for the persons and property of the citizens. General Wool replied that his request was granted in advance—that the government of the United States had not the slightest wish or thought of interfering with the rights of any peacable citizen, and that all should have full protection against violence of every kind. The first thing he had done on setting out in the morning had been to issue an order, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, any interference whatever with the private property or rights of any citizen, and this prohibition should be enforced with the utmost rigor. He begged the mayor to rest assured that everything he had asked should be granted. A general conversation then took place between the officials on each side, in which their sentiments and opinions were freely interchanged. Special stress was laid by the city representatives on the fact that they had discountenanced, in every way possible, all the propositions that had been made for the destruction of private property, and the burning of the bridge across Tanner's creek was characterized as an utterly useless and unauthorized act. Captain Cornick said that if the government had ordered the city to be burned, he should of course have submitted ; but he had given public notice that if any member of any vigilance committee, or anybody else without full authority from the government, should attempt to set his house on fire, he would shoot him on the spot. The mayor concurred in these sentiments, and expressed the strongest determination to do everything in his power for the preservation of the public peace and of social order.

"The party then broke up to go to the city hall for the formal inauguration of the new military authorities. The mayor invited General Wool and Secretary Chase to ride with him in his carriage, and they proceeded together, followed by the general's body guard and the troops. After entering the city hall the commanding general issued the following—'General order No. 1. Headquarters Department of Virginia. Norfolk, May 10, 1862. The city of Norfolk having been surrendered to the government of the United States, military possession of the same is taken in behalf of the national government by Major-General John E. Wool. Brigadier-General Viele is appointed military governor for the time being. He will see that all citizens are carefully protected in all their rights and civil privileges, taking the utmost care to preserve order and to see that no soldier be permitted to enter the city except by his order, or by the written permission of the commanding officer of his brigade or regiment, and he will punish summarily any American soldier who shall trespass upon the rights of any of the inhabitants.' Immediately after issuing this order General Wool, with his staff and Secretary Chase, withdrew, and rode back in the carriage used only this morning by General Huger, across the country to Ocean View, the place of debarkation, which they reached at a little after eight o'clock. The only report of the surrender of the city which preceded them was brought by a negro, who arrived about twenty minutes in advance, and said that he left Norfolk at half-past five o'clock, and that he then saw a body of our horsemen and one regiment of infantry inside the works. He had walked all the way, and his report was speedily confirmed by the appearance of the general in person, who at once went on board the steamboat Pioneer, and returned to Fortress Monroe—stopping on the way to announce the result to the flag-officer of the fleet on board the Susquehanna."* It was eleven o'clock at night when General Wool returned to Fortress Monroe. At midnight Secretary Stanton, who was there to greet him, in a dispatch to Washington, recapitulating the events of the day, announced to the country, 'Norfolk is ours.'

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* Editorial Correspondence *New York Times*. Ocean View, opposite Fortress Monroe, May 10, 1862.

These were the incidents of Saturday. On Sunday a striking catastrophe crowned the busy drama of the week, which had commenced with the evacuation of Yorktown. About four o'clock in the morning a bright light was observed from Fortress Monroe in the direction of Craney island, which was supposed at first to be a signal of some description from the Merrimac. Precisely at half-past four o'clock, continues the report to the associated press, "an explosion took place which made the earth and water tremble for miles around. In the midst of the bright flame which shot up in the distance, the timbers and iron of the monster steamer could be seen flying through the air. No doubt was entertained that the veritable Merrimac had ceased to exist. Flag-Officer Goldsborough, on receiving this report, ordered two armed naval tugs, the Zouave and Dragon, to proceed toward Craney island on a reconnoissance, and ascertain the truth of the rumor. Immediately after they had turned the point, the Monitor and E. A. Stevens steamed up in the same direction, followed by the San Jacinto, Susquehanna, Mount Vernon, Seminole, and Dacotah. It was a most beautiful sight, and attracted throngs of spectators along the whole line of Old Point. Some were disposed to discredit the announcement that the Merrimac was destroyed, and as the vessels passed up to Craney island the excitement became intense. In the mean time, two tug-boats were seen coming on toward the fortress at full speed, each endeavoring to outvie the other, and when nearing the wharf, the radiant countenance of Captain Case, of the Minnesota, gave assurance that the news they brought was of a most gratifying character. The report was true; he had met parts of the floating wreck. All the earthworks at Craney island appeared to be abandoned, though the rebel flag was still flying. Lieutenant T. F. Eldridge from the Dragon, had landed with an armed crew and taken down the rebel flag. substituting the 'stars and stripes' amid the hearty cheers of the crew. Captain Case immediately reported the fact to the President and secretary of war, who received the confirmation of the picket boats with great satisfaction.

"At the request of the President, Captain Case immediately proceeded to Craney island to ascertain if the works were evacuated, in company with the fleet, which was then advancing. Your correspondent and Captain Phillips were courteously invited by Captain Case to accompany him on the expedition, which was soon under way, and overtook and passed all the vessels of war that had started in advance of us except the Monitor and Naugatuck, which were moving ahead on their way to Norfolk, having passed by Sewell's point and Craney island. As we neared Craney island we found this immense fortress apparently abandoned, though three rebel flags were floating from very tall staffs in different parts of the works. Captain Case, when within half a mile of the shore, ordered a shot to be fired to test the fact of evacuation. The only sign of life that the shell produced was the appearance on the shore of two negro men. A boat was immediately lowered, and through the courteous attention of the commandant, I accompanied it to the shore to participate in the honor of lowering the rebel emblems, and substituting the 'pride of America' in its place. Commander Case was the first loyal man that pressed his foot on the soil of this treasonable stronghold. Without thought of torpedoes or infernal machines, the gallant commandant rushed to the flagstaff and halliards, and they being in good order, the old flag was soon given to the breeze.

"The forts on the island are in four or five separate sections. They are constructed with the best engineering skill, and most admirable workmanship, and were left in excellent condition, as were also the extensive barracks, which had accommodated during the winter a garrison of over 2,000 men. Forty heavy guns were mounted in different parts of the works, on the main front of the island; the works commanding the approaches to the channel of the river. Nine of these casemates were finished, in each of which were 9 or 10-inch Dahlgrens, and the work of erecting five more casemates was in progress at the time of the evacuation, in one of which a gun was mounted. The fort at the head of the island was called the 'Citadel.' It was not casemated, but mounted five heavy guns. The whole number of guns mounted was thirty-nine, of which two were Parrotts, and a number rifled Dahlgrens. There were also about six guns in the works which had not been mounted. After spending an hour on the island we proceeded to Norfolk.

"Immediately at the upper end of the island we found a mass of blackened wreck floating on the water, some of it proceeding from the sunken portions of vessels. We had also passed large quantities of floating timber on our way up, all of which had been torn into splinters. From the men found on the island we ascertained that the Merrimac had lain during Saturday at a point nearly a mile below the position from which the fragments were observed. During the night, however, she had been brought back and run ashore. Her entire officers and crew were landed on the island, and a slow match applied to her magazine. She was torn to fragments by the time the crew were out of reach of her. Negroes state that the officers and crew passed through the adjoining country on the main land about eight o'clock in the morning to the number of 200. They said they were on their way to Suffolk.

"On the line of the river leading from Craney island to Norfolk there are not less than six heavy earthworks, mounting in all about sixty-nine cannon, all of which are still in position, except those near the naval hospital. These are said to have been taken to Richmond during the past week. On the opposite bank of the river is another battery, with two or three other small works. On all the works the rebel flag has been lowered by the fleet, and the stars and stripes substituted. The amount of powder found in the magazines is estimated at 5,000 pounds, and the fixed ammunition taken can only be enumerated by the cargo. After cruising about for some time among the fleet, we landed at the wharf, and took a stroll through the city of Norfolk. It being Sunday, of course, all business places were closed, and the city presented a most quiet aspect. The wharfs were crowded with blacks, male and female, and a goodly number of white working people, with their wives and children, were strolling about. Soldiers were stationed on the wharfs and picketed through the city, while the flag of the Union floated triumphantly from the cupola of the custom house. The houses through the city were generally closed, especially those of the wealthier classes. Some of the females scowled at the horrible Yankees, and some almost attempted to spit upon them. But there was a subdued quiet among the middle classes, their countenances implying a desire to wait and watch for further developments. The secessionists talked boldly of the Southern Confederacy, declaring their intention to receive nothing but Confederate money, and saying they would have nothing to do with Lincoln shinplasters. They were fully confident that in twenty days Norfolk would be repossessed, and the Yankees driven out. President Lincoln, who had accompanied Commodore Goldsborough and General Wool in the steamer Baltimore, on a visit of observation to Elizabeth river, did not disembark, but remained on board for about an hour in front of the city, and then steamed back to the fortress. Secretary Chase returned with him, while Secretary Stanton remained until a late hour in consultation with the military governors Generals Viele and Wool. True to the spirit of secession, the fire, which threw a broad, red glare across the heavens on Saturday night, proceeded from the destruction of the Portsmouth navy yard, which was done by order of the rebel commandant, scarcely anything being left but black tall walls and tall chimneys. Even the immense stone dry dock was mined and damaged, and it is said the engine and pump belonging to it were removed to Richmond."

The policy or necessity of the destruction of the Merrimac or Virginia was much discussed at Richmond, and the affair was made the subject of investigation by a special court of inquiry ordered by the navy department. The official report of Commodore Tatnall, who was in command of the vessel at the time of her destruction, set forth that in the first week of May he had received orders from Richmond to ascend and protect the navigation of the James river; but that on the remonstrances of General Huger, at Norfolk, who entertained fears of the safety of his defences in that quarter, he was required to endeavour to afford protection to Norfolk as well as the James river, which, of course, kept him in his position at Craney island. Commodore Hollins was then sent from Richmond to consult with the naval and military officers, about Norfolk, concerning the best disposition to be made of the Merrimac, and the 8th of May was appointed for the conference. On that day the Monitor and other vessels, as already related, attacked the Sewell's Point battery, and the Merrimac left her station to defend it. "We found," says Commodore Tatnall, "six of the enemy's vessels, including the iron clad steamers, Monitor and Naugatuck, shelling the battery. We passed the battery, and stood directly for the enemy, for the purpose of engaging him, and I thought an action certain, particularly as the Minnesota and Vanderbilt, which were anchored below Fortress Monroe, got under way and stood up to that point, apparently with the intention of joining their squadron in the Roads. Before, however, we got within gun shot, the enemy ceased firing, and retired with all speed, under the protection of the guns of the fortress, followed by the Virginia, until the shells from the Rip Raps passed over her." Commodore Goldsborough, as we learn from his report of this affair, had given orders to the Monitor, on the coming out of the Merrimac, to fall back into fair channel way, and only engage her seriously in such a position, that, together with the merchant vessels intended for the purpose, she would run her down. The Merrimac, he says, "did not engage the Monitor, nor did she place herself where she could have been assailed by our ram-vessels to any advantage, or where there was any prospect whatever of getting at her."*

The next day the conference was held, and it was determined that the Merrimac should remain to protect Norfolk, and afford time for the removal of the public property—the evacuation of the position being already decided upon. On the following day, the 10th, General Wool had landed, and was before Norfolk with his six thousand troops; there was a general flight from the land batteries, and the Confederate flag heretofore flying at Sewell's point was no longer to be seen from the deck of the Virginia. Commodore Tatnall dispatched a messenger to Craney island for information, who brought him back word that the Union troops were advancing, and that the Confederates were retreating. The messenger was then sent to Norfolk to confer with General Huger and Captain Lee, when he found that those officers had left by railroad, the navy yard in flames, and that the mayor was treating for the surrender of the city. Craney island, and all the other batteries on the river were by this time abandoned. It was now seven in the evening, and the fate of the Virginia must be promptly decided. The pilots gave the assurance that if the draft of the vessel were reduced to eighteen feet they could carry it to within forty miles of Richmond. All hands were then set to work to lighten the steamer, and in four or five hours she was so lifted as to be unfit for action; when the pilots declared their inability to carry her with eighteen feet above Jamestown flats, giving as a reason for this discrepancy in their statements, the fact that the westerly wind which had been prevailing for the last two days quite altered the circumstances. After easterly winds, eighteen feet could be carried, but not now. This was, in fact, the condemnation of the vessel. She had been rendered unfit for action with the expectation of getting up the river before the powerful Union fleet in the harbor could be made aware of his designs, and now she could not pass a point on the river up to which the Federals had command on both shores. There was but one course left, to set fire to the ship and escape by land, which was accordingly done. "It will be asked," says Commodore Tatnall, "what motives the pilots could have had to deceive us. The only imaginable one (he replies) is that they wished to avoid going into battle. Had the ship not have been lifted so as to render her unfit for action, a desperate contest must have ensued with a force against us too great to justify much hope of success, and, as battle is not their occupation, they adopted this deceitful course to avoid it. I cannot imagine another motive, for I had seen no reason to distrust their good faith to the Confederacy." The court of inquiry, dissatisfied with the destruction of the Virginia, was of opinion that it was unnecessary at the time and place it was effected, and that the vessel, with a moderate lightening of her draft, should have been taken up to Hog island, in James river, where she would have prevented the larger Union vessels and transports from ascending.*

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* Commodore Goldsborough, to his Excellency the President of the United States. Flag Ship Minnesota, Hampton Roads, May 9, 1862.

The James river being now open by the abandonment of the land batteries at its entrance, the destruction of the Virginia and the disappearance of the remainder of the rebel vessels which escaped towards Richmond, a portion of the Union fleet presently set out to reconnoitre the river in its whole course to the capital. A squadron composed of the three powerful iron clads, the Monitor, Galena and Naugatuck, with the steam gunboats Aroostook and Port Royal, cautiously pushed its way up the river on the look out for obstructions; but meeting with no other obstacles than the occasional shoal navigation, till it arrived on the 14th of May within about ten miles of Richmond. It was then ascertained that two miles ahead the enemy was prepared to resist the further progress of the vessels. Heavy obstructions of spiles and sunken vessels were placed across the stream, a number of rebel steamboats, including the Jamestown and Yorktown, were at hand, while a powerful battery was erected on the heights of the adjoining Ward's Bluff, on the left bank of the river. A council formed of the officers of the five vessels was at once held on the flag-ship, the Galena, and an attack was resolved upon. Accordingly, the next morning, the 15th, the vessels were brought up for action. The result is briefly told by the flag officer of the expedition, Captain John Rodgers. "The Galena," says he, "ran within about six hundred yards of the battery, as near the spiles as it was deemed proper to go, let go her anchor, and with a spring sprung across the stream, not more than twice as wide as the ship is long, and then at forty-five minutes past seven o'clock A. M. opened fire upon the battery. The wooden vessels, as directed, anchored about thirteen hundred yards below. The Monitor anchored near, and at nine o'clock she passed just above the Galena, but found her guns could not be elevated enough to reach the battery. She then dropped a little below us, and made her shots effective. At five minutes after eleven o'clock the Galena had expended nearly all her ammunition, and I made signal to discontinue the action. We had but six Parrott charges, and not a single filled nine-inch shell. We had thirteen killed and eleven wounded. The rifled 100-pounder of the Naugatuck burst; half of the part abaft the trunnions going overboard. She is therefore disabled. Lieutenant Newman, the executive officer, was conspicuous for his gallant and effective services. Mr. Washburne, acting master, behaved admirably. These are selected from among the number. The Aroostook, Naugatuck and Port Royal took the stations previously assigned them, and did everything that was possible. The Monitor could not have done better. The barrier is such that the vessels of the enemy even, if they have any, cannot possibly pass out, and ours cannot pass in."

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* Proceedings, Court of Inquiry, Richmond, June 11, 1862.

The Galena, an ingeniously constructed vessel for light draft, good sailing qualities, and power of resistance, it is stated, was hit forty-six times; twenty-eight shot entered her armor and completely pentrated it; five passed through her smoke-stack, and three passed through deck-plating. One or two shot passed entirely through her.* Lieutenant Jeffers, in command of the Monitor, says "the fire of the enemy was remarkably well directed, but vainly, towards this vessel. She was struck three times—one solid 8-inch shot square on the turret, and two solid shot on the side armor forward of the pilot-house. Neither caused any damage beyond bending the plates. I am happy to report no casualties." The letter from Lieutenant Constable, already cited, gives an interesting account of the part borne by his vessel, the Naugatuck, sometimes called the Stevens, from the name of its inventor, the builder of the large steam battery at New York, by whom the Naugatuck was presented to the government. "We opened fire," says he, "upon the battery with our heavy guns, and threw shell and canister from our broadside once into the woods. Our station was abreast of their rifle-pits, and was only about forty feet from the shore, so that their sharpshooters had a fair chance at us. During the fight, and while our heavy gun was performing splendidly, it burst; but fortunately disabled but one man. It burst from the vent to the trunnions in two halves, throwing one half overboard on the port side, while the other half was landed on deck on the starboard side. The muzzle, forward of the trunnions, remained entire, and was thrown forward about two feet. The gun-carriage was destroyed, the pilot-house shattered, part of the upper deck crushed in, and some of the main deck beams started. How I escaped, God only knows. I was within two feet of the gun when it burst, having just sighted and trained it upon the battery. My speaking trumpet is completely crushed, and a fragment of the gun weighing about one thousand five hundred weight, fell so closely to me that it tore my coat. I was hit on the head by some part of the gun or carriage (I think it was one of the large rubbers), which stunned me for a moment, although I was able to keep the deck and superintend the fighting of our broadside guns (which were well handled under charge of Wilson), until the squadron fell back for want of ammunition, about an hour and a half after our gun bursted. After heaving up our anchor I fainted away; but after being cupped behind the ears by the surgeon of the Aroostook, who came on board to look out for our wounded, I was able to resume the charge of the deck.

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* Letter from Lieutenant D. C. Constable, commanding the Naugatuck, to Captain John Faunce. Gunboat Stevens, Hampton Roads, May 19, 1862. *New York Evening Post*, May 23, 1862.

"Our little broadside guns did splendid execution, driving the enemy out of their rifle-pits, and clearing the shore of every enemy within canister range. By keeping the crew under the protection of our 'iron-clad' cabin, and only exposing them for a moment while loading, our loss by their fire was only two wounded." This spirited, but unsuccessful attack upon Fort Darling, as the rebel work on the heights was called, was the chief incident of the naval operations at this period on James river. The Union gunboats continued to hold possession of the extended line of navigation below, but the advantage gained was for the present of less importance, while the York river, on the other side of the peninsula, was made the exclusive channel of communication with the advancing army of the Potomac.

CHAPTER LXVI.

GENERAL MITCHEL'S CAMPAIGN IN TENNESSEE. EVACUATION OF CORINTH, APRIL—JUNE. 1863.

Corinth, to which the Confederate army precipitately retired after the battles at Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing, was an inconsiderable village in northern Mississippi, near the southern boundary of Tennessee, and distant about twenty miles from the scene of the late conflict, and the base of the Union operations on the Tennessee river. It derived its importance at the present moment, from its strategic value, being at the junction of the Mobile and Ohio, and Memphis and Charleston railroads. With these lines in their possession, the control of Western Tennessee was secured to the enemy, and Nashville might at any time be threatened by a superior force. To interrupt this communication, and cut off supplies and reinforcements from the rebel camps at Memphis and Corinth was an indispensable preliminary to the capture of these two places; and without their capture nothing further could be accomplished on the Mississippi, or in progress by land towards the Gulf. To cut off the enemy's railway communications, and conquer their army at Corinth, was the work which General Halleck found before him, on his arrival at the Union camp on the Tennessee, a few days after the battle at Pittsburg Landing.

In these operations he was greatly assisted by the military achievements, in the central portion of the State, of General Mitchel, who, on the departure of General Buel from Nashville, proceeded with his division, of about ten thousand men, by the direct southerly line of the Nashville and Stevenson railroad toward the main stations of the Memphis and Charleston railroad in Northern Alabama. The vulnerable points of the road in this direction were at Stevenson or Bridgeport on the east, and Decatur on the west, at each of which places the line crossed the Tennesee river in its winding course. With the destruction of the two bridges, the communication of the enemy with the eastward would be effectually interrupted. To accomplish this, General Mitchel set out from Nashville. Everywhere on his march he found the enemy had destroyed the railway and turnpike bridges. As it was necessary that he should keep open a ready means of communication for his supplies, his force was employed, as he proceeded, in reconstructing the bridges. On the 9th of April, having rebuilt 1,200 feet of heavy bridging in ten days, his command thus reached Shelbyville by railway, fifty-seven miles from Nashville, and about the same distance from Huntsville. Having thus secured a base of supplies, General Mitchel lost no time in pushing his force forward. By an extraordinary march of two days, the advance were, on the evening of the 10th of April, within ten miles of Huntsville. A correspondent has given a vivid description of the preparations of that night, and of the energy displayed by General Mitchel in carrying out his plans. "The night of the 10th," says he, "was one of the deepest solicitude. Our commanding general visited every bivouac in person, and told the soldiers that the morning's work was to be of the greatest importance. Orders were issued that they should be roused quietly without sound of drum or trumpet, and that the line of march was to be formed in perfect silence. During the night time many negroes, arrested by our pickets and videttes, were brought in. At twelve o'clock we learned from a negro that 5,000 of the enemy's troops had reached Huntsville during the preceding afternoon, and his master asserted that they knew of our approach, and were ready to receive us. The plans were all formed during the night. Three detachments of cavalry were organized with specific instructions. The first, as the force approached Huntsville in the morning, was ordered to break to the right, cut the telegraph wires, and tear up the railway track; the second was to perform a similar duty on the left, while to the third was assigned the duty of seizing the telegraph with all the dispatches, should we be so fortunate as to enter the city. At two o'clock in the morning the troops were all aroused, and as they marched past the commanding general he addressed to each regiment a few words of caution. By three the whole column was in motion, advancing in profound silence through the darkness, like an army of specters. Nothing could be heard except the occasional rumble of the artillery over a bridge or some stony part of the road. The cavalry scouts away in the advance ran down, seized, and sent back every person who was astir. The entire division passed through a small village seven miles from Huntsville, without disturbing the slumbers of a single inhabitant. On reaching a point four miles from the city we learned that no considerable force of the enemy was in town. The whistle of locomotives began to be heard in several directions. The cavalry were ordered forward to the front of the column, supported by two pieces of artillery; and now the work became exciting beyond the power of words to describe. The detachment of cavalry ordered to the right broke away at full speed. That ordered to the left, in like manner, was soon seen flying through the fields. Locomotives, like some mighty living game of the forest, startled by the hunter, were now heard sounding their whistles in every direction. The cavalry dashed forward, followed at a rapid pace by the artillery. In a few moments the first gun was fired, whose heavy boom was followed by the rattle of infantry, and immediately three out of four of the locomotives on the track were brought to and captured. The whole column now dashed into the city. Everything was promptly seized, and we found, to our inexpressible gratification, some fifteen or twenty engines, with rolling stock in proportion."*

This important achievement, so brilliantly conducted, was thus telegraphed to the War Department, by General Mitchel, on the 11th: "After a forced march of incredible difficulty, leaving Fayetteville yesterday at twelve o'clock M., my advanced guard, consisting of Turchin's brigade, Kennett's Ohio cavalry, and Simonson's Ohio battery, entered Huntsville this morning, at six o'clock. The city was completely taken by surprise, no one having considered the march practicable in the time. We have captured about two hundred prisoners, fifteen locomotives, a large amount of passenger and box platform cars, the telegraph apparatus and office, and two Southern mails. We have at last succeeded in cutting the great artery of railway communication between the Southern States." Among the spoils of this victory was a dispatch, dated Corinth, April 9, from General Beauregard, intercepted on its way to Adjutant General Cooper, at Richmond. It was written in cypher, but was readily decyphered by the scientific commander, General Mitchel. It announced the approach of the Union army, with an overwhelming force of not less than 85,000 men, to which only 35,000 effective troops could be opposed. Van Dorn was looked for with 1,500 more. Reinforcements were asked. "If defeated here," it concluded, "we lose the Mississippi valley, and probably our cause; whereas we could even afford to lose for a while Charleston and Savannah, for the purpose of defeating Buell's army, which would not only insure us the valley of the Mississippi, but our independence."

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* Correspondence *New York Tribune*, Huntsville, Ala., April 18, 1862.

The advantage gained at Huntsville was promptly followed up on the line of the railway to the east and west. Stevenson and Decatur were both entered the next day; the former by General Mitchel; the latter by Colonel Turchin. General Mitchel, destroying a bridge over a creek, spared for the present the more important structure, a few miles beyond, at Bridgeport, while Colonel Turchin arrived in time to save the bridge at Decatur, which had been set fire to by the enemy. General Mitchel had thus, by his effective strategy, pierced the Confederate line in the middle, and gained possession of the junction of two railways running from Nashville. From Decatur the Union troops advanced by the road, and occupied Tuscumbia. "In three days," said General Mitchel to his troops, in an address, on the 16th of April, "you have extended your front of operations more than 120 miles, and your morning gun at Tuscumbia may now be heard by your comrades on the battle-field recently made glorious by their victory before Corinth." In a dispatch to a friend in New York, he wrote, "We have penetrated a magnificent cotton region, have taken, and now hold and run more than 100 miles of railway, well stocked with machinery, and in fine condition. I have abandoned the idea of ever coming nearer to an enemy than long cannon range. This is the third State through which I have hunted him without success."

General Turchin held Tuscumbia with a detachment of Illinois and Ohio troops till the 24th of May, when he retired, with some skirmishing along the route, to Jonesboro', a station on the railway, near Decatur, before a superior body of the enemy, advancing from the direction of Corinth. It was the expectation of the enemy to capture a large quantity of supplies which had been sent by General Halleck to General Turchin, by way of Florence, a few miles distant on the Savannah, but they were carried off in safety. Being still threatened by the enemy in force, General Turchin was compelled to destroy a portion of his provisions, and retire across the Tennessee river at Decatur, burning the bridge at this point, a costly structure, 2,200 feet in length. Colonel Lytle's brigade had the post of honor in the retreat.

Decatur was evacuated on the 27th, the troops hastening toward Bridgeport, at the eastern extremity of that portion of the railway held by the Union troops, where the enemy were now making a stand at the bridge. An expedition was sent thither by General Mitchel. Advancing to the creek beyond Stevenson, where, as we have stated, one of the minor bridges of the railway had been destroyed, the advance brigade of Colonel Sill crossed the stream by means of cotton bales skillfully fastened together by rails running underneath the ropes, and laid on parallel lines nine or ten feet apart. Across these, boards were placed, providing a secure footing for troops and artillery. The brigade of Colonel Lytle presently joined the advance, and on the 29th General Mitchel, hearing that the enemy had cut the telegraph wires, and attacked, during the night, one of the brigades, left Huntsville to take the field in person. "I started," says he in a brief report after the engagement, to the Secretary of War, " by a train of cars in the morning, followed by two additional regiments of infantry and two companies of cavalry. I found that our pickets had engaged the enemy's pickets four miles from Bridgeport, and after a sharp engagement, in which we lost one man killed, drove them across a stream whose railway bridge I had burned. With four regiments of infantry, two pieces of artillery, dragged by hand, and two companies of cavalry, we advanced to the burnt bridge and opened our fire upon the enemy's pickets on the other side, thus producing the impression that our advance would be by the railway. This accomplished, the entire force was thrown across the country about a mile, and put on the road leading from Stevenson to Bridgeport. The middle column now advanced at a very rapid pace. Our scouts attacked those of the enemy and forced them from the Bridgeport road. We thus succeeded in making a complete surprise, immediately forming our line of battle on the crest of a wooded hill within five hundred yards of the works constructed to defend the bridge. At our first fire the rebels broke and ran. They attempted to blow up the main bridge but failed. They then attempted to fire the further extremity, but the volunteers, at my call, pushed forward in the face of their fire, and saved the bridge. From the island to the main shore we could not save it. It is of small moment, its length being but about 450 feet. Prisoners taken report five regiments of infantry and 1,800 cavalry stationed at the bridge. This campaign is ended, and I now occupy Huntsville in perfect security; while in all of Alabama north of the Tennessee river floats no flag but that of the Union." The day following this engagement General Mitchel's troops crossed from the island to the main land, and captured two six-pounder cannon and their ammunition. A detachment was then sent out on the road to Chattanooga, and returned after having captured various stores, and a mail, and having destroyed a saltpetre manufactory in a cave. Another expedition penetrated to Jasper, " where," says General Mitchel, " the troops found a strong Union feeling. On the same day a skirmish occurred with the enemy's cavalry at Athens. Our outposts were driven back, but, on being reinforced, the enemy retreated in the direction of Florence. There are straggling bands of mounted men, partly citizens, along my entire line, threatening the bridges, one of which they succeeded in destroying."*

Colonel Turchin, whose services are so often recorded in the dispatches of General Mitchel, was a native of Russia who had received a military education, and served in an important position in the army of his native land. He came to the United States in 1856, and was employed in Illinois in the engineer department of the Central railroad. At the breaking out of the rebellion he became Colonel of the 19th regiment of that State, and previous to the present campaign had served in Missouri and Kentucky. His name became widely known from the odium in which he was held by the Confederates, in consequence of the conduct of a portion of his command on abandoning Athens in Alabama. Under violent provocation, as it was alleged, the citizens joining the enemy in pursuit of the retiring Union troops, the latter re-entered the town, and sacked and pillaged a number of houses, committing various assaults upon the townspeople. Colonel Turchin was put on trial before a court-martial for the affair, but no evidence was produced to show that he had ordered or countenanced any unlawful proceedings. In fact, while the investigation was going on, so little was it thought of at Washington that he was promoted to be brigadier-general of volunteers.* The next military movement of General Mitchel's division was an expedition under Brigadier-General Commanding J. S. Negley, from Pulaski on the Nashville and Decatur railway, supported by a force under Colonel Lytle, from Athens, against a considerable rebel force at Rogersville, east of Florence, on the northerly side of the Tennessee river. General Mitchel accompanied Colonel Lytle, expecting an obstinate defence at the passage of the Elk; but "the enemy, as usual," says he, "fled at our approach." After some excellent artillery practice, General Negley entered Rogersville, driving the enemy across the Tennessee, and destroying a portion of the ferry boats.*

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* General Mitchel to Secretary Stanton. Huntsville, May 4, 1862.

While General Mitchel was thus cutting off the enemy at Corinth from their eastern communication, General Halleck was disposing his forces for a sure advance from the vicinity of the late battle ground on the Tennessee. He found the troops, on his arrival, suffering from sickness and exposure, and the effects of the late series of conflicts. It was necessary that the army should be reorganized and strengthened by reinforcements. He called General Pope, with his entire command, from New Madrid and its vicinity, where they had just achieved a victory, and summoned the available forces from Missouri and elsewhere, in his wide department. General Pope arrived at Hamburg on the Tennessee river, a few miles above Pittsburg Landing, on the 24th of April, and occupied with his division the left of the Union army, of which Buell held the centre, and General Grant's forces the right. Among the division and brigade officers in command were General T. L. Crittenden, General Thomas, of Mill Spring celebrity, General Lewis Wallace, General J. A. Logan, of Illinois, General McClernand, General W. T. Sherman, General Hurlbut, General McKean, General J. C. Davis, lately in command at Pea Ridge, and General T. W. Sherman, who had been recently superseded at Port Royal by General Hunter. The entire army, occupying a semicircular line of six miles from Owl creek to Chamber's creek, numbered over a hundred thousand men, and the force of the enemy was thought at least to equal it in number. A general movement toward Corinth was commenced on the 29th April, when General Sherman advanced to Monterey on Pea Ridge, over the main road taken by the Confederates in their retreat. The next day General Morgan L. Smith, with three battalions of cavalry and a brigade of infantry, was sent on an expedition to cut off the enemy's northern communication by the Mobile and Ohio railroad. The rebels were found in considerable force in a piece of timber near Purdy, and while they were engaged by one portion of the attacking party, another under Colonel Dickey proceeded to destroy an important bridge of the railway. While the fire was consuming the timbers a train was heard approaching from the direction of Corinth. "Putting his men in ambush, Colonel Dickey soon captured a locomotive, with a conductor, engineer, and four other persons, prisoners. He found an engineer among the cavalry, who ran the locomotive about half a mile back from the bridge, fired the engine up to its utmost steam capacity, and started it for the bridge. At a fearful speed the unfortunate engine plunged into the ravine, where her disjected members are piled in hopeless destruction. From the prisoners it was ascertained that three trains heavily loaded with troops were expected hourly, and the engine had been sent to help them through. These troops had been sent from Memphis, by Humboldt and Jackson, the direct road being entirely occupied with transportation to Corinth. The destruction of the bridge deprived them of this road, and was an important step in the movements which are gradually but surely hemming in Beauregard's army."*

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* Huntsville, Ala., correspondence of the *Cincinnati Gazette*. *New York Evening Post*, July 31, 1862.

* General Mitchel to Secretary Stanton. Huntsville, Ala., May 15, 1862.

These preparatory movements were not unnoticed at Corinth, where they called forth an address to his army from General Beauregard, dated May 2d, in which, it will be observed, he confidently relies on the numbers at his command, which had been greatly augmented by the withdrawal of the forces of Generals Price and Van Dorn from Arkansas, and the concentration of all available troops frem the south-west: "Soldiers of Shiloh and Elkhorn: We are about to meet once more, in the shock of battle, the invaders of our soil, the despoilers of our homes, the disturbers of our family ties, face to face, hand to hand. We are to decide whether we are to be freemen or vile slaves of those who are free only in name, and who but yesterday were vanquished, although in largely superior numbers, in their own encampments, on the ever memorable field of Shiloh. Let the impending battle decide our fate, and add a more illustrious page to the history of our revolution—one to which our children will point with noble pride, saying 'Our fathers were at the battle of Corinth.' I congratulate you on your timely junction. With your mingled banners for the first time during this war, we shall meet our foe in strength that should give us victory. Soldiers, can the result be doubtful? Shall we not drive back into Tennessee the presumptuous mercenaries collected for our subjugation? One more manly effort, and, trusting in God and the justness of our cause, we shall recover more than we have lately lost. Let the sound of our victorious guns be re-echoed by those of the army of Virginia on the historic battle-field of Yorktown."

Good resolute words were not, indeed, often neglected in the Confederate army, where appeals of this kind, perhaps from the more susceptible nature of the combatants, seem to have been much relied on. General Bragg, accordingly, seconded the bulletin of his chief by an additional appeal to the corps which he commanded: "Soldiers: you are again about to encounter the mercenary invader who pollutes the sacred soil of our beloved country. Severely punished by you, and driven from his chosen positions, with a loss of his artillery and his honor, at Shiloh, when double your numbers, he now approaches cautiously and timidly, unwilling to advance, unable to retreat. Could his rank and file enjoy a freeman's right, not one would remain within our limits, but they are goaded on under a tyrant's lash by desperate leaders, whose only safety lies in success. Such a foe ought never to conquer freemen battling upon their own soil. You will encounter him in your chosen position, strong by nature, and improved by art, away from his main support and reliance—gunboats and heavy batteries—and, for the first time in this war, with nearly equal numbers. The slight reverses we have met on the seaboard have worked us good as well as evil; the brave troops so long retained there have hastened to swell our numbers, while the gallant Van Dorn and invincible Price, with the ever successful "army of the West," are now in your midst with numbers almost equaling the "army of Shiloh." We have, then, but to strike and destroy; and, as the enemy's whole resources are concentrated here, we shall not only redeem Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri at one blow, but open the portals of the whole north-west."

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* Correspondence *New York Herald*. Camp near Monterey, May 1, 1862.

The real solicitude of the Confederates, anxious for the maintenance of their military possessions after the recent successes of the army and navy on the Mississippi, was shown in another order, a brief address of General Beauregard to the Southern planters, which was published in the Memphis papers on the 27th of April: "The casualties of war have opened the Mississippi to our enemies. The time has therefore come to test the earnestness of all classes, and I call on all patriotic planters owning cotton in the possible reach of our enemies to apply the torch to it without delay or hesitation."

If proclamations could have won the day Corinth would have been secure. General Halleck relied on more demonstrative arguments, as he advanced his force steadily toward the beleaguered city. Newly organizing the forces in the field, the command of the army corps on the right was given to Major-General Thomas; General Buell continued to hold the centre, General Pope the left, while the reserve was assigned to General McClernand. General Grant was second in command under General Halleck. From the nature of the ground and the disadvantage of the weather, the army necessarily made slow progress. The roads over the uneven, wooded country to the vicinity of Corinth, broken up, and, as far as possible, obstructed by the enemy, were rendered still more difficult of passage by the continuous rains of the season; while the enemy were immediately protected by the deep marshes surrounding their position. General Halleck, conscious of the interests at stake, moved cautiously and deliberately. His plan was to approach the works on the front by regular siege, securing as he advanced all available points, and send out movable forces to cut the railways on the enemy's flank and rear. On the 3d of May, General Pope having advanced his forces on the left some ten miles by extraordinary exertions, ordered a reconnoissance toward Farmington, a commanding position four miles to the east of Corinth, on the edge of the swamp. "The enemy was found," he says in his dispatch the same day to the Secretary of War, "4,500 strong, with four pieces of artillery and some cavalry, occupying a strong position near the town. Our forces advanced at once to the assault, and after a sharp skirmish carried the position in fine style. The enemy left thirty dead on the field, with their tents and baggage, our cavalry pursuing them. The whole affair was very handsome, our regiments charging the battery and their line of infantry at the double-quick. The enemy fled in wild confusion. Some regiments of cavalry sent through to Booneville took possession of the town, tore up the railroad track and destroyed two bridges. We have a good many prisoners, but cannot tell how many yet. Our loss is two killed and twelve wounded." The Union troops in this engagement, mainly composed of Illinois and Michigan regiments, were commanded by General E. A. Paine, a West Point officer from Ohio, who had recently been engaged in the operations of Island No. 10. The advantage of the day was maintained in the occupation of Farmington, General Pope stationing the brigade of General Palmer, an Illinois officer of volunteers, as an advanced guard at that place. On the 9th the enemy came out in superior force, and compelled the brigade to retire after a warm contest. A few days after, Farmington was reoccupied by the Union troops preparatory to the advance to that point, on the 17th, of General Pope's entire command.

It was about this time, on the 13th of

May, that an order was issued by General Halleck—in consequence, it was said, of information of his movements reaching the enemy through civilians in the camp—which enjoined commanders of army corps and divisions "to see that their camps are cleared of all unauthorized hangers on," under penalty to those attempting to evade the regulation, of working on the entrenchments and batteries, or in the construction of roads. This stringent decree was understood to include the newspaper reporters or correspondents who abounded in the camp, and who were consequently compelled to retire; not, however, without a protest signed by the leading representatives of the press of the eastern and western States, who thought it hard that their vocation should be thus summarily interrupted on the eve of an engagement which they had come to describe. General Halleck, however, was inexorable; he had suffered from spies, and would have no civilians in the camp. The following journalists signed a statement of the affair which was published: Thomas W. Knox, F. G. Chapman, P. Tallman, of the *New York Herald;* A. R. Richardson, *New York Tribune;* F. B. Wilkie, *New York Times;* G. C. Coffin, *Boston Journal;* A. Ware, *Philadelphia Press;* J. W. Reid and C. F. Gilbert, of the *Cincinnati Gazette;* J. B. McCullogh, of the *Cincinnati Commercial;* G. W. Beamen and T. A. Post, *Missouri Democrat;* W. E. Webb, *Missouri Republican;* and R. J. Hinton, *Chicago Tribune.*

On the 20th General Halleck commenced regular siege operations by a series of entrenchments investing Corinth on the north and east, at about four miles distance, an interval which was gradually narrowed by second and third parallels, till the Union force, on the 27th, well protected, and with batteries of heavy guns, were within 1,300 yards of the rebel works. The next day a general reconnoisance was made of the enemy's position. "Three strong columns," telegraphed General Halleck that day to the war department, "advanced on the right, centre, and left, to feel the enemy and unmask his batteries. The enemy hotly contested his ground at each point, but was driven back with considerable loss. The column on the left encountered the strongest opposition. Our loss is twenty-five killed and wounded. The enemy left thirty dead on the field. Our losses at other points are not yet ascertained. Some five or six officers and a number of privates were captured. The fighting will probably be renewed to-morrow at daybreak. The whole country is so thickly wooded that we are compelled to feel our way." The fight was renewed on the morrow by General Pope, in the forenoon opening his heavy batteries, and driving the enemy from their advanced batteries. General Sherman also established another battery in the afternoon within one thousand yards of the rebel works. "I had then," says the latter, in his official report of these operations, "my whole division in a slightly curved line, facing south; my right resting on the Mobile and Ohio railroad, near a deep cut known as Bowie Hill cut, and left resting on the main Corinth road, at the crest of the ridge, there connecting with General Hurlbut, who, in turn, on his left, connected with General Davies, and so on down the whole line to its extremity. So near was the enemy that we could hear the sound of his drums, and sometimes of voices in command, and the railroad cars arriving and departing at Corinth were easily distinguished. For some days and nights, cars had been arriving and departing very frequently, especially in the night; but last night (29th), more so than usual, and my suspicions were aroused. Before daybreak, I instructed the brigade commanders, and the field officer of the day, to feel forward as far as possible, but all reported the enemy's pickets still in force in the dense woods to our front. But about six A. M., a curious explosion, sounding like a volley of large siege pieces, followed by others singly, and in twos and threes, arrested our attention, and soon after a large smoke arose from the direction of Corinth, when I telegraphed to General Halleck to ascertain the cause. He answered that he could not explain it, but ordered me 'to advance my division and feel the enemy if still in my front.' I immediately put in motion two regiments of each brigade by different roads, and soon after followed with the whole division, infantry, artillery and cavalry. Somewhat to our surprise, the enemy's chief redoubt was found within thirteen hundred yards of our line of entrenchments, but completely masked by the dense forest and undergrowth. Instead of having, as we supposed, a continuous line of entrenchments encircling Corinth, his defences consisted of separate redoubts, connected in part by a parapet and ditch, and in part by shallow rifle-pits; the trees being felled so as to give a good field of fire to and beyond the main road.

"General M. L. Smith's brigade moved rapidly down the main road, entering the first redoubt of the enemy at seven A. M. It was completely evacuated, and he pushed on into Corinth, and beyond to College Hill, there awaiting my orders and arrival. General Denver entered the enemy's lines at the same time, seven A. M., at a point midway between the wagon and railroads, and proceeded on to Corinth, about three miles from our camp; and Colonel McDowell kept further to the right, near the Mobile and Ohio railroad. By eight A. M. all my division was at Corinth and beyond. On the whole ridge extending from my camp into Corinth, and to the right and left, could be seen the remains of the abandoned camps of the enemy; flour and provisions scattered about, and everything indicating a speedy and confused retreat. In the town itself many houses were still burning, and the ruins of warehouses and buildings containing commissary and other Confederate stores were still smouldering; but there still remained piles of cannon balls, shells and shot, sugar, molasses, beans, rice and other property which the enemy had failed to carry off or destroy. Major Fisher, of the Ohio 54th, was left in Corinth with a provost guard, to prevent pillage, and protect the public stores still left. From the best information picked up from the few citizens who remained in Corinth, it appeared that the enemy had for some days been removing their sick and valuable stores, and had sent away on railroad cars a part of their effective force on the night of the 28th. But, of course, even the vast amount of their rolling stock could not carry away an army of 100,000 men. The enemy was, therefore, compelled to march away, and began the march by ten o'clock on the night of the 29th—the columns filling all the roads leading south and west all night; the rear guard firing the train which led to the explosion and conflagration, which gave us the first real notice that Corinth was to be evacuated. The enemy did not relieve his pickets that morning, and many of them have been captured, who did not have the slightest intimation of their purpose.

"Finding Corinth abandoned by the enemy, I ordered General M. L. Smith to pursue on the Ripley road, by which, it appeared, they had taken the bulk of their artillery. Captain Hammond, my chief of staff, had been and continued with General Smith's brigade, and pushed the pursuit up to the bridges and narrow causeway by which the bottom of Tuscumbia creek is passed. The enemy opened with canister on the small party of cavalry, and burnt every bridge, leaving the woods full of straggling soldiers. Many of these were gathered up and sent to the rear, but the main army had escaped across Tuscumbia creek, and farther pursuit by a small party would have been absurd, and I kept my division at College Hill until I received General Thomas's orders to return and resume our camps of the night before; which we did, slowly and quietly, in the cool of the evening. The evacuation of Corinth at the time and in the manner in which it was done was a clear back down from the high and arrogant tone heretofore assumed by the rebels. The ground was of their own choice. The fortifications, though poor and indifferent, were all they supposed necessary to our defeat, as they had had two months to make them, with an immense force to work at their disposal. If, with two such railroads as they possessed, they could not supply their army with reinforcements and provisions, how can they attempt it in this poor, arid and exhausted part of the country?" General Halleck, announcing the retreat of the enemy to the war department the day of the flight, reported his position and works in front of Corinth "exceedingly strong. He cannot occupy a stronger position in his flight. This morning he destroyed an immense amount of public and private property, stores, provisions, wagons, tents, etc. For miles out of the town the roads are filled with arms, haversacks, etc., thrown away by his fleeing troops; a large number of prisoners and deserters have been captured, estimated by General Pope at two thousand. General Beauregard evidently distrusts his army or he would have defended so strong a position. His troops are generally much discouraged and demoralized. In all the engagements for the last few days their resistance has been slight."

The same day with the rebel evacuation of Corinth, an expedition of the 2d Iowa Cavalry, under Colonel Elliott, which had been sent out by General Pope, "after forced marches, day and night, through a very difficult country, and obstructed by the enemy, finally succeeded in reaching the Mobile and Ohio Railroad at Boonesville at two o'clock A. M. on the 30th. He destroyed the track in many places, both south and north of the town, blew up one culvert, destroyed the switch and track, burned up the depot and locomotives, and a train of twenty-six cars, loaded with supplies of every kind, destroyed ten thousand stand of small arms, three pieces of artillery, and a great quantity of clothing and ammunition, and paroled two thousand prisoners, whom he could not keep with his cavalry. The enemy had heard of his movements, and had a train of box cars, and flat cars, with flying artillery and five thousand infantry, running up and down the road to prevent him from reaching it. The whole road was lined with pickets for several days. Colonel Elliott's command subsisted upon meat alone, such as they could find in the country."*

On the 30th, General Sherman issued a congratulatory order to his troops, thanking them "for the courage, steadiness, and great industry they had displayed during the past month." Reviewing the recent events, he said: "But a few days ago a large and powerful rebel army lay at Corinth, with outposts extending to our very camp at Shiloh. They held two railroads extending north and south, east and west, across the whole extent of their country with a vast number of locomotives and cars to bring to them speedily and certainly their reinforcements and supplies. They called to their aid all their armies from every quarter, abandoning the sea-coast and the great river Mississippi, that they might overwhelm us with numbers in the place of their own choosing. They had their chosen leaders, men of high reputation and courage, and they dared us to leave the cover of our iron-clad gunboats to come to fight them in their trenches, and still more dangerous swamps and ambuscades of their Southern forests. Their whole country from Richmond to Memphis and Nashville to Mobile rung with their taunts and boastings, as to how they would immolate the Yankees if they dared to leave the Tennessee river. They boldly and defiantly challenged us to meet them at Corinth. We accepted the challenge and came slowly and without attempt at concealment to the very ground of their selection; and they have fled away. We yesterday marched unopposed through the burning embers of their destroyed camps and property, and pursued them to their swamps, until burning bridges plainly confessed they had fled and not marched away for better ground. It is a victory as brilliant and important as any recorded in history, and every officer and soldier who lent his aid has just reason to be proud of his part."

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* General Pope, to Secretary Stanton, Camp, near Corinth, Miss., June 1, 1862.

The enemy were pursued in their retreat southerly, along the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, as far and as rapidly as the nature of the country and the roads and bridges, broken up by the fugitives, would allow. On the 4th of June General Halleck informed the Secretary of War: "General Pope, with 40,000 men, is thirty miles south of Corinth, pushing the enemy hard. He already reports 10,000 prisoners and deserters from the enemy, and 15,000 stand of arms captured. Thousands of the enemy are throwing away their arms. A farmer says that when Beauregard learned that Colonel Elliott had cut the railroad on his line of retreat, he became frantic, and told his men to save themselves the best way they could. We have captured nine locomotives and a number of cars. One of the former is already repaired, and is running to-day. Several more will be in running order in two or three days. The result is all I could possibly desire." And again on the 9th: "The enemy has fallen back to Tusila, fifty miles from here by railroad, and near seventy miles by wagon road. General Pope estimates the rebel loss from casualties, prisoners, and desertion at over 20,000, and General Buell at beween 20,000 and 30,000. A person who was employed in the Confederate Commissary Department says they had 120,000 men in Corinth, and that now they cannot muster much over 80,000. Some of the fresh graves on the road have been opened and found filled with arms. Many of the prisoners of war beg not to be exchanged, saying they purposely allowed themselves to be taken. Beauregard himself retreated from Baldwin on Saturday afternoon to Okolona."

General Beauregard, not long after, on reading in the *Mobile News*, General Halleck's dispatch of June 5, just cited, addressed to that journal a communication denying the alleged achievements of General Pope, and protesting against the assumption of the "farmer" of his "frantic" conduct. "General Pope," says he, "must certainly have dreamed of having taken 10,000 prisoners and 15,000 stand of arms, for we positively never lost them; about one or two hundred stragglers would probably cover all the prisoners he took, and about five hundred damaged muskets all the arms he got; these belonged to a convalescent camp, (four miles south of Corinth), evacuated during the night, and were overlooked on account of the darkness. The actual number of prisoners taken during the retreat was about equal on both sides, and they were but few." In this way frequently does some notable military exploit of war expand or dwindle as it is recorded with more or less of policy or integrity by one side or the other. Who shall reconcile the ordinary discrepancies of statement when commanders-in-chief —men drilled in the calculations of warfare—thus widely differ? General Beauregard, in reference to the farmer's story, says that General Halleck ought to know that the burning of two or more cars on a railroad is not enough to make "Beauregard frantic," while he charges Colonel Elliott with barbarously consuming four sick persons in the building which he set fire to at Booneville." These rough accusations were met by General Granger, who led the pursuit from Corinth with a body of cavalry. He denied utterly the charge brought against Colonel Elliott, while he represents the wretched state in which the rebels left their sick at Booneville. "Two thousand sick and convalescent, found by Colonel Elliott, were in the most shocking condition. The living and the putrid dead were lying side by side together, festering in the sun, on platforms, on the track, and on the ground, just where they had been driven off the cars by their inhuman and savage comrades. No surgeon, no nurses were attending them. They had had no water or food for one or two days, and a more horrible scene could scarcely be imagined. Colonel Elliott set his own men to removing them to places of safety, and they were all so removed before he set fire to the depot and cars, as can be proved by hundreds." The exact number of cars destroyed by Colonel Elliott was twenty-six, laden with small arms, ammunition, officers' baggage, etc.*

Such, then, was the evaucation of Corinth, though falling short of the expectations of the public in the easy escape of the rebel army, yet an important success in its influence upon the conduct of the war, being followed, as a necessary sequence, after an interval of a few weeks, by the fall of Memphis, by which Tennessee was interposed as an effectual barrier against the armies of the South, and essential military operations in this quarter were transferred to the States of the Gulf.

Following these events at Corinth, the strong position of the Cumberland Gap, at the point of junction of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia, where a notch or depression of the Cumberland chain is protected on either side by high precipitous mountain walls, was on the approach of the Union General George W. Morgan, on the 18th of June, found evacuated by the Confederate garrison, which had held it for several months. General Morgan occupied the Gap, and remained in possession till the autumn, when the invasion of Kentucky, by cutting off his supplies, compelled him to retreat.

General Mitchel, who, for his services in this campaign, was raised to the rank of a major general of volunteers, continued in command in Tennessee till July, when he was relieved and returned to the east. He was succeeded in his command by General Rousseau, of Kentucky. With a larger force he might have been successful in carrying out his plans for the permanent occupation of Chattanooga, and the restoration of East Tennessee to the Union. As it was, after several encounters with the enemy, running through May and June, the Federal troops were compelled to retire from the outposts which his little army had so resolutely taken possession of.

General Halleck also left the charge of the department in July to General Buell, being called by the President to Washington, to the command of the army as general-in-chief.

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* Letter of General Granger, Army of the Mississippi, July 4, 1862. Rebellion Record v., p. 269.

CHAPTER LXVII.

NAVAL ACTIONS AT FORT WRIGHT AND MEMPHIS, APRIL—JUNE, 1862.

Commodore Foote, with his squadron and coöperating land forces, having cleared the Mississippi of the formidable batteries at Island No. 10, proceeded down the river to the vicinity of Fort Wright or Pillow, where, and at the neighboring Fort Randolph, the enemy had erected at the Chickasaw Bluffs, at convenient bends of the stream, their next series of defences, about seventy miles above Memphis. The gallant commodore, though suffering severely from the wound in his ankle which he had received at Donelson, and requiring the use of crutches, was ready as ever for action, and in conjunction with General Pope, was, a few days after his recent victory, about to execute a combined attack upon the fortifications at Fort Wright, when the land force was called away by General Halleck to recruit the army on the Tennessee after the battle of Pittsburg Landing. The fleet, however, remained at its station watching the enemy, who had mustered a considerable fleet of gunboats to the support of their works. A few weeks after, Flag Officer Foote, in consequence of his wound, was relieved of his command by the department, being succeeded, on the 9th of May, by Captain Charles H. Davis. The new commander had scarcely time to look about him when he was called into action. On the 10th, the day after his arrival, the enemy made an attack which had been expected by Commodore Foote, and for which every preparation had been made. The morning was fair, with a promise of a fine day, though, as was not unusual at the season, a thick blue haze was gathered over the river, through which the rebel gunboats, eight in number, rounding the point, advanced about seven o'clock towards the vessels of the Union fleet which were lying at the time tied up to the bank, three on the eastern and four on the western side of the stream. The rebel squadron was supposed to be commanded by Commodore Hollins. The leading vessels made directly for mortar boat No. 16, Acting Master Gregory, who fought "with great spirit," and was presently supported by the gunboats Cincinnati and the Mound City. The action lasted an hour at close quarters, and ended in the enemy "retiring precipitately under the guns of the fort."*

An eye witness describes in detail the action: "The Cincinnati, which lay off the Arkansas shore, and nearest to the point, as a guard of the mortar boats, was approached by the largest rebel gunboat, provided with a sharp iron prow, and known as the McRae. She was formerly a schooner, has her engines protected by railway iron, is mounted with heavy guns at the bow and stern, and probably has several others, but they were not visible. She was defended by bales of cotton piled some six feet above her deck, and had a soiled and tattered ensign, designed, no doubt, for the secession colors, flying from one of her two masts. The McRae did not fire any of her pieces, but ran with great force in the direction of the Cincinnati, evidently designing to sink her. As she was within twenty feet of the Cincinnati, the latter discharged her bow gun at her, but without any seeming effect, and then swinging round, let off a broadside. At that mo-

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* Captain Commanding Davis to Secretary Welles. Flagship Benton, off Fort Wright, May 10 and 11, 1862.

ment the McRae came into collision with her on the port quarter, knocking a large hole in her, and causing her partially to fill. By this time, the Cincinnati had turned round, and the hostile craft struck her again on the starboard side, and was in time to receive a second broadside that seemed to lift the foe out of the water. One of the rams, the Van Dorn, was now within a few yards of the Cincinnati, and though fired at and struck, still came on swiftly, and came into collision with the Union boat exactly between the rudders. The Mound City, lying just above the Cincinnati, saw the danger of her companion, and steamed down to her aid. The enemy was preparing to fire the bow gun of the McRae, when the Mound City struck the cannon with a shell and dismounted it, rendering it useless. This attracted the attention of the Sumter, a second ram, and caused her to run toward the new-comer. The Mound City gave her two broadsides before she reached the gunboat, but still she pursued her rapid way, and struck the bow with great force, making a great hole, through which the water ran in streams. The Sumter took advantage of the vessel's condition, and was on the point of running into her again, when the Benton opened upon the foe with a broadside, knocking off a number of her cotton bales, and making the splinters fly in every direction.

"The hostile gunboats were all this while lying near the Tennessee shore, and firing every few minutes, but without manifesting any intention of getting into close contact. At the same time the guns at Fort Pillow threw shells and shot over the point, and we saw them alight in the river or burst in the air, half a mile at least from where any of our vessels lay. The McRae, Van Dorn and Sumter were all protected by bales of cotton, and behind them were stationed companies of sharpshooters, part of them probably Jeff. Thompson's followers, who had been stationed there to pick off our officers, as they might easily have done at a very short range. Generally, not a man was visible on the decks, and the muskets and rifles of the rebels were discharged with entire security, as they supposed, from behind their unyielding breastwork. Whenever the McRae or the rams were within a few yards of the gunboats, volley after volley of muskets and rifles would be heard among the cotton, and the balls rattled like hail on the chimneys, against the sides and pilot-houses of the vessels. One of the seamen on the Cincinnati said there must have been four hundred infantry on the McRae's decks, and probably the rams had proportionate numbers. Still, the musketry was often very slight after the broadsides had opened upon them—showing that the infantry must either have been placed *hors du-combat* or been too panic-stricken to fire.

"After the McRae had struck the Cincinnati twice with her prow, Captain Roger N. Stembel ordered his crew to prepare themselves to receive boarders, supposing the enemy on their next approach would make such an attempt. The seamen immediately armed themselves with pikes, revolvers, cutlasses, and hand-grenades, and waited for the near approach of the enemy. The schooner-rigged craft again went rapidly toward the gunboat, and the captain, catching a glimpse of the pilot, called for a rifle, and when within twenty yards of the ram fired, and saw the pilot fall. At this time the Cincinnati's pilot observed a rebel on the McRae leveling a gun at the captain, and gave him warning. Stembel perceived the fellow, and started toward the pilot-house; but before he could get behind it the enemy fired, and the ball, entering his right shoulder, passed through his body and went out at his throat. The captain fell, and was supposed to be dead; but being picked up and carried below, it was discovered he was conscious, and only badly wounded. In the hour of pain and peril the gallant captain thought more of his vessel than of himself, and was constantly asking if the enemy were repulsed, and declaring that his pain was more mental than physical. The McRae, for some reason, had dropped down the stream, as if she was about to abandon her purpose; but a few minutes after she again steamed toward the Cincinnati, and was within half a length of her, when the Benton, which had gone nearer, once more fired a broadside. One or more of the shells must have pierced the boilers of the rebel, for an explosion was heard, and the boat was covered with steam; while shouts, shrieks, and groans were heard on her deck, as of men in agony, and some were seen to leap on the bales of cotton, apparently frantic with pain. Again the queer craft dropped away, and as the Benton was on the point of firing once more, the rebel flag was struck, and Captain Phelps gave orders to molest her no further. She gave signs of sinking, and floating with the current until the engine was reversed, when she quickened her speed. There was no more harm or heart in her, that was certain; but while she was passing below the Point, seeing she was out of danger, she ran up her soiled bunting again, and, reeling heavily to the larboard, passed out of sight. The Cincinnati was now unmanageable, and taking water very fast, and it was feared in the deep portion of the river where the fight had occurred she might be lost. The little tug Dauntless, which had been from the first in the midst of the action, steamed up to the crippled vessel, and taking her in tow, carried her over toward the Tennessee shore, above where the Benton lay. When Captain Stembel heard the hostile craft was beaten off, he seemed much easier, and said he did not care how soon he expired; and in a few minutes fell into a comatose state, and so remained for two hours.

"A minute perhaps before the McRae received the shot through her boilers, Lieutenant William Hoel, acting executive officer of the Cincinnati, and a resident of that city (this officer has distinguished himself by his gallantry on various occasions since the flotilla left Cairo, having volunteered to act as first master of the Carondolet when that vessel ran the blockade at Island No. 10), believing the boat was sinking, told the men never to strike their colors, but to meet their fate bravely, and when they saw her going down to give three cheers for the Stars and Stripes. Fortunately the gallant Cincinnati and her brave crew did not go down. If she had, Lieutenant Hoel's instructions would have been obeyed to the letter, and the noble sailors would have descended to their watery graves with the seal and satisfaction of patriotism upon their lips. The McRae having retired from the action, a second ram, the Van Dorn, went to the assistance of the Sumter in attacking the Mound City, and had already struck her in the side, when the guns of the Mound City and the bow pieces of the Benton, fairly riddled her, and Captain A. H. Kilty, who was pacing the deck with a gun, had shot a person whom he believed was her commander. The Sumter had no further appetite for the engagement, and the Van Dorn, which had been shot through and through, became anxious to vent its wrath upon a couple of the mortar-boats, Captain Gregory's, lying near the shore. The Van Dorn had one long gun, nearly concealed, on the bow, and with this she shot through the iron of one of the mortars. The mortar crews were in no wise daunted. They leveled their mortars, and, though there was no prospect of hitting an object but a few hundred yards distant, they sent their great shell at her, and it went roaring miles away in the direction of Tennessee. Two or three rebels leaped on cotton bales, and with fierce denunciation of the Yankees, and with mighty oaths, fired the guns they held in their hands at the crew of the mortars, but did no injury.

The secession officers were fired at in turn by our men from the Mound City, and one of them is said to have been killed. The Van Dorn was evidently disgusted with her part of the performance, and was about to seek the more congenial moorings under the shadow of Fort Pillow. Before going, however, she intended to pay her last tribute of affection to the Mound City, but our vessel gave her a broadside that knocked off a few bales of cotton, and compelled her to drop away. The Benton gave her a parting salute as she went in a greatly crippled condition around the Point, having been preceded by the six rebel gunboats which, with the exception of the McRae, had taken little part in the action. The enemy can place but little faith in their gunboats, and this morning they depended entirely on their rams, believing, no doubt, they could sink the whole flotilla. Our total loss was four men wounded, Captain Roger N. Stembel, dangerously; Reynolds, fourth Master, dangerously shot through the abdomen; W. M. Mosier, seaman, of Oswego, formerly of the 24th New York Volunteers, slightly in the left thigh, all of the gunboat Cincinnati; and John O'Brien, seaman, of the Mound City, slightly in the left arm with musket ball."* The rebel loss was doubtless heavy. A correspondent of the *Memphis Appeal* stated it at eight killed and sixteen wounded.

After this action, the flotilla occupied a nearer position to the enemy's works, and, having been joined by Colonel Charles Ellet, with a fleet of rams which he had constructed under authority of the Secretary of War, was preparing to press the attack more vigorously, when, on the evening of the 4th of June, it was fully ascertained from the reports of deserters, the observations of a reconnoitring land party on the Arkansas shore, and other indications, that Fort Pillow was being evacuated. Several explosions were heard, as from the bursting of shells from the works on the river, and the camp on the heights was apparently enveloped in flames. The next morning the fleet was set in motion, and, the rams leading the way, a party of soldiers was soon landed, and the flag of the Union raised on the deserted fort. The operations of General Halleck before Corinth, and the evacuation of that place, had compelled the withdrawal of the Confederate forces from their advantageous position at Fort Pillow. The works, which had been a year in construction, were found to be of the most extensive and formidable character, every available point of the high bluff, from the river edge to the summit, having been fortified and supplied with powerful batteries, while the bend of the river brought any opposing fleet close under their fire. Many of the guns were of the heaviest calibre, so that it was impossible to remove them in the retreat, and they were consequently spiked or exploded, and the carriages burnt on the spot. A 120-pound rifled gun had been burst, among others of less size. A large quantity of camp equipage, supplies and materials of war, had been destroyed. There was little left of value. The troops had passed down the river in transports, in company with the rebel fleet, in the direction of Memphis. Thither they were at once pursued, the flag-ship Benton leading the way at noon, followed by the other vessels of the squadron. The Union flag was raised at Fort Randolph, twelve miles below, by Lieutenant-Colonel Ellet from the ram fleet which held the advance. The place was found entirely abandoned, the last of the rebel gunboats having left an hour or two before. The guns had been dismantled, and some piles of cotton were burning. "The people," reported Colonel Ellet to Secretary Stanton, "express a desire for the restoration of the old order of things, though still profess-

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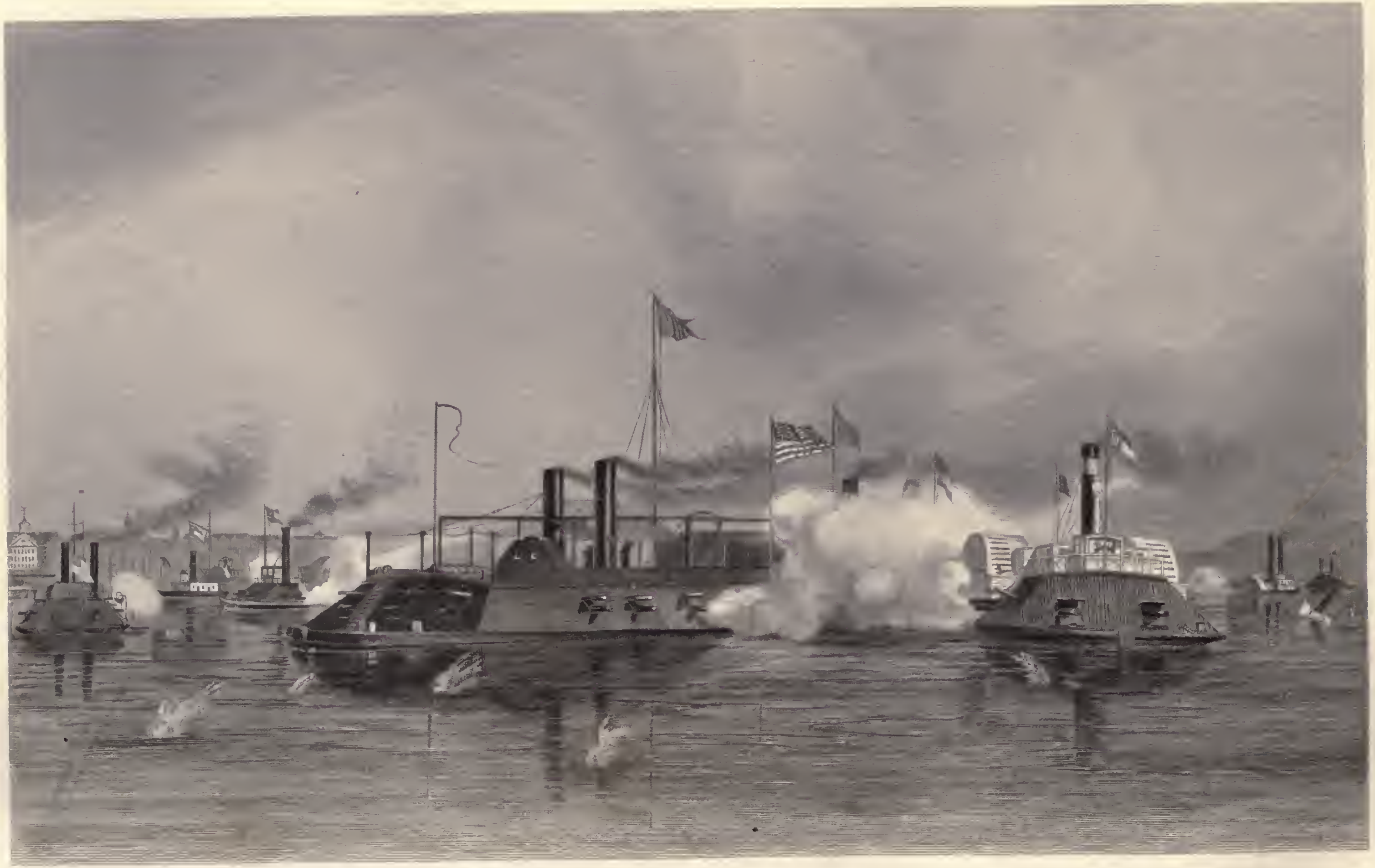
* Correspondence, *New York Tribune*, Flotilla, near Fort Pillow, May 10, 1862.



ACTION OF THE GUNBOATS AT MEMPHIS.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers.

ing to be secessionists." Everywhere along the stream, as the fleet descended, cotton was seen floating on the water. It had been thrown into the river by order of the rebel emissaries to prevent its capture. Here and there the smoke was ascending from the burnt cotton houses on the plantations. At evening the squadron lay a few miles above Memphis. A decisive engagement with the rebel fleet awaited it on the morrow.

"At daylight," writes a correspondent who accompanied the fleet, "the gunboats tripped anchor and slowly steamed, or rather backed, down the river, till they were within three miles of Memphis. The rebel fleet was perceived lying on the Arkansas shore, opposite Memphis, with steam up, ready to move at any moment. It was Commodore Davis' intention not to open battle until the men had taken their breakfast, and, in accordance with this design, he signaled his fleet to halt, and a few moments later give additional orders for the boats to move up the river. As soon as the rebels perceived our fleet they at once steamed out into the river and formed in line of battle across it, the flagship taking the centre, a little in advance of the others. When Commodore Davis halted and started up stream the rebel fleet advanced to meet him, and the prospect of battle was hailed with delight by all on board.

"The rebel fleet consisted of the General Van Dorn (flag-ship), General Price, General Bragg, General Lovell, Little Rebel, Jeff. Thompson, Sumter, and General Beauregard—all of them being hybrids between rams and gunboats, strengthened for use as rams, and mounted with guns for engaging the enemy in the ordinary manner of naval encounters. The Little Rebel was formerly a New Orleans towboat, and was armed with two short 32-pound guns. The General Bragg was once a coasting steamer in the New Orleans and Galveston trade, and in general appearance resembles the boats of the Stonington or Fall river lines, carrying a walking beam and low pressure engines. She is smaller than the Plymouth Rock, but has a general resemblance to that boat. When in her original mercantile pursuits she was known as the Mexico. The remainder of the rebel flotilla were most of them old coasting or New Orleans boats, with one or two exceptions, authorities differing as to which of them were constructed for war purposes. Several of them were covered with railroad iron, but the guns were all mounted *en barbette*, on forward or after deck, and not protected by casemates. The entire fleet was commanded by Commodore Edward Montgomery, formerly a steamboat captain in the river trade. The Union fleet, under command of Commodore Davis, consisted of the following boats and commanders: Benton, Captain Phelps; Carondelet, Captain Walke; St. Louis, Lieutenant commanding McGonigle; Louisville, Captain Dove; Cairo, Lieutenant Bryant. The Union ram fleet consisted of the boats Monarch, Queen of the West, Lioness, Switzerland, Mingo, Lancaster No. 3, Fulton, Hornet, and Samson. They were formerly Pittsburg tow-boats, and were strengthened and fitted with iron prows for running down the rebel boats. They were in command of Colonel Ellet, the engineer who constructed the Niagara suspension bridge, and were fitted up under his immediate supervision. Government had adopted them, and was to pay for them in case they accomplished the end desired. The result of to-day's operations shows them to be a complete success. But two of them were engaged in the battle, a third that attempted to take part in the affair, losing her rudder before the scene of action. The control of the rams was entirely independent of that of the gunboats, as also was that of the infantry, none of the three commanders being responsible to either of the others.

"As the two battle lines of gunboats moved slowly up the stream, the rebels in pursuit of their foes, Commodore Davis, seeing the enemy's willingness to fight, concluded to commence the action at once, and either whip or be whipped before breakfast. Accordingly he signaled for only sufficient steam to be kept on to stem the current, and awaited the approach of his antagonists. When the latter reached the mouth of Wolf river, at the northern extremity of the bluff on which Memphis stands, the Little Rebel let fly a shot at the Benton, which passed over that boat and fell into the river half a mile beyond. The two lines were then about three-fourths of a mile apart, the Union boats lying in the order given above, the Benton near the Tennessee, and the Cairo near the Arkansas shore. Three guns were fired by the rebels before we replied, the first answering shot being made by the Cairo, and the other boats following immediately. A brisk fire was then kept up for about fifteen minutes, both parties stopping their engines and allowing the boats to drop down with the current. The stern guns of the Union boats were two in number, so that from the five boats there were ten guns firing as fast as possible. As there are three guns on the bow of each boat, and as the iron-plating is much thicker there than at the stern, Commodore Davis, at the end of fifteen minutes, gave orders for the boats to wear around and head down the stream. When they wheeled about each boat discharged its broadside guns as fast as they were brought within range. When the boats had taken their new position they renewed their fire. The distance at which the action commenced had been shortened somewhat and the boats were within less than half a mile of each other. Up to this time no damage had been caused either by the Union or rebel guns. A few shots from the latter fell quite near the Benton and Cairo, and one shell struck the water less than ten feet in front of the tug Jessie, in which an anxious journalist had ensconced himself. The spray was thrown completely over the party in the tug, but no one was injured.

"At the time the action opened, the rams Monarch and Queen of the West were lying at the Arkansas shore, about half a mile in rear of our line of battle. They had on a full head of steam, and at the moment signal was made for the gunboats to wear around, these rams started from their landings and advanced to "go in." As they passed through our line dense clouds of smoke issued from their smoke stacks, and the wheels revolved with unaccustomed rapidity. When the gunboats commenced wearing round the rebels advanced; but when they saw our rams approaching they stopped short, and were evidently thrown into consternation. The Queen of the West was about a fourth of a mile in advance of the Monarch, and made for the Beauregard. As the Queen approached, the Beauregard fired a bow gun at apparently not more than four rods' distance, but the shot went wide of its mark and fell in the river a mile nearer St. Louis than its point of departure. The Beauregard then turned just in time to avoid the stroke of the Queen, which passed on and hit the Sterling Price, which drifted down the stream and stranded on the Arkansas shore. The prow of the Queen encountered the Price just forward of the wheel-house on the larboard side, and as the force of the blow was given diagonally the timbers were crushed in, and the entire larboard wheel carried away. As the Queen went by the Beauregard the latter fired a second shot, which took effect, but did no particular damage. The Little Rebel fired several shots at the Queen, one of which struck the casemating around her boilers, but failed to go through. Almost at the instant the Queen struck and disabled the General Price, she was herself struck by the Beauregard and somewhat injured. Her engines were not in working order, and she drifted down the stream until afterwards taken in tow by the Monarch and drawn to the Arkansas shore. During the entire time the Queen was in action her sharpshooters were busy in picking off several of the Beauregard's cannoniers, and lessened the crews of two or three other boats.

"When the Queen of the West moved toward the Beauregard, the Monarch selected the Lovell as the object of her special attention. The Lovell attempted to evade the blow, but was unable to do so, and she was hit by the Monarch fairly on the starboard side, just forward of the wheel. Her sides were crushed in as if made of pasteboard, and she sunk in less than three minutes, her upper works floating away with several of her crew clinging to it. The water was full of swimming and drowning rebels calling for aid, and the Benton at once put off her boats for their assistance. One of them was swamped in launching, and two of the Benton's crew came near drowning. The other boat hastened to the scene of the disaster, and was followed by the tug Jessie, the tender of the Benton. A few were saved, but it is estimated that at least fifty of the Lovell's crew must have drowned. After the Monarch had disposed of the Lovell, she turned to the Beauregard, which was just ending her little affair with the Queen. She was too near to get on a sufficient head of steam to strike the Beauregard with force enough to damage her sides, and she therefore run alongside, and grappled the latter at bow and stern. She then opened with her hot water hose, and for a few minutes drenched the decks of the Beauregard with a scalding flood. Her sharpshooters kept constantly at work, and their rifles caused considerable havoc among the enemy. Whilst she was in this position a rebel boat came up to strike her, but she suddenly let go her hold of the Beauregard and backed out, permitting the blow intended for herself to fall upon the latter. The pilot of the rebel ram slackened his speed, and the stroke upon the Beauregard did little damage; but while the rebels were recovering from the consternation into which they had been thrown, the Monarch came up on the other side and gave the Beauregard a tremendous butt. It was too much for the latter, as her slow, but steady settling into the water plainly showed. She sank gracefully in four fathoms water, and can be easily raised whenever we wish to bring her to the surface. Her upper works are visible and appear in good condition, but it is feared that her hull is considerably damaged. The Monarch retired uninjured from the scene of action, satisfied with her well earned laurels, and went to the assistance of the Queen of the West.

"After the Monarch and Queen of the West passed our gunboats, on the way to join in the engagement, the latter vessel ceased firing through fear of injuring their friends. When the Queen retired disabled, and the Monarch, after sinking the Lovell and Beauregard, went to her aid, the Union gunboats, having approached within short range, reopened fire with considerable effect. A shot from the Cairo passed through the steam drum of the Little Rebel and she drifted on shore. No balls struck the Sumter, but their proximity to the wheel-house frightened her pilot, and he run her to the Arkansas bank where she was deserted by her crew. As soon as the men manning the rebel boats landed on the shore and fled to the timber, three of our gunboats, the Cairo, Carondelet, and Louisville, opened upon the woods with two broadsides of grape and shell, and completely cleared them of the enemy. Two shots struck the Jeff. Thompson, disabling her machinery, and after drifting slowly down the river two or three miles she went ashore, and was set on fire by her own men. The flames gained rapidly upon her, and in fifteen minutes her boilers blew up. Twenty minutes later the fire reached her magazine and ended the career of the Jeff. Thompson. An enormous and dazzling flash of light, a huge volume of dense black smoke, a sullen roar like that of half a dozen mortars combined, and the air for many seconds filled with falling timbers, comprised the blaze of glory in which the rebel gunboat expired. One shell upon her burst a few minutes before the final crash of the magazine, but its report was as nothing compared with the sound of the final grand explosion. The General Bragg exchanged several shots with the Benton, the fortune of the contest being decidedly adverse to the former. A fifty pound Parrott shot struck the Bragg and passed entirely through her, and she was hulled three times by thirty-two pound shells. One of the latter set her on fire, and she was run upon the Arkansas shore and abandoned by her officers and crew. She drifted off and was boarded by Lieutenant Bishop, of the Benton, who succeeded in extinguishing the fire and saving the vessel. At the time he boarded her he found her boilers red hot, and was obliged to use great caution to prevent their explosion. The Bragg is an old seagoing boat, and is in very good condition, with the exception of the perforations made by the shot and shell of the Benton. Lieutenant Bishop captured her four or five miles below Memphis, and at once brought her back. She was taken in tow by one of the rams until her boilers were in condition to work her own engines, when she came up opposite the city, where she now lies, with her flag humbly drooping beneath the Stars and Stripes. The only remaining boat of the fleet was the General Van Dorn, which had taken no conspicuous part in the action. Once the Monarch tried to strike her, but she eluded the blow and moved down the river. The Cairo attempted to engage her at short range, but she kept aloof, determined not to be caught at close quarters. Captain Bryant, of the Cairo, threw one shot which is thought to have struck the Van Dorn, though it is not certainly known. After the destruction of the rest of the fleet, the Van Dorn fled towards New Orleans pursued by the Carondelet and Cairo. Being a powerful sidewheel boat, she easily distanced them, and when last seen had disappeared behind a bend, after a chase of nine miles. The gunboats all returned from below, and with ports triced up, and guns out, formed a pleasant spectacle in front of Memphis.

"The opening gun from the Little Rebel was fired at forty minutes after five o'clock, the rams passed the Benton at fifty-five minutes after five, and the last gun at the Van Dorn, as she escaped, was discharged at forty-three minutes after six o'clock. The battle was thus an hour and three minutes in its entire duration, and the boast of the rebels that they would whip us before breakfast, was reversed in its fulfillment. The loss of the rebels is not known, and can only be estimated. There were seven boats, with crews of probably fifty or seventy-five men each. Most of the Lovell's crew were lost, and many on the Beauregard were fatally scalded by the steam and hot water from the Monarch. Several were killed by the sharpshooters, as we are informed by the prisoners. Captain William Cabell, commanding the General Lovell, fell by a rifle ball in the forehead. He was an old steam boatman, and personally known to many in our fleet. Though our shot struck the rebel boats several times it is not known that any one was killed by them. By drowning, hot water, and sharpshooters, it is probable not less than a hundred of the insurgents lost their lives. Fifty-four prisoners were taken, among them two former pilots on the Mississippi, well known to most river men. On the Union side, Colonel Ellet, of the ram fleet, was wounded in the leg by a splinter. His wound is not serious. Colonel Ellet was on the Queen of the West at the time she was hulled by the enemy's shot. No other person on the Union fleet was in any way injured during the entire battle. The citizens of Memphis turned out in large numbers to witness the action between the fleets, and in twenty minutes from the opening shot, the levee was covered with an anxious crowd. The sterner sex was not alone represented, for the Memphian ladies were nearly as numerous as their masculine companions, and the moving pyramids of silk and calico may have been the cause of the bad aim of the rebel gunners. Even the accidental circumstance of a shot passing over the levee, and striking the city ice-house and passing entirely through, failed to astonish or alarm them. Not less than five thousand persons witnessed the engagement, and probably a new spectacle to all. Not a cheer rose from the vast assemblage, as the tide of battle was hardly in accordance with the sympathies of the Memphians."*

Flag-Officer Davis summed up the capture or destruction of the Confederate fleet in a dispatch to Secretary Welles immediately after the action, as follows: "The General Beauregard blown up and burned. The General Sterling Price one wheel carried away. The Jeff. Thompson set on fire by a shell and burned and magazine blown up. The Sumter badly cut up by shot, but will be repaired. The Little Rebel, boiler exploded, and otherwise injured, but will be repaired. Besides this, one of the rebel boats was sunk in the beginning of the action. Her name is not known. A boat, supposed to be the Van Dorn, escaped from the flotilla by her superior speed. Two rams are in pursuit."

To this we may add the brief report made the same day to the Secretary of War by Colonel Ellet: "The rebel gunboats made a stand early this morning opposite Memphis, and opened a vigorous fire upon our gunboats, which was returned with equal spirit. I ordered the Queen, my flag-ship, to pass between the gunboats and run down ahead of them upon the two rams of the enemy, which first boldly stood their ground. Colonel Ellet, in the Monarch, of which Captain Dryden is first master, followed gallantly. The rebel rams endeavored to back down stream, and then to turn and run, but the movement was fatal to them. The Queen struck one of them fairly, and for a few minutes was fast to the wreck. After separating, the rebel steamer sunk. My steamer, the Queen, was then herself struck by another rebel steamer, and disabled, but though damaged can be saved. A pistol shot wound in the leg deprived me of the power to witness the remainder of the fight. The Monarch also passed ahead of our gunboats and went most gallantly into action. She first struck the rebel boat that struck my flag-ship, and sunk the rebel. She was then struck by one of the rebel rams, but not injured. She then pushed on and struck the Beauregard, and burst in her side. Simultaneously the Beauregard was struck in the boiler by a shot from one of our gunboats. The Monarch then pushed at the gunboat Little Rebel, the rebel flagship, and having but little headway, pushed her before her, the rebel commodore and crew escaping. The Monarch then, finding the Beauregard sinking, took her in tow until she sank in shoal water. Then, in compliance with the request of Flag-Officer Davis, Lieutenant-Colonel Ellet dispatched the Monarch and the Switzerland in pursuit of the remaining gunboat and some transports which had escaped the gunboats, and two of my rams have gone below. I cannot too much praise the conduct of the pilots and engineers, and military guard of the Monarch and Queen, the brave conduct of Captain Dryden, or the heroic conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Ellet. I am myself the only person in my fleet who was disabled."

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* Correspondence *New York Herald.* Memphis, June 6, 1862.

This decisive action on the river—a memorable spectacle in sight of the inhabitants of Memphis, which will live in history as one of the most remarkable events of the war—was followed by the following correspondence between Flag-Officer Davis and the mayor of the city: "United States Flag Steamer Benton, off Memphis, June 6, 1862. Sir—I have respectfully to request that you will surrender the city of Memphis to the authority of the United States, which I have the honor to represent. I am, Mr. Mayor, with high respect, your most obedient servant, C. H. Davis, flag officer commanding, etc. To his Honor, the Mayor of the city of Memphis." To this his honor replied: "Mayor's office, Memphis, June 6, 1862. C. H. Davis, flag-officer commanding, etc.: Sir—Your note of this date is received and contents noted. In reply, I have only to say that as the city authorities have no means of defence, by the force of circumstances the city is in your hands. Respectlfully, John Park, Mayor of Memphis." A second note from Captain Davis the same forenoon closed the correspondence: "Sir, the undersigned, commanding the naval and military forces of the United States in front of Memphis, has the honor to say to the mayor of this city that Colonel Fitch, commanding the Indiana brigade, will take military possession immediately. Colonel Fitch will be happy to receive the coöperation of his honor the mayor and the city authorities in maintaining peace and order. To this end he will be pleased to confer with his honor at the military headquarters, at three o'clock, this P. M. Yours, etc."

So the important city of Memphis, a third great stage in the progress down the Mississippi, followed the fortunes of Columbus, New Madrid and Fort Pillow, and was regained to the Union. Unhappily, the victory cost the life of the engineer to whose persistent endeavors the brilliant success was mainly attributable. The wound of Colonel Ellet, a shot from a musket ball above the knee, though not at first considered alarming, proved fatal. Colonel Ellet was carried to Cairo, where he died on the morning of the 21st June, a fortnight after the engagement. He was a native of Pennsylvania, born in 1810, and had long been known by his eminent scientific acquirements and services to his country. He was an engineer of distinguished reputation, having planned and built at Fairmount, across the Schuylkill, the first wire suspension bridge in the United States. He had also been employed in various railroad and other engineering enterprises in Virginia and elsewhere, and early in the present year had excited considerable attention by a pamphlet criticising the course of General McClellan in his conduct of the war on the Potomac. He was the author also of several valuable scientific essays on the physical geography of the Mississippi, and had, some years before the commencement of the war, advocated the employment of steam battering rams in coast and harbor defences. He had now carried out his ideas by his own energy and perseverance; destined to fall—the only victim in a triumph mainly attributable to his exertions. His brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred W. Ellet, his associate in the action, was afterwards appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers.

The possession of Memphis, with the consequent command of the river below to Vicksburg, exposed the enemy to attack in Arkansas by the main navigable waters of the State—the White river, descending in a south-easterly course from Missouri, and the Arkansas, penetrating its central portions. The battle at Pea Ridge in March had given the Union troops of General Curtis a firm footing in the north-western quarter, and though his forces were diminished by the withdrawal of a portion of his command to Corinth, he was enabled seriously to threaten the rebel capital on the Arkansas, and finally to cross the country in face of the enemy after several skirmishes, in which the advantage was on the Union side, to Helena, on the Mississippi. The army left Batesville, on the upper waters of White river, on the 24th of June, with twenty days' rations, and by a series of adventurous forced marches, arrived at Helena on the 11th of July. Previously to their setting out, an expedition of a mixed land and naval force had been sent from Memphis to ascend the White river, where several transports of the enemy had taken refuge, and the passage of the stream was obstructed some distance above its mouth by a battery on the shore. The gunboats St. Louis, Lexington, Conestoga, and Mound City, under the command of Captain Kilty, composed the naval part of the expedition, while Colonel Fitch's 46th Indiana regiment constituted the military force. The fleet reached the mouth of White river, one hundred and seventy miles below Memphis, on the 14th of June, and cautiously ascending the stream on the 17th, at seven in the morning, came upon the rebel works—a lower and an upper battery, on a high bluff on the south side of the river, in the vicinity of St. Charles, about eighty-five miles from the Mississippi. The Mound City and St. Louis received the fire of the first battery without injury ; when, passing on to another bend of the stream, they encountered a second battery which proved of a more formidable character. A vigorous cannonading was kept up on both sides, while Colonel Fitch, who had landed with the Indianians, two miles and a half below, was proceeding round the southern declivity of the bluff to take the works in the rear. While Captain Kilty was expediting this movement by signals, and waiting its fulfillment, arresting the fire of the gunboats, lest the advancing party should be injured, a shot from one of the 42-pounders of the rebel battery struck the Mound City on the port side, and passing through the iron-lined casemate, entered the steam drum. The explosion and its effects were fearful. One hundred and seventy-five men enclosed in the close iron armor of the gunboat, with no aperture for the passage of air but through the ports and the scanty skylights, were exposed to this terrible suffering. Forty or fifty at once fell fatally overpowered by the vapor. Others lay in restless agony of torture, while those who were able plunged through the port holes into the river in hope of escape. While these were endeavoring to reach the opposite shore, they were deliberately fired at with musketry by the rebel soldiers from the bank. The cutters of the Conestoga, which went to the rescue, were also fired upon. More than two-thirds of those on board the Mound City, officers and men, were reported as having perished in this dread catastrophe. Captain Kilty was severely scalded. While this merciless work was going on, Colonel Fitch reached the rear of the upper battery, and quickly succeeded, in a hand and hand encounter, in which the gunners were shot at their posts, in its capture. Captain Fry, formerly an officer in the United States navy, the rebel commander, was wounded in the shoulder by a musket ball, and it is said his life was with difficulty saved by an Indiana captain. The guns of the battery had been taken from a gunboat, which was sunk, with several transports, in the river, as obstacles to the Union fleet. Eight brass and iron guns were captured. The Union casualties were trifling, except the severe loss from the escaping steam. The rebel loss was said not to be less than thirty killed and wounded. A few prisoners were taken, the greater part of Captain Fry's command having escaped by flight. After the action a portion of the fleet proceeded up the river in quest of certain transports, but were compelled to return by the low state of the water.*

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* Correspondence *New York Tribune*. Off St. Charles, Ark., June 17, 1862.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

GENERAL BANKS' COMMAND IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY, MARCH—MAY, 1862.

GENERAL BANKS arrived on the battle field of Winchester, Sunday, March 23d, in the afternoon, before the close of the engagement. That night the enemy retreated, Jackson taking the lead with his force, and, as usual, leaving Ashby with his cavalry to cover the retreat. The next morning General Banks was early in pursuit, and following hard upon the rear of the enemy, with frequent skirmishing of the artillery and cavalry, pursued them that day beyond Strasburg. A correspondent with the Union forces describes the method of the retreat: "Ashby has two brass howitzers and two regiments of cavalry, the men of which are all mounted, and with these most of the fighting is done. The plan of the retreat is this: while Jackson marches straight on, Ashby follows a mile or two in rear with his cavalry and mounted battery. When he comes to a hill commanding the road he stops, plants his guns, and awaits the approach of our column. As soon as the advance guard of cavalry appears in sight, a shell or two is thrown at them, the cavalry scatters, and rushes back for the artillery. By the time they have come up Ashby's men have limbered up and moved off to another hill. Our guns give them a shell as they go, and the advance, which has been retarded an hour by the operation, is commenced again. By such maneuvers as these Ashby gains time enough for Jackson to retreat decently."* The wounded of the enemy were found everywhere along the road, and, much to the surprise of some of them, were treated with the most considerate kindness by the Union soldiers. They had been taught that they would receive no quarter from the invaders, who were bent upon indiscriminate pillage and devastation. Their leaders, however, who had sent their sons to the rebel army, did not hesitate, while freely avowing their hostility to the government, to ask for protection for their farms and property. The humors of another class, of growing importance in the war, are described by the correspondent just cited: "At one house on the road to Strasburg I found an intelligent negress who told me that Jackson had stopped there to dine on his advance, and again on his retreat. That he had said they were sure to whip the Yankees, and promised her master he would give him Lincoln's skull for a salt gourd when he came back. I asked what the negroes thought about the war, and why they didn't avail themselves of this chance to free themselves more generally. They thought they had better wait, they said. Mr. Lincoln, they thought, 'was a-going to make a law to make them all free, and they would wait for him, and then they could go according to the law.' They didn't believe, she said, that the Yankees would sell them off to Cuba, as her master had always told her, and some of them had run off, but she had two children and did not know where to go, nor what to do with her family, so she thought she would wait for Mr. Lincoln. She told me that the rebels were very boastful when they went down to Winchester, but when they came back they were very tired and hungry, and didn't say much about the fight, only that they had retreated the Yankees back to Winchester." After resting a week at Strasburg, where he had established his headquarters, General Banks, on the 1st of April, pursued the enemy twelve miles, through a succession of valleys and wooded hills, to Woodstock, skirmishing as usual with Colonel Ashby's retreating cavalry by the way, and seven miles beyond to Edenburg. At Woodstock, which was occupied by the Union forces, the Federal guns were planted on a hill on one side of the town, while the rebel artillery held a similar position on the other. A number of buildings in the town were struck by the shot of the contending parties, but only one person appears to have been killed, a soldier of the 29th Pennsylvania regiment. Several of the road and railway bridges were burnt by the enemy in their retreat. The advance of General Banks' corp was compelled to halt at Edenburg — where there was some sharp skirmishing, with loss to Ashby's cavalry—till the bridge across the creek at this place could be rebuilt. This work having been completed, with other preparations for the advance, General Banks, on the 17th, entered Mount Jackson, pursuing the enemy beyond to New Market, of which he took possession on the following day. General Shields conducted the advance, having sufficiently recovered from the wound in his arm at the battle of Winchester to ride in a buggy, while the reserve was led by Brigadier-General A. S. Williams. The latter was a native of Connecticut who had settled in Michigan, been a lawyer and editor, and served as officer of a volunteer regiment in the Mexican war. He had been engaged in organizing the volunteer regiments in Michigan, and was now in command of the 1st division of General Banks' army corps.

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* Correspondence *New York Post.* Strasburg, March 29, 1862.

On the 19th, General Banks wrote to the Secretary of War from the latter place: "To-day I have been to the bridges on the south fork of the Shenandoah, in the Masanutton valley, with a force of cavalry, infantry and artillery, to protect the two important bridges that cross the river. We were within sight of Luray at the south bridge. A sharp skirmish occurred with the rebels, in which they lost several men taken prisoners. Their object was the destruction of the bridges. One of the prisoners left the camp on the bank of the Rappahannock Tuesday morning. There were no fortifications there up to that time. Other reports indicate a stronger force at Gordonsville and a contest there, the whole resulting in a belief that they are concentrating at Yorktown. I believe Jackson left this valley yesterday. He is reported to have left Harrisonburg yesterday for Gordonsville by the mountain road. He encamped last night at McGaugeytown, eleven miles from Harrisonburg." These rumors were fully confirmed as the troops advanced toward Harrisonburg. On the 22d General Banks again wrote to Washington, announcing that "the rebel Jackson has abandoned the valley of Virginia permanently, and is on the way to Gordonsville by the way of the mountains. Every day brings its prisoners and numerous deserters from the rebels." Two days after a strong reconnoissance was made by the Union forces in the direction of Staunton, and an entry made into that town without opposition from the enemy. The Shenandoah divided Jackson's rear guard from the Union forces at Strasburg and other points of the valley. The command of General Banks, resting from its labors, congratulated itself that its work was accomplished in freeing the region from the rebel army.

The situation, however, was not without its anxieties for the future. "It is very hard," wrote a correspondent from Harrisonburg at the end of April, to find out from the inhabitants, even those who want to give information, what Jackson's forces are, or what his intentions are. The Secessionists are sullen and silent, the Unionists afraid, and those who want to conciliate us too ignorant to tell much about anything. Not one man in twenty knows anything, even about the roads five miles from his own house, the subject on which they ought to be best informed. Contrabands are our great resource. They can always be relied on as truthful, and willingly give any information they have, while their shrewdness and careful observation often find out matters of great importance. From them, and some refugees lately come in, Jackson's force is estimated at seven thousand infantry, twenty-four to thirty pieces of cannon, and all of Ashby's cavalry, one thousand or fifteen hundred strong. These are now posted on the other side of the south fork of the Shenandoah, eighteen miles from Harrisonburg, and somewhere near there there is some prospect, though not a strong one, of a battle. Jackson has received some reinforcements, and more are said to be on the way. The 10th Virginia Regiment, raised in Rockingham county, and numbering about five hundred men, has certainly come, and the whole of Ewell's brigade, of which it is a part, is said to be coming. If this comes, Jackson will have 10,000 men, with artillery and cavalry, with which, in a good position, he can make a hard fight. But he certainly will not fight where he is now. His army lies in a plain on the other side of the south fork of the Shenandoah, with no elevated positions for his artillery, and the whole position commanded by hills on this side of the river, at the foot of which the river flows."*

General Richard Stoddard Ewell, who was reported as coming with his command to the aid of Jackson, was a native of the district of Columbia, a graduate of West Point of the year 1840, and had proved himself a cavalry officer of merit in the war with Mexico, and subsequently in the Indian campaigns on the frontier of that country. Resigning his commission in the United States army, he had been appointed a Brigadier General in the Confederate service, and was one of the rebel officers in the field at Bull Run.

The successful movement of General Banks was, in fact, so far as any material advantages were concerned, limited to the temporary possession of the lower portion of the valley. It was expected by the public that he would occupy Staunton, and, at least, threaten the enemy on the line of the Virginia Central Railway; but from necessity or policy his outposts were, early in May, called in, and his main force fell back to Strasburg, whence a large portion of his command was withdrawn by the Manassas Railway for the reinforcement of the army in Eastern Virginia. The main army of the Potomac, under General McClellan, had embarked for the Peninsula, and, after weeks of military preparation, was about making its entrance into Yorktown; while Fredericksburg had just surrendered to the forces of General McDowell, who, having been detained for the defence of Washington, and longing to coöperate directly with McClellan, had pushed his corps to the Rappahannock, where he was ready for either movement.

The enemy, meanwhile, was not idle. General Ewell was gathering his men in front of the Union forces, in the eastern portion of the valley, while farther to the south, Jackson, crossing its western boundary, assailed the troops of General Milroy, in Highland county, and compelled their retreat to Franklin, where a successful stand was made, by assistance from the command of General Fremont. Towards the end of May, the enemy, relying, doubtless, on the comparative weakness of General Banks' diminished forces, and with the design of diverting, at least, a portion of the accumulating Union forces from the attack upon Richmond, commenced the aggressive in the valley of the Shenandoah. The attack was first made at Front Royal, where the Manassas Railway crosses the Shenandoah, twelve miles from Strasburg. Colonel John R. Kenly, of the 1st Maryland Volunteers, was in command at this place with his own regiment, and several battalions of infantry and cavalry, with a section of artillery, numbering in all about a thousand effective men, a force simply sufficient to hold in check the guerrilla parties infesting the region. "Front Royal," says General Banks, "had never been contemplated as a defence against the combined forces of the enemy in the valley of Virginia. It is in itself an indefensible position. Two mountain valleys debouch suddenly upon the town from the south, commanding it by almost inaccessible hills; and it is at the same time exposed to flank movements by other mountain valleys, via Strasburg on the west and Chester Gap on the east. The only practicable defence of the town would be by a force sufficiently strong to hold these mountain passes some miles in advance. Such forces were not at my disposal, and no such expectations were entertained from the slender command of Colonel Kenly.

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* *New York Evening Post*, May 5, 1862.

"On the 23d of May, it was discovered that the whole force of the enemy was in movement, down the valley of the Shenandoah, between the Massanutten Mountain and the Blue Ridge, and in close proximity to the town. Their cavalry had captured a considerable number of our pickets before the alarm was given. The little band which was charged with the protection of the railroad and bridges, found itself instantaneously compelled to choose between an immediate retreat or a contest with the enemy, against overwhelming numbers. Colonel Kenly was not the man to avoid a contest, at whatever odds. He immediately drew up his troops in the order he had contemplated in case of an attack of less importance. The disposition of his forces had been wisely made to resist a force equal to his own, and the best, perhaps, that could have been devised in his more pressing emergency. About one o'clock P. M. the alarm was given that the enemy was advancing on the town in force. The infantry com panies were drawn up in line of battle about one-half of a mile in the rear of the town. Five companies were detailed to support the artillery, which was placed on the crest of a hill commanding a meadow of some extent, over which the enemy must pass to reach the bridge —one company guarding the regimental camp, nearer to the river, on the right of the line. The companies, three in number, left to guard the town, were soon compelled to fall back upon the main force. There were then four companies on the right of the battery near the camp, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dunshane, and five companies on the left under Colonel Kenly. The battery, Lieutenant Atwell commanding, opened fire upon the enemy advancing from the hills on the right and left, well supported by the infantry, doing much damage. A detachment of the 5th New York Cavalry was ordered to advance upon the road, which was attempted, but did not succeed. They held this position for an hour, when they were compelled to retreat across the river, which was done in good order, their camps and stores having been first destroyed."

On the opposite side their lines were again formed, and the battery, in position, opened its fire upon the enemy while fording the river. They were again ordered to move, left in front, on the Winchester road, and had proceeded about two miles when they were overtaken by the enemy's cavalry, and a fearful fight ensued, which ended in the complete destruction of the command. Colonel Kenly, at the head of his column, was wounded in this action. The train and one gun were captured. One gun was brought within five miles of Winchester, and abandoned by Lieutenant Atwell only when his horses were broken down. The enemy's force is estimated at eight thousand. The fighting was mostly done by the cavalry on the side of the rebels, with active support from the infantry and artillery. Our own force did not exceed nine hundred men. They held their ground manfully, yielding only to the irresistible power of overwhelming numbers. Prisoners captured since the affair represent that our troops fought with great valor, and that the losses of the enemy were large. A prisoner, captured near Martinsburg, who was in the Front Royal army, states that twenty-five men were killed in the charge on the Buckton station. Six companies of cavalry charged upon our troops at that place. The killed and wounded numbered forty odd. Among the killed were Captain Sheats and Captain Fletcher. The name of the prisoner is John Seyer. It is impossible at this time to give a detailed account of our losses. Reports from the officers of the regiment represent that but eight commissioned officers and one hundred and twenty-five men have reported. Of these officers, five were in the engagement, two absent on detached service, and one on furlough. All the regimental officers were captured. Colonel Kenly, who was represented to have been killed, is now understood to be held a prisoner. He is severely wounded. Lieutenant Atwell reports that of thirty-eight men attached to his battery, but twelve have reported. The cavalry were more fortunate, and suffered comparatively little loss."* Colonel Kenly was released on parol, and was enabled to return to Maryland, where he slowly recovered from his wounds. He was subsequently exchanged, and in September, 1862, was promoted to a brigadier generalship, when he was stationed with his command on the upper Potomac.

On the first reception, at Strasburg, of the news of the attack upon Colonel Kenly, General Banks, thinking the reports of the enemy's numbers exaggerated, sent reinforcements to assist him in maintaining his position, but presently learning, from reports and scouting parties sent out to explore the country, that the enemy were advancing in force, by rapid marches, upon Winchester, he recalled the troops which were on their way, and took measures for an immediate retreat from the valley. If Winchester were reoccupied by Jackson, supplies and reinforcements would be cut off, and the whole Union force be inevitably captured. Assuring himself on the instant that such was the object of the enemy, and that they were in overwhelming force for its accomplishment, General Banks promptly met the sudden and unlooked for emergency. "Three courses," says he in his official report of the retreat, "were open to us. First, a retreat across Little North Mountain to the Potomac river on the west; second, an attack upon the enemy's flank on the Front Royal road; third, a rapid movement direct upon Winchester, with a view to anticipate his occupation of the town by seizing it ourselves—thus placing my command in communication with its original base of operations, in the line of reinforcements by Harper's Ferry and Martinsburgh, and securing a safe retreat in case of disaster. To remain at Strasburgh was to be surrounded; to move over the mountains was to abandon our train at the outset, and to subject my command to flank attacks without possibility of succor; and to attack, the enemy being in such overwhelming force, could only result in certain destruction. It was therefore determined to enter the lists with the enemy in a race or a battle—as he should choose—for the possession of Winchester, the key of the valley, and for us the position of safety.

"At three o'clock, A. M., the 24th inst., the reinforcements—infantry, artillery, and cavalry—sent to Colonel Kenly, were recalled; the advance guard, Colonel Donnelly's brigade, were ordered to return to Strasburg, several hundred disabled men left in our charge by Shield's division were put upon the march, and our wagon train ordered forward to Winchester under escort of cavalry and infantry. General Hatch, with nearly our whole force of cavalry and six pieces of artillery, was charged with the protection of the rear of the column, and the destruction of army stores for which transportation was not provided, with instructions to remain in front of the town as long as possible, and hold the enemy in check, our expectations of attack being in that direction. All these orders were executed with incredible alacrity, and soon after nine o'clock the column was on the march, Colonel Donnelly in front, Colonel Gordon in the centre, and General Hatch in the rear. The column had passed Cedar creek, about three miles from Strasburg, with the exception of the rear guard, still in front of Strasburg, when information was received from the front that the enemy had attacked the train, and was in full possession of the road at Middletown. This report was confirmed by the return of fugitives, refugees, and wagons, which came tumbling to the rear in fearful confusion. It being apparent now that our immediate danger was in front, the troops were ordered to the head of the column and the train to the rear; and in view of a possible necessity for our return to Strasburg, Captain James W. Abert, Topographical corps—who associated with him the Zouaves d'Afrique, Captain Collis—was ordered to prepare Cedar creek bridge for the flames, in order to prevent a pursuit in that direction by the enemy. In the execution of this order, Captain Abert and the Zouaves were cut off from the column, which they joined at Williamsport. They had at Strasburg a very sharp conflict with the enemy, in which his cavalry suffered severely.

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* General Banks, to Secretary Stanton, Head Quarters, Department of the Shenandoah, May 31, 1862.

"The head of the reorganized column, Colonel Donnelly commanding, encountered the enemy in force at Middletown, about thirteen miles from Winchester. Three hundred troops had been seen in town, but it soon appeared that larger forces were in the rear. The brigade halted, and the 46th Pennsylvania, Colonel Knipe, was ordered to penetrate the woods on the right and dislodge the enemy's skirmishers. They were supported by a section of Cothran's New York battery. Five companies of the enemy's cavalry were discovered in an open field in the rear of the woods, and our artillery, masked at first by the infantry, opened fire upon them. They stood fire for a while, but at length retreated, pursued by our skirmishers. The 28th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, was now brought up, and under a heavy fire of infantry and artillery, the enemy were driven back more than two miles from the pike. Colonel Donnelly, being informed at that point, by a citizen in great alarm, that 4,000 men were in the woods beyond, the men were anxious to continue the fight; but as this would have defeated our object by the loss of valuable time, with the exception of a small guard, they were ordered to resume the march. This affair occurred under my own observation, and I have great pleasure in vouching for the admirable conduct of the officers and men. We lost one man, killed, and some wounded. This episode, with the change of front, occupied nearly an hour, but it saved our column. Had the enemy vigorously attacked our train while at the head of the column, it would have been thrown into such dire confusion as to have made a successful continuation of our march impossible. Pending this contest, Colonel Brodhead, of the 1st Mississippi cavalry, was ordered to advance, and, if possible, to cut his way through and occupy Winchester. It was the report of this energetic officer that gave us the first assurance that our coast was yet clear, and he was the first of our column to enter the town.

"When it was first reported that the enemy had pushed between us and Winchester, General Hatch was ordered to advance with all his available cavalry from Strasburg, leaving Colonel DeForrest to cover the rear and destroy stores not provided with transportation. Major Vought, 5th New York cavalry, had been previously ordered to reconnoitre the Front Royal road, to ascertain the position of the enemy, whom he encountered in force near Middletown, and was compelled to fall back, immediately followed by the enemy's cavalry, infantry and artillery. In this affair five of our men were killed and several wounded. The enemy's loss is not known. After repeated attempts to force a passage through the lines of the enemy, now advanced to the pike, General Hatch, satisfied that this result could not be accomplished without great loss, and supposing our army to have proceeded but a short distance, turned to the left, and moved upon a parallel road, made several ineffectual attempts to effect a junction with the main column. At Newtown, however, he found Colonel Gordon holding the enemy in check, and joined his brigade. Major Collins, with three companies of cavalry, mistaking the point where the main body of cavalry left the road, dashed upon the enemy until stopped by the barricade of wagons and the tempestuous fire of infantry and artillery. His loss must have been very severe. Six companies of the 5th New York, Colonel DeForrest, and six companies of the 1st Vermont cavalry, Colonel Tompkins, after repeated and desperate efforts to form a junction with the main body—the road now being filled with infantry, artillery and cavalry—fell back to Strasburg, where they found the Zouaves d'Afrique. The 5th New York, failing to effect a junction at Winchester, and also at Martinsburg, came in at Clear Spring with a train of thirty-two wagons and many stragglers. The 1st Vermont, Colonel Tompkins joined us at Winchester with six pieces of artillery, and participated in the fight of the next morning. Nothing could surpass the celerity and spirit with which the various companies of cavalry executed their movements, or their intrepid charges upon the enemy. General Hatch deserves great credit for the manner in which he discharged his duties as chief of cavalry in this part of our march, as well as at the fight at Winchester, and in covering the rear of our column to the river; but especially for the spirit infused into his troops during the brief period of his command, which, by confession of friend and foe, had been equal, if not superior, to the best of the enemy's long-trained mounted troops. From this point the protection of the rear of the column devolved upon the forces under Colonel Gordon.

"The guard having been separated from the column, and the rear of the train having been attacked by an increased force near the bridge between Newtown and Kernstown, Colonel Gordon was directed to send back the 2d Massachusetts, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews commanding, the 27th Indiana, Colonel Colgrove, and the 28th New Yew York, Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, to rescue the rear of the train and hold the enemy in check. They found him at Newtown with a strong force of infantry, artillery and cavalry. The 2d Massachusetts was deployed in the field, supported by the 28th New York and the 27th Indiana, and ordered to drive the enemy from the town; and the battery was at the same time so placed as to silence the guns of the enemy. Both these objects were quickly accomplished. They found it impossible to reach Middletown, so as to enable the cavalry under General Hatch to join the column, or to cover entirely the rear of the train. Large bodies of the enemy's cavalry passed upon our right and left, and the increased vigor of his movements demonstrated the rapid advance of the main body. A cavalry charge made upon our troops was received in squares on the right and on the road, and in the line of the left, which repelled his assault and gained time to reform the train, to cover its rear, and to burn the disabled wagons. This affair occupied several hours—the regiments having been moved to the rear about six o'clock, and not reaching the town until after twelve.

"The strength and purpose of the enemy were to us unknown when we reached Winchester, except upon surmise and vague rumors from Front Royal. These rumors were strengthened by the vigor with which the enemy had pressed our main column, and defeated at every point the efforts of detachments to effect a junction with the main column. At Winchester, however, all suspicion was relieved on that subject. All classes—Secessionists, Unionists, refugees, fugitives and prisoners—argued that the enemy's force at or near Winchester was overwhelming, ranging from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand. Rebel officers who came into our camp with entire unconcern, supposing that their own troops occupied the town as a matter of course, and were captured, confirm these statements, and added that an attack would be made upon us at daybreak. I determined to test the substance and strength of the enemy by actual collision, and measures were promptly taken to prepare our troops to meet them. They had taken up their position on entering the town after dark, without expectations of a battle, and were at disadvantage as compared with the enemy. The rattling of musketry was heard during the latter part of the night, and before the break of day a sharp engagement occurred at the outposts. Soon after four o'clock the artillery opened its fire, which was continued without cessation till the close of the engagement. The right of our line was occupied by the 3d brigade, Colonel George H. Gordon, commanding. The regiments were strongly posted, and near the centre covered by stone walls from the fire of the enemy. Their infantry opened on the right, and soon both lines were under heavy fire. The left was occupied by the 3d brigade, Colonel Dudley Donnelly commanding. The line was weak compared with that of the enemy, but the troops were posted, and patiently awaited, as they nobly improved, their coming opportunity. The earliest movements of the enemy were on our left, two regiments being seen to move as with the purpose of occupying a position in flank or rear. General Hatch sent a detachment of cavalry to intercept this movement, when it was apparently abandoned. The enemy suffered very serious loss from the fire of our infantry on the left. One regiment is represented by persons present during the action, and after the field was evacuated, as nearly destroyed. The main body of the enemy was hidden during the early part of the action by the crest of the hill and the woods in the rear. Their force was massed apparently upon our right, and their maneuvers indicated a purpose to turn us upon the Berryville road, where, it appeared subsequently, they had placed a considerable force, with a view of preventing reinforcements from Harper's Ferry. But the steady fire of our lines held them in check until a small portion of the troops on the right of our line made a movement to the rear. It is but just to add that this was done under the erroneous impression that an order to withdraw had been given. No sooner was this observed by the enemy, than its regiments swarmed upon the crest of the hill, advancing from the woods upon our right, which, still continuing its fire, steadily advanced towards the town.

"The overwhelming force of the enemy now suddenly showing itself, making further resistance unwise, orders were sent to the left by Captain DeHautville, to withdraw, which was done reluctantly, but in order, the enemy having greatly suffered in that wing. A portion of the troops passed through the town in some confusion, but the column was soon reformed and continued its march in order. This engagement held the enemy in check for five hours. The forces engaged were greatly unequal. Indisposed to accept the early rumors concerning the enemy's strength, I reported to the department that it was about 15,000. It is now conclusively shown that not less than 25,000 men were in position, and could have been brought into action. On the right and left their great superiority of numbers was plainly felt and seen, and the signal officers, from elevated positions, were enabled to count the regimental standards, indicating a strength equal to that I have stated. My own command consisted of two brigades of less than 4,000 men, all told, with 900 cavalry, ten Parrott guns, and one battery of 6-pounders, smoothbore cannon. To this should be added the 10th Maine regiment of infantry, and five companies of Maryland cavalry, stationed at Winchester, which were engaged in the action. The loss of the enemy was treble that of ours in killed and wounded. In prisoners ours greatly exceeds theirs. Officers whose word I cannot doubt, have stated, as the result of their own observations, that our men were fired upon from private dwellings in passing through Winchester; but I am credibly informed, and gladly believe, that the atrocities said to have been perpetrated upon our wounded soldiers by the rebels, are greatly exaggerated or entirely untrue.

"Our march was turned in the direction of Martinsburg, hoping there to meet with reinforcements, the troops moving in three parallel columns, each protected by an efficient rear guard. Pursuit by the enemy was prompt and vigorous, but our movements were rapid and without loss. A few miles from Winchester, the sound of the steam whistle, heard in the direction of Martinsburg, strengthened the hope of reinforcements, and stirred the blood of the men like a trumpet. Soon after, two squadrons of cavalry came dashing down the road with wild hurrahs. They were thought to be the advance of the anticipated support, and received with deafening cheers. Every man felt like turning back upon the enemy. It proved to be the 1st Maryland cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel Wetschky, sent out in the morning as a train-guard. Hearing the guns, they had returned to participate in the fight. Advantage was taken of this stirring incident to reorganize our column, and the march was continued with renewed spirit and ardor. At Martinsburg the column halted two and a half hours—the rear guard remaining until seven in the evening in rear of the town—and arrived at the river at sundown, forty-eight hours after the first news of the attack on Front Royal. It was a march of fifty-three miles, thirty-five of which were performed in one day. The scene of the river, when the rear-guard arrived, was of the most animating and exciting description. A thousand camp-fires were burning on the hillside, a thousand carriages of every description were crowded upon the banks, and the broad river between the exhausted troops and their coveted rest. The ford was too deep for the teams to cross in regular succession. Only the strongest horses, after a few experiments, were allowed to essay the passage of the river before morning. The single ferry was occupied by the ammunition trains, the ford by the wagons. The cavalry was secure in its form of crossing. The troops only had no transportation. Fortunately, the train we had so sedulously guarded served us in turn. Several boats belonging to the pontoon train, which we had brought from Strasburg, were launched, and devoted exclusively to their service. It is seldom that a river crossing of such magnitude is achieved with greater success. There never were more grateful hearts in the same number of men, than when, at mid-day on the 26th, we stood on the opposite shore.

"My command had not suffered an attack and rout, but accomplished a premeditated march of near sixty miles, in the face of the enemy, defeating his plans and giving him battle wherever he was found. Our loss is stated in detail, with the names of the killed, wounded and missing, in the full report of Brigadier-General A. S. Williams, commanding division, to which reference is made. The whole number of killed is 38; wounded, 155; missing, 711. Total loss, 905. It is undoubtedly true that many of the missing will yet return, and the entire loss may be assumed as not exceeding 700. It is also probable that the number of killed and wounded may be larger than that above stated, but the aggregate loss will not be changed thereby. All our guns were saved. Our wagon train consisted of nearly five hundred wagons. Of this number fifty-five were lost. They were not, with but few exceptions, abandoned to the enemy; but were burned upon the road. Nearly all of our supplies were thus saved."

Such was the masterly retreat of the army of General Banks through the valley of the Shenandoah before the superior forces of the enemy. His simple and admirable recital of the facts requires no comment. Promptness, energy, and presence of mind were in all ranks conspicuous throughout these two memorable days. The terms in which their triumph was celebrated by the Confederates sufficiently demonstrate the extraordinary efforts which had been made, and the superiority of their numbers in securing the result. General Jackson, from his headquarters at Winchester, on the 28th of May, in a general order, marked by that vein of religious enthusiasm which invigorated his actions, thus addressed his troops: "Within four weeks this army has made long and rapid marches, fought six combats, and two battles, signally defeating the enemy in each one, capturing several stands of colors and pieces of artillery, with numerous prisoners, and vast medical and army stores. and finally driven the boastful host which was ravishing our beautiful country, into utter rout. The general commanding would warmly express to the officers and men under his command his joy in their achievements, and his thanks for their brilliant gallantry in action, and their obedience under the hardships of forced marches, often more painful to the brave soldier than the dangers of battle. The explanation of the severe exertions to which the commanding general called the army, which were endured by them with such cheerful confidence in him, is now given in the victory of yesterday. He receives this proof of their confidence in the past with pride and gratitude, and asks only a similar confidence in the future. But his chief duty to-day, and that of the army, is to recognize devoutly the hand of a protecting Providence in the brilliant successes of the last three days, which have given us the result of a great victory without great losses, and to make the oblation of our thanks to God for his mercies to us and our country in heartfelt acts of religious worship. For this purpose the troops will remain in camp to-day, suspending, as far as practicable, all military exercises, and the chaplains of the regiments will hold divine service in their several charges at four o'clock, P. M. to-day."

General Joseph E. Johnston, in command of the army before Richmond, also took advantage of the occasion, in an address issued the next day, to stimulate the courage of his troops for the ever renewed conflict on the soil of Virginia: "The commanding general has the proud satisfaction of announcing to the army another brilliant success won by the skill and courage of our generals and troops in the valley. The combined divisions of Major Generals Jackson and Ewell, constituting a portion of this army, and commanded by the former, attacked and routed the Federal forces under Major-General Banks successively at Front

Royal, Middletown, and Winchester, capturing several thousands of prisoners and an immense quantity of ammunition and stores of all descriptions. The Federal army has been dispersed and ignominiously driven from the valley of the Shenandoah, and those who have freed the loyal citizens of that district by their patriotic valor, have again earned, as they will receive, the thanks of a grateful country. In making this glorious announcement on the eve of the memorable struggle about to ensue, the commanding general does not deem it necessary to invoke the troops of this army to emulate the deeds of their noble comrades in the valley. He feels already assured of their determined purpose to make illustrious in history the part they are soon to act in the impending drama."

CHAPTER LXIX.

GENERAL FREMONT'S MOUNTAIN DEPARTMENT AND CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA, MARCH—JUNE, 1862.

THE reoccupation of the valley of the Shenandoah by the Confederate General Jackson, bringing once more the forces of the enemy to the line of the Potomac, was a startling phenomenon which could not fail to arouse the attention of the North, and demand vigorous action at the hands of the government. The cry was again raised of danger to the capital, and this at a time when the news of the capture of New Orleans was the topic of the day, and it was generally supposed that the great army of the Potomac was on the eve of entering Richmond in triumph! Was it the intention of the Confederates, leaving the hosts of McClellan at a safe distance in the rear, to break into Maryland, and make a sudden dash upon Baltimore or Washington? The war department, evidently alarmed on the subject, called hastily upon the governors of the Northern States for more troops, and by a special order of the 25th of May, it was declared that "by virtue of the authority vested by an act of Congress, the President takes military possession of all the railroads in the United States, from and after this date until further orders, and directs that the respective railroad companies, their officers and servants, shall hold themselves in readiness for the transportation of troops and munitions of war, as may be ordered by the military authorities, to the exclusion of all other business."

The loyal governors responded promptly to the call. On the first intimation, previous to the retreat of General Banks, that additional troops would be wanted, Governor Curtin replied: "Pennsylvania will furnish any number required." The work of enlistment was speedily resumed in New York under an effective system of State organization. Governor Yates, ever ready to aid the government, called upon the people of Illinois to recruit the regiments which they had sent to the field. "These," said he, "have nobly done their duty, and many of them have purchased lasting honor with the price of their lives, and it remains only for us to maintain what they have achieved, and therefore I call on the people of Illinois to raise men in every precinct of the State." Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, disappointed by the slow action of the government in recognizing the necessity for negro emancipation in the war, seemed for the moment to hesitate. On receiving a telegram on the 19th of May from the war department, asking how soon he could raise and organize three or four more infantry regiments, and have them ready to be forwarded to Washington to be armed and equipped," he answered on the instant: "A call so sudden and unexpected finds me without materials for an intelligent reply. Our young men are all preoccupied with other views. Still, if a real call for three regiments is made, I believe we can raise them in forty days. The arms and equipments would need to be furnished here. Our people have never marched without them. They go into camp while forming into regiments, and are drilled and practiced with arms and muskets as soldiers. To attempt the other course would dampen enthusiasm, and make men feel that they were not soldiers, but a mob. Again: if our people feel that they are going into the South to help fight rebels who will kill and destroy them by all means known to savages as well as civilized men; will deceive them by fraudulent flags of truce, and lying pretences, as they did the Massachusetts boys at Williamsburg; will use their negro slaves against them both as laborers and as fighting men, while they themselves must never fire at the enemy's magazine, I think they will feel the draft is heavy on their patriotism. But if the President will sustain General Hunter, and recognize all men, even black men, as legally capable of that loyalty the blacks are willing to manifest; and let them fight, with God and human nature on their side, the roads will swarm, if need be, with multitudes whom New England would pour out to obey your call. Always ready to do my utmost, I remain, most faithfully, your obedient servant, John A. Andrew." A week later, when General Banks had crossed the Potomac, and the protection of the capital was involved, Governor Andrew, throwing all doubts and scruples to the winds, and now satisfied that the call was "real," issued the following vigorous proclamation, dated "At headquarters, in Boston, at eleven o'clock, this Sunday evening, May 25, A. D., 1862. Men of Massachusetts: The wily and barbarous horde of traitors to the people, to the government, to our country, and to liberty, menace again the national capital. They have attacked and routed Major-General Banks, are advancing on Harper's Ferry, and are marching on Washington. The President calls on Massachusetts to rise once more for its rescue and defence. The whole active militia will be summoned by a general order issued from the office of the adjutant-general, to report on Boston Common to-morrow. They will march to relieve and avenge their brethren and friends, to oppose with fiery zeal and courageous patriotism the progress of the foe. May God encourage their hearts and strengthen their arms, and may He inspire the government and all the people." The Secretary of War, indeed, by his Sunday telegram, had effectually stirred up the country. The scenes of the previous year were renewed as the old 6th Massachusetts regiment, the New York 7th, and others, hastened to revisit the scenes of their previous duties, "through Baltimore," and on the Potomac.

It was not by new recruits, however, that the threatened invasion of the rebel chiefs at this time were prepared for such a movement—was to be driven backward. That depended upon new combinations of troops already in the field; upon the central column of Banks, and the supporting forces on his right and left, of General Fremont and General McDowell. Both were called upon to take part in the movement, and once more drive the redoubtable "Stonewall" Jackson from the valley of the Shenandoah. A new military department, called the Mountain Department, it will be remembered, had been created by President Lincoln's war order of March 11th, for General Fremont. Lying between the department of the Potomac on the east, and the new department of General

Halleck on the west, it included the entire range of western Virginia, and the Alleghany district of Tennessee, east of Knoxville. The latter region, especially, presented an inviting sphere of military operations. The opponents of Fremont laughed at the airy mountain command of the pathfinder of the Rocky Mountains, and pronounced the appointment an ingenious device of the government to shelve a general who was too important to be overlooked, and whom it was not thought expedient to put too prominently forward. The command assigned him, however, was not an unimportant one. It was identified with the interests of freedom. A hardy race, naturally foes to slavery, inhabited the mountains, and if the enemy were to be outflanked in southern Virginia, cutting off the Richmond communications, or if eastern Tennessee were to be occupied, the enemy would be greatly straitened, and one of the most difficult problems of the war would be solved. It was the expectation of his friends, and the intention of Fremont himself, that his division, starting from the north, would gain strength as it proceeded, and earn its brightest laurels in the South. The raid of the rebel General Jackson diverted his energies to another quarter, and his new hopes of renown were brought to an end in that field of central Virginia so fatal to military prospects at various periods of the war.

The new appointment of General Fremont absorbed the old department of western Virginia, long and honorably held by General Rosecrans. The latter officer, on the 29th of March, on the arrival of Fremont at Wheeling, the headquarters of the mountain department, resigned his command in an eloquent general order: "Companions in arms," said he, "in this vast department of mountains and forests, in the rains of summer, the cold and storms of winter, for nine months, I have witnessed your uncomplaining zeal and activity, your watchings, your marchings, and your combats. Under God, to your bravery and good conduct it is due that not a single reverse has attended our arms in all these vast regions. Wherever I go I shall bear with me the remembrance of men who, leaving home and its endearments, against the force of all former tastes and habits, have undertaken to inure themselves to the toils, privations, hardships and dangers of military life, and have succeeded. But, comrades, proud as I am of the manly energy you have thus displayed, I am prouder still to bear testimony to the pure and lofty patriotism which has called it forth. No mean and sectional spirit, no low truckling to reckless leadership, no blind and ignorant fanaticism has animated you. By your intelligence, your magnanimity and forbearance towards those whom the rebellion has misled, you have shown that you entered into the conflict with a conviction that the interests of free government, and even of human freedom itself, opposed by arbitrary and despotic will by rebellion in favor of despotism, lay in the issue, and that you fought for the liberties of all, both north and south. Such men deserve to be, and will be, free themselves; or, dying, will bequeath liberty and a glorious name to their posterity. That it may be your happy lot, in the Union and the constitution and the laws, to be free and happy yourselves, and to bequeath freedom, happiness, and a glorious name to your children, is my cherished wish and hope."

Two months were passed by General Fremont in necessary preparations for the organization of his corps, under unusual difficulties, from the insufficient provision made for the new department. Early in May, when he was suddenly called to take the field, his command was composed of troops in part originally under the command of General Rosecrans, and in part of the division of Brigadier-General Blenker, from the army of the Potomac. This officer, a native of Hesse Darmstadt, after serving in his youth with the Bavarian legion, which accompanied the newly elected King Otho to Greece, and subsequently taking part in the revolutionary proceedings of 1848, in his own country, emigrated to the United States on the unsuccessful termination of the latter struggle. A resident of New York city, at the outbreak of the rebellion, he became immediately engaged in raising a German regiment of volunteers, the 8th, which left for Washington in May, 1861, and stationed in the reserve at Bull Run, did effective service on that day, in covering the retreat of the Union forces. For his good conduct on that occasion, Colonel Blenker was made a Brigadier General of Volunteers. The staff of General Fremont included several of the officers who had been with him in Missouri. Among others, it embraced Colonels Aberts and Fiala, Colonel D'Utassy, formerly of the New York Garibaldi Guard, and Major Zagonyi, the cavalry chieftain of the brilliant charge before Springfield.

The first movement in General Fremont's department was in Highland County, where, on the 13th of April, the pickets of General Milroy's camp, at Monterey, were attacked and driven in by a body of about a thousand rebels, with cavalry and two pieces of artillery. Reinforcements were sent out by General Milroy, and after a brisk skirmish the assailants were put to flight with considerable loss.* The enemy, however, did not quit the region, but established themselves in a fortified position on the eastern slope of the Shenandoah mountains. A few days later, on the 23d, a party, sent out by General Schenck, from Romney, had a sharp encounter with a body of guerrillas. A fortnight later he had advanced with his brigade to Franklin, the capital of Pendleton County, whence he was proceeding toward the camp of General Milroy, in the adjoining county, when he received intelligence from the latter officer of a threatened attack by the enemy. There had been considerable skirmishing between the rival forces in the region, and on the 8th of May a serious encounter between them took place near McDowell, some twelve miles beyond Monterey. General Milroy, discovering the enemy in position on the adjacent Bull Mountain, sent a Virginia and four Ohio regiments to attack them. The troops gallantly ascended the mountain, and for five hours, from three in the afternoon till eight in the evening, contested the position, when they retired. General Schenck, who, after a forced march of thirty-four miles in twenty-four hours, had joined General Milroy before the battle, then brought off the inferior Union force in safety to Franklin, in a march of three days, the enemy following at a distance, with a loss of 28 killed, 60 severely, and 145 slightly wounded.* The prompt arrival of General Fremont, from Petersburg, with the Blenker division, so strengthened the command that no further advance was made by the enemy in this direction. The want of supplies, from the difficulty of communication with the Potomac, prevented their being pursued. Shortly after this affair, on the 20th of May, Colonel Crook commanding the brigade, at Lewisburg, in Greenbrier County, made a successful dash through Covington, to the Virginia Central Railroad, burning the bridge at Jackson river. This was followed by an attack on Colonel Crook's brigade, at Lewisburg, on the 23d, by the rebel General Heath, with 3,000 men, when, after a lively engagement, the enemy were routed, and fled in confusion. Colonel Crook captured four cannon, two hundred stand of arms, and one hundred prisoners. The Union loss was ten killed and forty wounded. In announcing this victory to his forces, at Franklin, General Fremont expressed his conviction that they lacked but the opportunity "to emulate the gallantry, and share the glory of their comrades of the army of the Kanawha."*

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* Major General Fremont to Secretary Stanton, Wheeling, Va., April 13, 1862.

* Correspondence *New York Tribune*. Franklin, Va., May 14, 1862.

On the night of the 24th of May, the day after Ewell's attack on Colonel Kenly, at Front Royal, General Fremont received, at Franklin, orders from President Lincoln to march to the relief of General Banks, in the valley of the Shenandoah. The entire force at his command, numbering 11,500 men, consisted of the Blenker division, the brigades of Generals Schenck and Milroy, and a light brigade of Ohio and Virginia troops, under Colonel Cluseret, a French officer of education and experience, who had distinguished himself at the Crimea, in Algiers, and lately in the Italian war for independence, as a member of the staff of Garibaldi, when he had been wounded at Capua. Attracted by the struggle in the United States, Colonel Cluseret offered his services to the Government, and on his arrival at Washington, early in 1862, was appointed on the staff of General McClellan. He was next assigned to the command of General Fremont.

The army of General Fremont, when called upon by the President, was not in the best condition to move. They were in a region cut off from proper supplies, had lately been exhausted in forced marches, and had for some days been scantily fed with beef only. "Their insufficient diet," says their commander, "had materially affected their health, and the Medical Director reported the entire command 'in a condition of starvation and incipient scurvy.'" Fremont, however, was not the man to lose time in such an emergency. At day-light the next morning, Sunday, his troops were in motion, taking the road to Petersburg, where tents and knapsacks, with such baggage and provision trains as the force was supplied with were left behind, but four wagons being reserved for absolute necessities to each regiment. Furnished only with ammunition and rations for three days, the men, with "alacrity and good feeling," pursued their way through Moorefield, by forced marches over mountain roads, rendered unusually difficult by the inclement season. In a week the advance, under Colonel Cluseret, came up, near Strasburg, with the rebel General Jackson's forces, which had commenced their retreat up the valley, in anticipation of the combined movement on foot for their capture.

On General Banks' retreat to the Potomac, Brigadier-General Rufus Saxton, was placed in command of the forces, immediately sent to Harper's Ferry for the maintenance of that position. This officer, a native of Massachusetts, a graduate of West Point of 1849, when he entered the artillery, had distinguished himself by his scientific attainments in the conduct of an expedition across the Rocky Mountains, and in the coast survey. At the beginning of the war he was acting with General Lyon at St. Louis, and was afterward with General McClellan in western Virginia. He had of late been with General Sherman in South Carolina, and being for the time in Washington, was ordered, on the sudden emergency which had occurred, to the upper Potomac. He proved himself, as was expected, an efficient officer. Assuming command on the 26th of May, he rapidly employed the reinforcements—several regiments and battalions of New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland troops—in occupation of the surrounding heights, and reconnoissances of the neighborhood. Numerous sharp skirmishes occurred; but the disposition of the Union forces was so skillfully made that the enemy gained no advantage. One serious attempt was made by them on the line of defence at the town. "Jackson, the commander of the rebel forces," says General Saxton, "having given the order to his army to storm our position, they advanced beyond Bolivar heights in force, to attack us, about dark, Friday evening, in a storm. General Slough opened upon them from Camp Hill with Crounse's, and part of Reynold's battery, and Lieutenant Daniels, from battery Stanton, on Maryland heights. The scene at this time was very impressive. The hills around were alive with the signal lights of the enemy, the rain descended in torrents, vivid flashes of lightning illumined at intervals the grim, but magnificent scenery, while the crash of the thunder echoing among the mountains, drowned into comparative insignificance the roar of our artillery. After an action of an hour's duration, the enemy retired. He made another unsuccessful attack at midnight with regiments of Mississippi and Louisiana infantry, and after a short engagement disappeared. Signal lights continued to be seen in every direction."*

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* Order of Major-General Fremont, Franklin, Va., May 24, 1862.

This affair occurred on the night of the 30th of May. On the following day the enemy were in full retreat up the valley, which it was the design of General Fremont to intercept when he crossed the mountains at Strasburg. There, as we have seen, he came upon the enemy on the 31st of May and promptly offered them battle. The policy of Jackson, however, was to avoid a general engagement, and he rapidly continued his flight, leaving Strasburg the next morning for Woodstock, and the upper portion of the valley. At Strasburg General Fremont was joined by a body of cavalry under General Bayard, a portion of McDowell's corps which had been ordered from eastern Virginia. Front Royal, on the railway, had been reëntered on the 30th of May, and the enemy driven out, by a troop of Rhode Island cavalry under Colonel Nelson. "Making but one day's halt," says General Fremont, of his march from Franklin, "and this at the instance of the medical directors, and crossing the Shenandoah mountains by a night march, in a storm of cold rain, my corps attacked Jackson's column at Strasburg, acknowledged to be in greatly superior force, and drove him in disorder during the next eight days to Port Republic. The road was strewn with arms, blankets, and clothing, thrown away in their haste, or abandoned by their pickets where they had been surprised, and the woods and roads lined by their stragglers, unable to keep up with the rapid retreat. For nine days we kept in sight of the enemy—the pursuit interrupted only by the streams where the enemy succeeded in destroying the bridges, for which our advance was in continual contest with his rear."*

General Fremont, pursuing the foe through Woodstock, Mount Jackson, crossed the Shenandoah on the 5th, on a pontoon bridge, and coming up with the enemy beyond New Market, a sharp encounter attended the arrival of the Union advance the next day at Harrisonburg. The enemy were driven from the town early in the afternoon, and severe skirmishing continued till evening. "At four o'clock the 1st New Jersey cavalry, after driving the enemy through the village, fell into an ambuscade in the roads to the south-east of the town, in which Colonel Wyndham, of that regiment, was captured, and considerable loss was sustained. Colonel Cluseret, with his brigade, subsequently engaged the enemy in the timber, driving him from his position, and taking his camp. At about eight o'clock a battalion of Colonel Kane's Pennsylvania regiment entered the woods, under the direction of Brigadier-General Bayard, and maintained for half an hour a vigorous attack (in which both sides suffered severely), driving the enemy. The enemy attempted to shell our troops, but a few shots from one of our batteries soon silenced his guns.

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* Brigadier-General Saxton to Secretary Stanton, Harper's Ferry, June 3, 1862.

* Letter of General Fremont to the editors of the *Evening Post*. New York, Feb. 9, 1863.

"After dark the enemy continued his retreat. Their loss in killed and wounded was very severe. Their retreat was by an almost impassable road, along which many wagons were left in the woods, and wagon loads of blankets, clothing and other equipments are piled up in all directions. During the evening many of the rebels were killed by shells from a battery of General Stahl's brigade. General Ashby, who covered the retreat with his whole cavalry force and three regiments of infantry, and who exhibited admirable skill and audacity, was among the killed."*

Brigadier-General Turner Ashby, of the Confederate service, who fell in this engagement, was a native of Fauquier county, Virginia, a farmer and politician, whose dashing exploits as a cavalry officer in the valley of the Shenandoah, from the beginning of the war to the present campaign, had made his name well known to the public.

On Sunday, the 8th, General Fremont left Harrisonburg at six in the morning, with about ten thousand men, in pursuit of Jackson's forces, and had advanced about seven miles on the road to Staunton, when the enemy were discovered at Cross Keys, in a well selected position in the woods to the left and front. The brigade of Colonel Cluseret, the 60th Ohio and 8th Virginia, afterwards supported by the Garibaldi Guard, formed the advance, and commenced the battle by sharp skirmishing at nine in the forenoon. A line of battle was formed by the Union forces extending two miles in length. At half-past twelve the whole line moved forward, General Milroy's brigade in the centre, General Schenck on the right, and Stahl in the advance on the left. General Blenker's, General Bohlen's, and Colonel Steinwehr's brigades, composed the reserve. "The line moved down the slopes of three hills into the valley, and up the opposite ascents, which, at the summits were covered with woods. In these woods and in belts, and in the heavy timber beyond, the enemy were posted. General Stahl, on the left was first engaged. Generals Milroy and Schenck found the enemy soon after, and the battle almost immediately became general. General Stahl, after Schriver's battery had shelled the rebel position, advanced the 8th New York and 45th New York through the woods into the open field, on the other side of which the enemy's right wing was concealed in the woods. The 8th advanced gallantly under a heavy fire; but being so long unsupported by the 45th, and largely outnumbered, were finally forced to retire. Colonel Wutchel was severely wounded, and the whole regiment badly cut up, losing not less than three hundred men—more than half its strength. The enemy's pursuit was checked by artillery, and General Stahl finally withdrew his brigade to a stronger position, repulsing a flank movement, and holding his wing firmly. General Milroy advanced his centre rapidly, the artillery fire compelling the enemy to give ground. General Schenck, on the right, twice drove back the rebels who attempted to turn his position. Along our whole line our artillery, under Colonel Pilsen's direction, was served with great vigor and precision, and the final success was largely due to its effect. The enemy suffered severely. One rebel regiment lost two-thirds of its members in attempting to capture Wildrich's battery, which cut them to pieces with canister at fifty paces. The rebel batteries were repeatedly silenced and forced to abandon their position."* The Union forces encamped that night on the field of battle, with the expectation of renewing the fight at any moment. The night, however, passed without further conflict, and in the morning the march against the enemy was renewed, when they were found to be in full retreat on Port Republic, five miles distant. The Union advance came upon their rear guard just as they had burnt the bridge over the Shenandoah at that place.

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* Dispatches of General Fremont to the war department. Harrisonburg, Va., June 7, 1862.

* Dispatch to the Associated Press. Harrisonburg, June 8, 1862.

In a dispatch to the War Department on the 9th, the day after the battle, General Fremont estimated his loss at 125 killed, and 500 wounded. That of the enemy could only be conjectured. More than 200 of his dead were counted in one field, while others were scattered through the woods, and many had been buried. "I regret," adds General Fremont, "to have lost many good officers. General Stahl's brigade was in the hottest part of the field, which was the left wing. From the beginning of the fight the brigade lost in officers five killed and seventeen wounded, and one of his regiments alone—the 8th New York—has buried sixty-five. The Garibaldi Guard, next after suffered most severely, and following this regiment, the 45th New York, the Bucktail Rifles, of General Bayard's and General Milroy's brigades. One of the Bucktail companies has lost all its officers, commissioned and non-commissioned. The loss in General Schenck's brigade was less, although he inflicted severe loss on the enemy, principally by artillery fire. Of my staff, I lost a good officer killed, Captain Nicholas Dunka. Many horses were killed in our batteries, which the enemy repeatedly attempted to take, but were repulsed by canister fire generally."

Captain Dunka was a young officer, a native of Wallachia, of Hungarian parentage, who had lately served with Garibaldi in his Sicilian and Neapolitan campaigns as a captain of cavalry. Attracted by the war in America, he had sought employment in the service of the Union, and had just received his commission in Fremont's army. An additional motive for Jackson's retreat, was the presence at Port Republic in his rear of the advance of General Shield's division, which, coming from Front Royal by the Luray valley, was hastening to cut him off in that direction, and Colonel Carroll, in command of a brigade of about 1,600 men, of the 8th and 11th Pennsylvania, the 7th Indiana, and 1st Virginia, reached Port Royal on Sunday, the day of the battle at Cross Keys, and after a skirmish with the troops found there, occupied the town. Unfortunately, with a superior force of the enemy on the other side of the river, he did not destroy the bridge between them. At daylight on Monday morning, the 9th, Jackson, with his retreating forces, was on the spot with his guns in position, commanding the bridge, and opening fire on the small body of national troops. It was too late then to burn the bridge; the enemy crossed it in safety, and greatly outnumbering Carroll's command, though reinforced by the brigade of General Tyler, compelled the whole force, after a spirited engagement, to retreat to the main body of General Shields' division up the valley. The Union loss in the conflict shows that the position was bravely contested, though against largely superior numbers. The return of casualties showed 67 killed, 361 wounded, and 574 missing, many of the last being taken prisoners. The force engaged was chiefly composed of Ohio and Indiana troops. The 7th Indiana, which is stated to have left Fredericksburg, eight hundred strong, arrived at Port Republic with only 300, one half of whom only could be mustered after the fight. General Tyler, in his report of the action, represents his entire force at not exceeding 3,000, and estimates that of the enemy at 8,000. "The retreat," says he, "save the stampede of those who ran before the fight was fairly opened, was quite as orderly as the advance. The loss of our artillery we feel almost as keenly as we should to have lost our colors, yet it was impossible to save them without animals to drag them through the deep mud; the men could not do it. While we deeply feel this loss, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we have one of theirs, captured by the 5th Ohio, and driven off in full view of their whole force, sixty-seven prisoners following it."

This battle ended the pursuit of Jackson in the valley of the Shenandoah. The ground previously occupied by General Banks had been recovered, and the rebel forces been again driven across the river to the eastward. General Fremont falling back to Mount Jackson, and subsequently to Middletown, nearer his bases of operations, on the 13th of June, issued a general order, in which he desired "to thank the troops for their steadiness and good conduct in the numerous recent encounters with the enemy, and more especially to express his admiration of the obstinate and veteran courage and the instances of chivalric bravery displayed by them at the battle of Cross Keys. He thanks them warmly for their soldierly endurances, which enabled them in their vigorous pursuit of the enemy to meet the extraordinary hardship and fatigues of forced marches in the most inclement weather, and in the absence of the most ordinary supplies. He congratulates them upon their rapid and glorious march, in which they drove before them in precipitate retreat a greatly superior enemy, inflicted loss upon him in daily engagements, compelled him, after a hard fought battle, to retreat from his chosen ground, leaving his dead upon it, and abandoning two guns, and finally threw him across the Shenandoah with the parting admonitions of their well-served artillery."

He also issued stringent orders in regard "to the many disorders and excesses and wanton outrages upon property which had marked the line of march of the army from Franklin to Port Republic." Subsequently reviewing the campaign, he recalled the condition of the troops at the time of the battle of Cross Keys. A council of officers was held the day before that engagement, when it was determined that only the prospect of an immediate action could justify a further advance, so exhausted were the men by their marches, and the inadequate supply of provisions. The onward movement was made, and the battle won. "They fought," says Fremont, "this battle gallantly, and upon their last ration lay down upon the hard-fought field, tired and hungry, and at daylight the next morning were again in pursuit of Jackson, who escaped only by means of the bridge which intervened between him and destruction. Further pursuit with this fatigued and isolated force was impossible, and, indeed, was forbidden by the President, who also telegraphed: 'Many thanks to yourself, officers, and men, for the gallant battle of last Sunday;' and who also did us the honor to say further, in a telegram explaining why additions could not be made to our corps,—'You fought Jackson alone and worsted him.'"*

New military arrangements were being made for the army in Virginia. On the 26th of June, General Pope was called to the command of the army of Virginia, including Fremont's, Banks' and McDowell's corps. Unwilling, for various reasons, to be placed in this subordinate position, General Fremont requested to be relieved from his command. His resignation was accepted, and officially announced to the public, in an order from the War Department, of the 27th June, appointing Brigadier-General Rufus King in his place.

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* Letter to the *Evening Post*, Feb. 9, 1863.

CHAPTER LXX.

GENERAL McCLELLAN'S CAMPAIGN BEFORE RICHMOND—THE BATTLES OF SEVEN PINES AND FAIR OAKS, MAY—JULY, 1862.

After the retreat from Yorktown, the Confederate army gradually withdrew before the advance of the Federals to Richmond and its vicinity within the line of the Chickahominy, a sluggish stream commencing in the region northwest of the capital, threading a swampy region in this quarter, and pursuing a south-easterly course along the border of Charles City county to the James river, into which it empties. The York river and Richmond railway, running nearly due east and west, crossed the Chickahominy near Bottom's bridge, distant about eleven miles from the capital. As the Union army advanced by the line of the railway, on which it was dependent for supplies and keeping up communication with its base of operations on the York river, this point of its passage of the Chickahominy became necessarily of the utmost importance in the operations against Richmond. It was on the left bank of the river, and along the line of the railway, which separated from one another at an acute angle, with the apex at the bridge, that the several battles were fought which determined the fortunes of the campaign.

On the 15th of May, ten days after the surrender of Yorktown, General McClellan had gathered the several divisions of his army in the vast plain at Cumberland, on the south bank of the Pamunkey, where a huge encampment was formed, covering, it is said, 20 square miles. White House, some five miles above on the river, at the head of navigation, with a railway connection with the York river road to Richmond, had been abandoned by the enemy a few days before, on the approach of General Stoneman, who took possession of the place, which became the next stage in the grand movement of the army, and was used as a permanent base for the landing of supplies during the campaign. It presently furnished one of the busiest scenes on the continent, as the river became thronged with various transports of all descriptions, pressed into the sudden service, and the extemporized wharves in this hitherto peaceful locality resounded with the activities of some great shipping emporium, as the vast supplies and equipments of one of the most prodigally furnished armies on record were landed upon the shore. These necessary arrangements having been set on foot, on the morning of Monday, the 19th of May, the army bent its course westward in the direction of Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, from the capture of which so much was anticipated by the North, and, perhaps, with as much certainty feared by the South. It had resolute defenders, however, who knew its importance as a central position, the value of its communications with the rebel States, the advantages it possessed in the surrounding country to resist the approach of an enemy, and, above all, who were prepared at all hazards, and with every resource of military ingenuity, to oppose the progress of the invaders. The Union commander had found, as he acknowledged, the enemy for whom he had sighed in the beginning of his Virginia campaigns "worthy of his steel." Its master spirits at this time were the President of the Confederacy, however silent, ever working with a steady purpose and energy, Johnston, upon whose skill and courage great reliance was placed, and, every day rising in reputation, "Stonewall" Jackson, at this very moment engaged in that attack upon the forces of Fremont and Banks which carried the war in another quarter of the State to the banks of the Potomac, and compelled the government to retain for the defence of Washington many thousand brave men for whose presence McClellan was entreating in his march to Richmond.

Darkness might, indeed, at this time have been supposed to be gathering about the Confederacy. Within little more than a month, the fall of Fort Pulaski, one of the proudest rebel defences, had been succeeded by the capture of New Orleans, with its vast capabilities in the future, an event of the utmost importance, hardly to have been so soon anticipated by friend or foe; a victorious fleet was descending the Mississippi, having reduced several of its most obstinate strongholds; Yorktown had been abandoned, Norfolk surrendered, and the Merrimac been destroyed, laying open to the enemy the longest settled and most valuable regions of the State. Yet, the enemy, strong in their desperate purpose of dividing the nation, and asserting for themselves an independent government, did not despair, or if that passion entered their souls, like the arch-fiend, gathered new courage from the unwelcome visitant. When some of these clouds had fallen, and others were in the horizon, President Jefferson Davis, addressing a body of troops on their way to Yorktown, declared that he would continue the war for twenty years rather than one inch of Virginia soil should be surrendered. He had already appointed the 16th day of May—the very day, as it came round, that the Union army was at length gathered at the head waters of York river, apparently for its last final struggle for the possession of the capital—for a fast day and solemn supplication, an occasion, which was doubtless intended, more of resolution than humility. "An enemy," was the language of the proclamation, "waging war in a manner violative of the usage of civilized nations, has invaded our country. With presumptuous reliance on superior numbers, he has declared his purpose to reduce us to submission. We struggle to preserve our birthright of constitutional freedom. Our trust is in the justice of our cause, and the protection of our God. Recent disaster has spread gloom over the land, and sorrow sits at the hearthstones of our countrymen; but a people conscious of rectitude and faithfully relying on their Father in heaven, may be cast down, but cannot be dismayed. They may mourn the loss of the martyrs whose lives have been sacrificed in their defence, but they receive this dispensation of Divine Providence with humble submission and reverent faith. And now that our hosts are again going forth to battle, and loving hearts at home are filled with anxious solicitude for their safety, it is meet that the whole people should turn imploringly to their Almighty Father, and beseech His all-powerful protection."

When danger seemed most imminent, the general assembly of Virginia, in session at Richmond, on the 14th of May, by a resolution "expressed its desire that the capital of the State be defended to the last extremity, if such defence be in accordance with the views of the President of the Confederate States; and that the President be assured that whatever destruction and loss of property of the State or individuals shall thereby result, will be cheerfully submitted to." To this President Davis replied, "assuring the Houses that it would be the effort of his life to defend the soil of Virginia, and to cover her capital. He had never entertained, he said, the thought of withdrawing the army from Virginia, and abandoning the State; that if, in the course of events, the capital should fall—the necessity for which he did not see or anticipate—that would be no reason for withdrawing the army from Virginia. The war could still be successfully maintained on Virginia soil for twenty years."

In the new organization of the army of the Potomac, on its entrance upon active service in the Peninsula, the corps commanders were Generals Stoneman, Heintzelman, Keyes, Fitz John Porter, and Franklin. Of these, with the exception of the last, we have already presented brief biographical accounts. William Buell Franklin, a native of Pennsylvania, graduated at West Point in 1839, served in the engineer corps, in which he discharged many and important duties, was honorably distinguished in Mexico, and like his associates just named, had been appointed brigadier-general of volunteers on the opening of the war. Prominent among the other commanders was Brigadier-General George Stoneman, a native of the State of New York, a graduate of West Point of 1846, when he was commissioned in the 1st Dragoons. He had seen much active service on the western portion of the continent in California, New Mexico and Texas, and had been in command of Fort Brown, in the last mentioned State, when General Twiggs was basely surrendering the public property. Captain Stoneman resisted this act of treason, and brought off his command to the north. He then served in Virginia, was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, and was placed in the army of the Potomac at the head of the cavalry service. In future movements on the Peninsula, immediately after the fall of Yorktown, we shall find him taking the lead.

Among the division commanders, one of the most noticeable for zeal and impetuosity, was General Philip Kearney, a native of New York, who, without entering West Point, had been appointed at the age of 22, in 1837, to a lieutenancy in the 2d dragoons. Commissioned to Europe to make observations on the French cavalry tactics, he had studied at the Polytechnic School, and fought with the French army, as a volunteer, in Africa. His gallantry in the Mexican war, where he lost an arm, had gained him a high reputation. Subsequently resigning his commission, and visiting Europe a second time, he was present as an aid to a French general, on the field of Solferino. On the breaking out of the rebellion he returned home, was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers, served with spirit before Washington, and was now attached to the army corps of General Heintzelman on the peninsula.

In the grand movement of the army from White House, on the 19th of May, the left wing, formed of the corps of General Keyes and Heintzelman led the way toward the Chickahominy at Bottom's bridge; the centre, General Sumner's corps, followed the line of the railway, and the right, embracing the corps of Franklin and Porter, pursued a course to the north-west. General Stoneman, with his cavalry, was, as usual, in the advance. He found the bridge crossing the Chickahominy partly destroyed, and the enemy not in force to make any serious resistance to the passage of the river. Leaving the bridge to be repaired by the engineer corps, he then reconnoitered the country above, on the left bank of the stream, preparatory to the advance of the right wing. On the 20th the centre and left were at the Chickahominy, in the vicinity of the railway bridge, and the next day the right encamped at Coal Harbor, where General McClellan established his headquarters, six miles to the north-west, and about three miles from the river by the road to New Bridge. On the 25th of May the corps of General Keyes and Heintzelman had crossed the river while on the right an important reconnoissance, followed by the capture of the place, had been pushed to Mechanicsville, a small village near the Chickahominy, about five miles west of Coal Harbor, and as many miles distant from Richmond, on the road to Hanover Court House. The Confederates had also been attacked at their camp at New Bridge, where, on the 24th, a brilliant raid was made across the river, by a portion of Colonel Woodbury's 4th Michigan regiment, which, coming unexpectedly upon the 5th Louisiana regiment, inflicted a heavy loss upon them. The corps of General Keyes on the left held the advance beyond the Chickahominy, being encamped on both sides of the railway, in the vicinity of Seven Pines and Fair Oaks, and the corps of Heintzelman was in their rear, also along the railway, in the neighborhood of Savage's station. In the advance, in this quarter, General Casey, of Rhode Island —a West Point graduate of the class of 1826, distinguished as an infantry officer in the Mexican war, and other duties of the service, and author of a system of Infantry Tactics—held the front with his division, about 4,000 men, nearly all raw troops. His force was stationed, the last week in May, in the immediate presence of the enemy, within six miles of Richmond, his pickets extending to within five miles of that city. His headquarters were at Seven Pines, at the junction of the Williamsburg road, running parallel with the railway, a short distance south of it, and another known as the Nine Mile road, taking an oblique north-westerly course to the railway, crossing it near Fair Oaks, and thence pursuing its way to a road connecting New Bridge, on the Chickahominy, with Richmond. The distance from Seven Pines to the capital by this cross road gave it its name. In front, and on the left, were close forests sheltering the enemy, to the right was the river, in the rear the extended White Oak swamp. General Couch's division of Keyes' Corps was next behind on the railway. A line of pickets was extended across the narrow angle made by the railway and the river, the general lines of the left and right wings of the army, to the vicinity of New Bridge, the distance across between railway and river being about three miles. To secure the communication between the two wings, a large number of the troops skilled in such labors, particularly the 11th Maine regiment, were actively engaged in building bridges across the Chickahominy, which separated the two portions of the army. The labors in this service were excessive, and pursued under peculiar difficulties, from the uncertain nature of the stream, liable to sudden increase from rains, and always embarrassing from the swamps and quicksands in which the structure must be built. The weather was bad, the roads muddy in proportion, and the water was, for the season, unusually high in the river. Everything, however, was pushed on diligently, and the army waited only the completion of the bridges for a perfect coöperation of the whole army to bring the enemy to a decisive engagement.

In view of this expected event, General McClellan, on the 25th, issued a general order enjoining the troops beyond the Chickahominy to be ready for battle at a moment's notice, and making various provisions for efficiency in the field. "In the approaching battle, the general commanding trusts that the troops will preserve the discipline which he has been so anxious to enforce, and which they have so generally observed. He calls upon all the officers and soldiers to obey promptly and intelligently all orders they may receive; let them bear in mind that the army of the Potomac has never yet been checked, and let them preserve in battle perfect coolness and confidence, the sure forerunners of success. They must keep well together, throw away no shots, but aim carefully and low, and above all things, rely upon the bayonet. Commanders of regiments are reminded of the great responsibility that rests upon them: upon their coolness, judgment, and discretion the destinies of their regiments and success of the day will depend."

Whilst these preparations were being made, the enemy showing a disposition to encroach on the right wing, and threaten the communications with the York river, General Morell's division of Fitz John Porter's corps was sent out at dawn of the 27th, on an expedition to cut off the enemy between Richmond and Hanover Court House, fifteen miles distant, where it was understood a considerable rebel force of North Carolina troops was stationed, commanded by General Branch, who had fled from Newbern on the capture of that place by General Burnside. It was also intended to break up the communication by the Virginia Central and Fredericksburg railroad. Rain was falling heavily when the expedition started, but at ten o'clock in the forenoon, when the troops were well advanced on the road, they were marching under a burning sun. There was some skirmishing on the way, and about noon the advanced guard, composed of a troop of cavalry, Colonel Johnson's 25th New York infantry, and a section of artillery, came up with a body of the enemy whom they pursued to a point at the intersection of two main roads, about three miles distant from Hanover Court House. Here, a stand being made by the enemy with artillery, they were pressed by Colonel Johnson, who being overpowered by a body from the woods on his flank, lost some prisoners. Reinforcements coming up, however, the action was continued, the enemy, from their advantages of number and position, still expecting the victory, when General Butterfield brought up Colonel Lansing's 17th, supported by Colonel Week's 12th New York, Colonel McLane's 83d Pennsylvania, supported by Colonel Stockton's 16th Michigan, on their flank. The unexpected onset of this force was speedily followed by the flight of the enemy who, abandoning their two field pieces, were, by order of General Porter, who had now come upon the ground, pursued to Hanover Court House, and many of them taken prisoners. Colonel Gore, meanwhile, with the 22d Massachusetts, had taken up several hundred feet of the Virginia Central railway in the vicinity. It was about this time that a body of the enemy came up by the railway from Richmond, and were stationed at a point to take the Union force in the rear, where they encountered General Martindale with Colonel Robert's 2d Maine, and Colonel Stryker's 44th New York regiments, with which, and Colonel Johnson's 25th New York regiment, which was summoned from the previous battle field, a sharp engagement ensued. The Union troops in this encounter were again closely pressed, when the return of the regiments of General Butterfield, who were thrown vigorously upon the flank of the enemy, again changed the fortunes of the day. The enemy, repulsed a second time, fled. The way being now clear, a body of cavalry went forward to the Fredericksburg railway, and destroyed the bridge over the South Anna, and a large quantity of stores at Ashland. The Union losses in these engagements were 53 killed, and 296 wounded and missing. The total Confederate loss, including a large number of prisoners taken who were brought within the Union lines, was estimated at 1,500. Hanover Court House was occupied by the Union troops that night. The next day they rejoined their companions on the Chickahominy.

General McClellan, who had not lost sight of General McDowell's forces stationed at Fredericksburg, was on the point, at last, of receiving aid from this quarter by an overland march of the corps, when the movement, for which preparations had been made, was interrupted by the bold dash of "Stonewall" Jackson upon the separate command of General Banks, and the rapid pursuit of that officer to the Potomac. It was the intention of the Confederate General Johnston, that Jackson should divert reinforcements from McClellan by threatening Washington, and his plan was perfectly successful. McDowell's arrangements for an advance to Richmond, for which he was anxious, were immediately suspended, and a great part of his troops moved towards the valley of Virginia to Front Royal, to coöperate with Fremont in the movement described in a previous chapter, to intercept Jackson, which, through the customary exertions of the rebel general, was converted into an unsuccessful pursuit.

To return to the army before Richmond. Hardly had General Porter and the brave troops of his corps returned from Hanover Court House, where, during their brief stay, General McClellan had ridden to congratulate them on their achievements, when the right bank of the Chickahominy became the scene of one of the most determined struggles of the war. The action known as the battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, from the localities at two important stages of the conflict, its commencement and its close, was fought between the rebel army under General Johnston, embracing the divisions of Generals D. H. Hill, Longstreet, Huger, and Smith, and the corps of Keyes and Heintzelman, with a portion of that of General Sumner. It was thus brought about. General Johnston perceiving the advance of General Casey's division, which we have described, at and beyond Seven Pines, and apparently supposing the corps of General Keyes, to which it belonged, the only one which had yet crossed the Chickahominy, thought, by massing his forces in one furious onset, to break their lines, and destroy this section of the Union army before a junction was made, by the completion of the bridges, with the troops on the other side of the stream. The plan seemed to possess additional feasibility when, at the very time it was being determined upon, on the afternoon of the 30th of May, and following night, the region was visited by one of the most furious summer rain storms known to the country. "Throughout all the night," says General Keyes, in his report, "there was raging a storm, the like of which I cannot remember. Torrents of rain drenched the earth. The thunder bolts rolled and fell without intermission, and the heavens flashed with a perpetual blaze of lightning. From their beds of mud, and the peltings of this storm, the 4th corps rose to fight the battle of the 31st of May."

With this additional embarrassment to the Union movements, the roads converted into mud, the swamps flooded, and the river threatened with an unusual rise, it appeared a simple piece of strategy to destroy the exposed wing of the divided army. Accordingly, orders were given by General Johnston to his several division commanders, and preparations were made to move to the assault at daybreak of the 31st of May. General Hill, supported by the division of General Longstreet, was to advance by the Williamsburg road to attack in front, General Huger was to move down the lower Charles City road, to attack in flank, while General Smith was to march to the junction of the New Bridge road and the Nine Mile road above, to be in readiness either to fall on Keyes' right flank or to cover Longstreet's left. With the facility of the communications from Richmond, and the roads thus commanding the Union position, had this plan of attack been effectively carried out, backed, as it was, by a greatly superior force, it could hardly have failed of entire success. The heavy rains, however, which aided the effort in one way, hindered it in another. If reinforcements could not be readily brought across the river to the Union lines, neither could the enemy take the field as early as was intended. The divisions of Smith, Hill, and Longstreet, however, were in position to commence operations by eight A. M. General Huger, entangled with his artillery in the mud and swamps, was not at hand, and General Longstreet, who had the direction of operations on the right, was unwilling to go into action without his coöperation, so the attack was deferred till early in the afternoon.

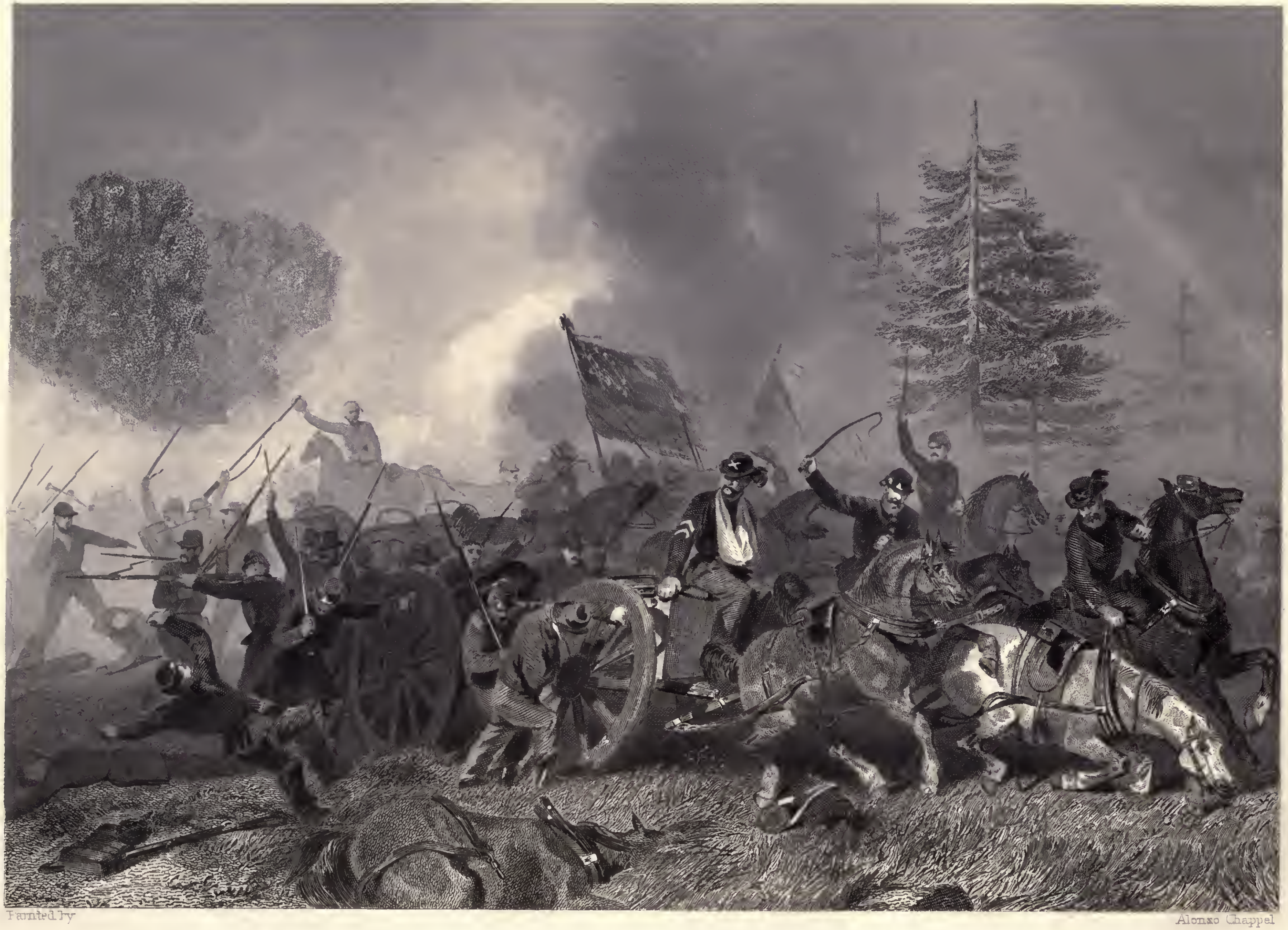
On the other side, meanwhile, General Keyes had been no idle observer of events. Cautiously watching the enemy before and around him, he was anxiously looking to his defences, and the line of communication with the right wing of the Union army, by the bridges across the Chickahominy. Expecting an attack, he listened eagerly to the first reports of indications of a hostile movement, which were brought him on the morning of the 31st. It was reported from the front that cars had been heard during the night coming out from Richmond, and about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, Lieutenant Washington, an aid of General Johnston, evidently reconnoitering the ground, was taken prisoner by the advanced Union pickets. About the same time two shells were thrown into the Union camp, and a considerable body of the enemy was reported approaching. General Casey immediately ordered his division under arms, called in his men at work on the abattis and rifle pits; the artillery was harnessed up, and every preparation made for action. The 103d Pennsylvania regiment was advanced to support the pickets. Spratt's battery was placed in front with powerful infantry supports, the 104th Pennsylvania, 11th Maine, the 92d and 100th New York regiments. This was the first or outer line of defence. A second was formed about a third of a mile in the rear, at the redoubt and earthworks which were in process of construction by the division to hold their advanced position. Captain Bates' battery, commanded by Lieutenant Hart, was placed in the redoubt, Regan's battery on the right, and Fitch's battery in the rear. The line was held by Pennsylvania and New York regiments. When these dispositions were completed, about twenty minutes to one o'clock, the enemy commenced the attack in force, crowding on all sides upon Gen. Casey's division of little more than 4,000, with a force estimated by him at 35,000. The regiment sent to the support of the pickets was driven in with considerable loss, and came down the road in some confusion. "The enemy," says General Casey, "now attacked me in large force on the centre and both wings, and a brisk fire of musketry extended along the two opposing lines; my artillery, in the meantime, throwing canister into their ranks with great effect. Perceiving, at length, that the enemy were threatening me upon both wings, for want of reinforcements, which had been repeatedly asked for, and that his column still pressed on, I then, in order to save my artillery, ordered a charge of bayonets by the four supporting regiments of the centre, which was executed in a most gallant and successful manner, under the immediate direction of Brigadier General Naglee, commanding 1st brigade, the enemy being driven back. When the charge had ceased, but not until the troops had reached the edge of the woods, the most terrible fire of musketry commenced that I have ever witnessed. The enemy again advanced in force, and the flanks having been again severely threatened, a retreat to the works became necessary. To be brief, the rifle pits were retained until they were almost enveloped by the enemy—the troops, with some exceptions, fighting with spirit and gallantry. The troops then retreated to the second line, in possession of General Couch's division. Two pieces of artillery were placed in the road between the two lines, which did good execution upon the advancing foe. On my arrival at the second line, I succeeded in rallying a portion of my division, and, with the assistance of General Kearney, who had just arrived at the head of one of the brigades of his division, attempted to regain possession of my works, but it was found impracticable. The troops of General Couch's division were driven back.

although reinforced by the corps of General Heintzelman. The corps of Generals Keyes and Heintzelman, having retreated to the third line, by direction of General Heintzelman, I then collected together what remained of my division."

The report of General Keyes, corroborates this account of the services of General Casey's division. "There was no surprise," he says, "all was prepared for action. Had it been otherwise, the Confederates, pouring from the shelter of the woods in overpowering numbers, would have swept through our lines and routed us completely. As it was, however, Casey's division held its line of battle for more than three hours, and the execution done upon the enemy was shown by the number of rebel dead left upon the field after the enemy had held possession of that part of it for upwards of twenty-four hours. During that time it is understood, all the means of transport available in Richmond were employed to carry away their dead and wounded. The enemy advancing, as they frequently did, in masses, received the shot and shell of our artillery like veterans, closing up the gaps, and moving steadily on to the assault."

The division of General Casey lost 1,433 killed, wounded and missing; about a third of its entire force.

We now take up the report of General Keyes, of the second general line of defence, composed principally of Couch's division, the operations of which received his uninterrupted supervision. "As the pressure," says he, "on Casey's position became greater, he applied to me for reinforcements. I continued to send them as long as I had troops to spare. Colonel McCarter, with the 93d Pennsylvania, Peck's brigade, engaged the enemy on the left, and maintained his ground above two hours, until overwhelming numbers forced him to retire, which he did in good order. At about two o'clock, P. M., I ordered the 55th New York (Colonel De Trobriand, absent, sick), now in command of Lieutenant-Colonel Thourot, to 'save the guns,' meaning some of Casey's. The regiment moved up the Williamsburg road at double-quick, conducted by General Naglee, where it beat off the enemy on the point of seizing some guns, and held its position more than an hour. At the end of that time, its ammunition being exhausted, it fell back through the abattis, and after receiving more cartridges, the regiment again did good service. It lost, in the battle, nearly one-fourth its numbers, killed and wounded. At a little past two o'clock I ordered Neill's 23d and Rippey's 61st Pennsylvania regiments to move to the support of Casey's right. Neill attacked the enemy twice with great gallantry. In the first attack the enemy were driven back. In the second attack, and under the immediate command of General Couch, these two regiments assailed a vastly superior force of the enemy, and fought with extraordinary bravery; though compelled at last to retire, they brought in thirty-five prisoners. Both regiments were badly cut up. Colonel Rippey, of the 61st, and his adjutant, were killed; the lieutenant-colonel and major were wounded, and are missing. The casualties in the 61st amount to 263, and are heavier than in any other regiment in Couch's division. After this attack, the 23d took part in the hard fighting which closed the day near the Seven Pines. The 61st withdrew in detachments, some of which came again into action near my headquarters. Almost immediately after ordering the 23d and 61st to support the right, and as soon as they could be reached, I sent the 7th Massachusetts, Colonel Russell, and the 62d New York, Colonel Riker, to reinforce them. The overpowering advance of the enemy obliged these regiments to proceed to Fair Oaks, where they fought under the immediate orders of Generals Couch and Abercrombie. There they joined the 1st United States Chasseurs, Colonel Cochrane, previously ordered to



Painted by

Alonzo Chappel

BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS.

GALLANT CHARGE OF GEN CASEY'S DIVISION TO SAVE THE GUNS

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that point, and the 31st Pennsylvania, Colonel Williams, on duty there when the action commenced. The losses in the 62d were not so great as in some of the other regiments. Its conduct was good, and its colonel, Lafayette Riker, whose signal bravery was remarked, met a glorious death while attacking the enemy at the head of his regiment. The 1st United States Chasseurs, Colonel Cochrane, fought bravely. By that regiment an enemy's standard-bearer was shot down, and the battle flags of the 23d North Carollna regiment captured. For further particulars of the conduct of the 62d New York, and the 1st United States Chasseurs, as well as for the account of those two excellent regiments, the 7th Massachusetts and 31st Pennsylvania, Colonels Russell and Williams, I refer to the reports of Generals Couch and Abercrombie. Those regiments, as well as Brady's battery, 1st Pennsylvania artillery (which is highly praised), were hid from my personal observation during most of the action. They acted in concert with the second corps, by the opportune arrival of which, at Fair Oaks, in the afternoon, under the brave General E. V. Sumner, the Confederates were brought to a sudden stand in that quarter. They were also present in the action of the following day, near Fair Oaks, where, under the same commander, the victory, which had been hardly contested the day before, was fully completed by our troops.

"At the time when the enemy was concentrating troops from the right, left, and front upon the redoubt and other works in front of Casey's headquarters, and near the Williamsburg road, the danger became imminent that he would overcome the resistance there, and advance down the road and through the abattis. In anticipation of such an event, I called Flood's and McCarthy's batteries of Couch's division, to form in and on the right and left of the junction of the Williamsburgh and Nine Mile roads; placed infantry in all the rifle pits on the right and left, pushing some up also to the abattis, and collecting a large number of stragglers, posted them in the woods on the left. Scarcely had these dispositions been completed, when the enemy, directly in front, driven by the attack of a portion of Kearney's division on their right, and by our fire upon their front, moved off to join the masses which were pressing upon my right. To make head against the enemy approaching in that direction, it was found necessary to effect an almost perpendicular change of front of troops on the right of the Williamsburg road. By the energetic assistance of Generals Devens and Naglee, Colonel Adams, 1st Long Island, and Captains Walsh and Quackenbush, of the 36th New York (whose efforts I particularly noticed), I was enabled to form a line along the edge of the woods, which stretched nearly down to the swamp, about eight hundred yards from the fork, and along the rear to the Nine Mile road. I threw back the right crochet-wise, and, on its left, Captain Miller, 1st Pennsylvania artillery, Couch's division, trained his guns so as to contest the advance of the enemy. I directed General Naglee to ride along the line to encourage the men and keep them at work. This line long resisted the further progress of the enemy with the greatest firmness and gallantry, but by pressing it very closely with overwhelming numbers—probably ten to one—they were enabled finally to force it to fall back so far upon the left and centre as to form a new line in rear. Shortly after this attack, I saw General Devens leave the field wounded; there was then no general officer left in sight belonging to Casey's division.

"Seeing the torrent of enemies continually advancing, I hastened across to the left, beyond the fork, to bring forward reinforcements. Brigadier-General Peck, at the head of the 102d and 83d Pennsylvania regiments, Colonels Rowley and McCarter, was ordered, with the concurrence of General Heintzelman, to advance across the open space and attack the enemy, now coming forward in great numbers. These regiments passed through a shower of balls, and formed in a line having an oblique direction to the Nine Mile road. They held their ground for more than half an hour, doing great execution. Peck's and McCarter's horses were shot under them. After contending against enormous odds, those two regiments were forced to give way; Peck and the 102d crossing the Williamsburg road to the wood, and McCarter and the bulk of the 93d passing to the right, where they took post in the last line of battle, formed mostly after six o'clock, P. M. During the time last noticed, Miller's battery having taken up a new position, did first-rate service. As soon as Peck had moved forward I hastened to the 10th Massachusetts, Colonel Briggs, (which regiment I had myself once before moved), now in the rifle pits on the left of the Williamsburg road, and ordered them to follow me across the field. Colonel Briggs led them on in gallant style, moving quickly over an open space of seven or eight hundred yards, under a scorching fire, and forming his men with perfect regularity toward the last of the line last above referred to. The position thus occupied was a most favorable one, being a wood, without much undergrowth, where the ground sloped somewhat abruptly to the rear. Had the 10th Massachusetts been two minutes later, they would have been too late to occupy that fine position, and it would have been impossible to have formed the next and last line of battle of the 31st, which stemmed the tide of defeat, and turned it toward victory; a victory which was then begun by the 4th corps, and two brigades from Kearney's division from the 3d corps, and consummated the next day by Sumner and others.

"After seeing the 10th Massachusetts and the adjoining line well at work, under a murderous fire, I observed that that portion of the line a hundred and fifty yards to my left was crumbling away—some falling and others retiring. I perceived also that the artillery had withdrawn, and that large bodies of broken troops were leaving the centre and moving down the Williamsburg road to the rear. Assisted by Captain Suydam, my assistant adjutant-general, Captain Villarceau, and Lieutenants Jackson and Smith of my staff, I tried in vain to check the retreating current. Passing through to an opening of our intrenched camp of the 28th ult., I found General Heintzelman and other officers engaged in rallying the men, and in a very short time a large number were induced to face about. These were pushed forward, and joined to others better organized, in the woods, and a line was formed, stretching across the road in a perpendicular direction. General Heintzelman requested me to advance the line on the left of the road, which I did, until it came within sixty or seventy yards of the opening, in which the battle had been confined for more than two hours against a vastly superior force. Some of the 10th Massachusetts, now under the command of Captain Miller, the 93d Pennsylvania, Colonel McCarter, of Peck's brigade, the 23d Pennsylvania, Colonel Neill, of Abercrombie's brigade, a portion of the 36th New York, Colonel Innes, a portion of the 55th New York and the 1st Long Island, Colonel Adams, together with fragments of other regiments of Couch's division, still contended on the right of this line, while a number of troops that I did not recognize occupied the space between me and them.

"As the ground was miry and encumbered with fallen trees, I dismounted and mingled with the troops. The first I questioned belonged to Kearney's division, Berry's brigade, Heintzelman's corps; the next to the 56th New York, now under command of its Lieutenant-Colonel; and the third belonged to the 104th Pennsylvania, of Casey's division.

I took out my glass to examine a steady compact line of troops, about sixty-five yards in advance, the extent of which toward our right I could not discover. The line in front was so quiet I thought they might possibly be our own troops. The vapors from the swamp, the leaves, and the fading light (for it was then after six o'clock), rendered it uncertain who they were. So I directed the men to get their aim, but to reserve their fire until I could go up to the left, and examine; at the same time, that they must hold that line, or the battle would be lost. They replied with a firm determination to stand their ground. I had just time to put up my glass and move ten paces towards the left of the line, where my horse stood; but while I was in the act of mounting, as fierce a fire of musketry was opened as any I had heard during the day. The fire from our side was so deadly that the heavy masses of the enemy coming in on the right, which had before been held back for nearly two hours, that being about the time consumed in passing over less than a thousand yards, by about a third part of Couch's division, were now arrested. The last line, formed of portions of Couch's and Casey's divisions, and a portion of Kearney's division, checked the advance of the enemy, and finally repulsed him. And this was the beginning of the victory which, on the following day, was so gloriously completed. During the action, and particularly during the two hours immediately preceding the final and successful stand made by the infantry, the three Pennsylvania batteries, under Major Robert M. West (Flood's, McCarthy's, and Millers), in Couch's division, performed most efficient service. The conduct of Miller's battery was admirable. Having a central position in the fore part of the action, it threw shells over the heads of our own troops, which fell and burst with unusual precision among the enemy's masses, as did also those of the other two batteries. And, later in the day, when the enemy were rushing in upon our right, Miller threw his case and canister among them, doing frightful execution."

When the attack commenced on Casey's division, General McClellan, in camp on the left bank of the Chickahominy, was, as he tells us, confined to his bed by illness, and the first intimation he received of the affair was the sound of the musketry. Without waiting to hear from Keyes or Heintzelman, he at once sent instructions to General Sumner to hold his corps in readiness to move to the scene of action. "I did not hear," he continues, anything for a long time from the field. I think the first I heard was from General Heintzelman, who reported that Casey's division had been completely broken, and was in full retreat. I ordered Sumner over, as soon as I learned that his services were needed, and the affair serious. General Sumner had, fortunately, on the receipt of the first order, actually stretched his command out on the road, so the heads of columns were at the bridges ready to cross when he received the order. The main part of his force crossed at the bridge near Doctor Lent's farm, and moved, by the shortest route, upon Fair Oaks, near which point he came in contact with the enemy's left, and drove them some little distance, thus relieving the pressure on the right of Heintzelman, who had moved up to support Keyes."*

The movement of General Sumner was not undertaken a moment too soon. In his spirited account of the affair before the same committee of Congress, he said, that on receiving the order of General McClellan, "instead of merely preparing to move, I at once advanced with my two divisions (Sedgewick's and Richardson's), halting with the leading company of each division on the bridge. In that way I saved at least an hour of time. The river was then rising rapidly, and when I received the order to advance one of the bridges became impassable in a very short time, and many of the timbers of the other bridge were floating; we, however, succeeded in crossing, and I advanced rapidly to Fair Oaks with Sedgwick's division. On reaching Fair Oaks I was met by General Couch, who told me that he had been separated by the enemy from the rest of the army, and was expecting an attack every moment. I formed this division of Sedgwick's, together with Couch's troops—assuming command of the whole—as quickly as possible, with a battery of artillery between the two divisions. Before the formation was completed, the enemy made a ferocious attack on my center, evidently with the expectation of getting possession of my battery. My forces were formed in two lines, nearly at right angles. I had six regiments in hand on the left of the battery. After sustaining a very severe fire for some time, those six regiments charged directly into the woods, crossing a broken down fence in doing so. The enemy then fled, and the action was over for that day."

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* Testimony before the War Committee. March 2, 1863.

So closed the battles of Saturday. The division of Richardson was brought up that night, and was prominent in the action of the next day, which closed this fierce and extended conflict. A letter written by that officer presents an animated account of the concluding scene—"Sunday, June 1st, the army had lain on their arms all night in our front, the 5th Texas, 2d Mississippi, and 2d Texas regiments bivouacking within half musket shot of my front and picket, within speaking distance. Every one knew that the struggle would recommence in the morning, and our whole line 'stood to arms.' At three o'clock in the morning, before light, the enemy drew in all his pickets. The line of railroad is bordered by woods on both sides, except a few open spaces. There was a large field three-fourths of a mile in extent on my right front, and at that point I posted a battery of ten-pound Parrott rifle-guns, directed by Captain Hazard, 4th artillery. I also posted the brigade of General French, and one regiment of Howard's brigade, in my front line. The remaining three regiments of Howard's brigade formed a second line, and General Meagher's brigade, with remaining eighteen pieces of artillery, in third line. The early part of the morning passed away; the enemy made his first appearance on the other side of the large field, his skirmishers forming in line across it and advancing. A large body of cavalry was also seen in the woods on the other side, drawn up in column, as if to head a mass of infantry in column of attack for the assault. This soon drew the fire of our Parrott guns. The line of skirmishers fell back before it; the cavalry broke, and this, which no doubt was intended as the real attack, failed at once, and the head of the column turned down the railroad toward my left. My division, occupying the centre of our whole line of battle, now appeared to be the object of attack, to follow the favorite plan of yesterday. It was now half-past six o'clock in the morning. All at once the enemy came upon us in full force on the railroad, which, on my left flank, was crossed by two common wood roads, along which they pushed columns of attack in mass, supported on both flanks by battalions of infantry deployed in line of battle. Generals French and Howard now opened upon them a steady and well-directed fire from their brigades, within half musket shot. I immediately communicated with those officers my willing intention to furnish them reinforcements as soon as needed. After a close fire of musketry of an hour and a half, without any regiment giving ground on our part, the head of the enemy's column broke their line of battle, wavered, and the rout became general for the time. I had thrown in, in the mean time, the two reserve regiments of Howard, to replace those regiments of the front line who had expended all their cartridges, the relieved regiments coming out and filling their boxes again. Sixty rounds had now been fired per man, and the battle was supposed to be ended. Hardly was this effected, however, when the enemy's column, being reinforced by the reserve, gave a general shout, and again advanced to the attack. This time I threw into action, in support, the Irish regiments of General Meagher's brigade, reserving some of the first, which had been much shattered in the early part of the conflict, and our steady fire was continued about one hour more, until the enemy again fell back. Their retreat this time was more precipitate than before, and three of the Parrott guns, which I had just placed in a new position, now opened their fire, and did what they could to hurry up the retreat. The enemy did not see fit to renew the attack, and from the account given by prisoners and deserters, they must have been badly beaten."

It was General Sumner's prompt movement on the afternoon of the 30th, "instead of merely preparing to move, advancing," which saved the day for the Union army. The river was rising rapidly when General Sumner crossed; it continued to rise afterwards, and speedily became impracticable. They met and repulsed the fresh division of General Smith, which would probably else have succeeded in its flank movement, and cutting the Union force off from retreat by the road by which it had crossed the Chickahominy, would have driven it to utter destruction in the labyrinths of White Oak swamp. It was in this encounter that the Confederate commander-in-chief, General Johnston, who had been stationed during the day with the division of General Smith, was, about sunset, struck from his horse, severely wounded by a fragment of a shell. The missile struck him in the right shoulder, and it was said that in falling from his horse two ribs were fractured.

The casualities in these engagements were very heavy. The total Union loss, as furnished by General McClellan, was, in the corps of General Sumner, 183 killed, 894 wounded, and 146 missing; in that of Heintzelman, 259 killed, 980 wounded, 155 missing; in that of Keyes, 448 killed, 1,753 wounded, and 921 missing—a grand total of 5,739. General Johnston, in his report, states the Confederate loss in the command of General Longstreet, at 3,000, in that of General Smith 1,233—altogether 4,233. General Hill's division was included in Longstreet's command, and General Huger did not reach the field. Many prisoners were taken by the Union troops, including General Pettigrew and Colonel Long. General Johnston claimed the capture of several hundred prisoners, ten pieces of artillery, 6,000 muskets, one garrison flag, and four regimental colors, besides a large quantity of tents and camp equipage.

In his first dispatch from the field of battle, in telegraphing the result of the conflict to the Secretary of War, trusting to various reports, General McClellan commented with severity upon the conduct of Casey's division. "They gave way," he said, "unaccountably and discreditably." In a subsequent dispatch, however, on the 5th, he modified his censure. "From statements made to me subsequently by Generals Casey and Naglee," he wrote, "I am induced to believe that portions of this division behaved well, and made a most gallant stand against superior numbers." The report of those officers, and the simple statement of the heavy losses incurred, with a candid review of the circumstances of the case, will, indeed, exonerate the division from any opprobious condemnation. "If a portion of my division," says General Casey, after reviewing the condition of the greater part of his command, raw troops on leaving Washington, ill provided and fearfully exposed on the Peninsula, "did not behave as well as could have been wished, it must be remembered to what a terrible ordeal they were subjected; still, those that behaved discreditably were exceptional cases. It is true that the division, after being nearly surrounded by the enemy, and losing one-third of the number actually engaged, retreated to the second line; they would all have been prisoners of war had they delayed their retreat a few minutes longer."

On the 2d of June, the day after this conflict, two important bulletins were issued, one addressed by President Jefferson Davis to "the army of Richmond," the other by Gen. McClellan to "the army of the Potomac." The former had most to say of the present; both looked to the continuance of the contest in battles as severe in the future. "I render to you my grateful acknowledgments," said Jefferson Davis, "for the gallantry and good conduct you displayed in the battles of the 31st May and 1st inst., and with pride and pleasure recognize the steadiness and intrepidity with which you attacked the enemy in position, captured his advanced entrenchments, several batteries of artillery, and many standards, and everywhere drove them from the open field. At a part of your operations it was my fortune to be present. On no other occasion have I witnessed more of calmness and good order than you exhibited while advancing into the very jaws of death, and nothing could exceed the prowess with which you closed upon the enemy when a sheet of fire was blazing in your faces. In the renewed struggle in which you are on the eve of engaging, I ask, and can desire, but a continuance of the same conduct which now attracts the admiration and pride of the loved ones you have left at home. You are fighting for all that is dearest to men, and though opposed to a foe who disregards many of the usages of civilized warfare, your humanity to the wounded and the prisoners was the fit and crowning glory to your valor. Defenders of a just cause, may God have you in his holy keeping!"

The address of General McClellan to his troops from his camp near New Bridge ran thus: "Soldiers of the army of the Potomac: I have fulfilled at least a part of my promise to you. You are now face to face with the rebels, who are held at bay in front of the capital. The final and decisive battle is at hand. Unless you belie your past history the result cannot be for a moment doubtful. If the troops who labored so faithfully, and fought so gallantly, at Yorktown, and who so bravely won the hard fights at Williamsburg, West Point, Hanover Court House, and Fair Oaks, now prove worthy of their antecedents, the victory is surely ours. The events of every day prove your superiority. Wherever you have met the enemy you have beaten him. Wherever you have used the bayonet he has given way in panic and disorder. I ask of you now one last crowning effort. The enemy has staked his all on the issue of the coming battle. Let us meet him and crush him here, in the very centre of the rebellion. Soldiers, I will be with you in this battle, and share its dangers with you. Our confidence in each other is now founded upon the past. Let us strike the blow which is to restore peace and union to this distracted land. Upon your valor, discipline, and mutual confidence the result depends."

CHAPTER LXXI.

THE SEVEN DAYS BATTLES BEFORE RICHMOND AND RETREAT FROM THE PENINSULA, JUNE—AUGUST, 1862.

FROM the glowing address to his army with which the last chapter concludes, and from the tenor of a letter written by him the same day—that following the battle of Fair Oaks—to the Secretary of War, it would appear that General McClellan meditated an immediate movement upon the enemy. "I only wait," he wrote, "for the river to fall, to cross with the rest of the force, and make a general attack. Should I find them holding firm in a very strong position, I may wait for what troops I can bring up from Fortress Monroe. But the *morale* of my troops is now such that I can venture much. I do not fear for odds against me. The victory is complete, and all credit is due to the gallantry of our officers and men." The condition of the ground, however, and the state of water in the Chickahominy, remained such, as in the judgment of the commander, to render the projected forward movement, for the time, impossible, and the month of June was mainly passed in preparations for an advance, which, at the close, by the superiority of the enemy, was suddenly changed into a precipitate retreat. This was emphatically the season of trial to the army of the Potomac. The victory of Fair Oaks left the several corps on the right bank of the Chickahominy, in possession of the battle field, with their pickets, as before, within five miles of Richmond; and the natural difficulties of the position remained the same. The ground was impassable for artillery, the slender communications with the right wing had to be repaired and increased in the building of bridges; encampments and entrenchments had to be formed in the swampy woods, which were flooded by frequent rains, while the midsummer sun—never more severe than at times in this region—inflamed the pestilent influences of crowded camps and noxious marshes into active and virulent diseases. Thousands of strong men, during these operations of the "siege of Richmond," slowly sickened of fever, and died in the swamps of the Chickahominy, a name which grew to the country a terrible word of fear, synonymous with suffering in its most aggravated forms. The enemy, meanwhile, encouraged by the brilliant successes of Jackson in his dash through the valley, and by the heroism of their divisions at Seven Pines, were greatly strengthening their forces in and about Richmond, under the skillful leadership of General Robert E. Lee, who had succeeded General Johnston in command of the Confederate army.

By an order of the War Department, on the 2d of June, the Department of Virginia extended to include that part of the State south of the Rappahannock and east of the railroad from Fredericksburg to Richmond, Petersburg, and Weldon, was assigned to General McClellan. This brought Fortress Monroe under his authority, and a change of officers at that point, General Dix succeeding to General Wool, who was appointed to the command of the Middle Department, with his headquarters at Baltimore. General McClellan had thus an additional force of several thousand troops immediately at his disposal, and was still further strengthened, in the following fortnight, by the arrival of General McCall's division, about 11,000 in number, detached from the command of General McDowell, Washington being again relieved of its fears of capture by the retreat up the valley of "Stonewall" Jackson.

It was about this time that the army on the Peninsula was startled by a brilliant cavalry raid of the enemy, which, in a three days' adventure, from the 13th to the 15th of June, swept the whole circuit of the Union lines in the rear of the camps, from the outposts of the right wing, toward Hanover Court House, across the railway, and by the lower course of the Chickahominy back to Richmond, inflicting considerable damage in the destruction of stores, and in several encounters laying bare the weakness of the communications of McClellan's army with its base at York river. As this was, up to this time, one of the most daring exploits of the war, and became the model of others of equal and greater temerity and success, undertaken on both sides, the reader may be interested in the particular narrative of the affair presented in the official report of General J. E. B. Stuart, the eminent cavalry officer to whom the conduct of the expedition was assigned by General Lee.

"In compliance," he writes to General Lee, "with your written instructions, I undertook an expedition to the vicinity of the enemy's lines on the Pamunkey, with about twelve hundred cavalry and a section of the Stuart horse artillery. The cavalry was composed of portions of the 1st, 4th, and 9th Virginia cavalry, the second named having no field officer present, was, for the time being, divided between the first and last mentioned, commanded, respectively, by Colonel Fitz. Lee and Colonel W. H. Fitzhugh Lee, also two squadrons of the Jeff. Davis Legion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel W. T. Martin; the section of artillery being commanded by First Lieutenant James Breathed. Although the expedition was prosecuted further than was at first contemplated in your instructions, I feel assured that the considerations which actuated me will convince you that I did not depart from their spirit, and that the boldness developed in the subsequent direction of the march was the quintessence of prudence. The destination of the expedition was kept a profound secret (so essential to success), and was known to my command only as the actual march developed it.

"The force was quietly concentrated beyond the Chickahominy, near Kirby's Station, on the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac railroad, and moved thence parallel to and to the left of that road. Scouts were kept far to the right to ascertain the enemy's whereabouts, and advanced guard flankers, and rear guard, to secure our column against surprise. I purposely directed my first day's march (Thursday, June 12), so as to favor the idea of reinforcing Jackson, and camped just opposite Hanover Court House, near Southana bridge (R., F. and P. railroad), twenty-two miles from Richmond. Our noiseless bivouac was broken early next morning, and without flag or bugle sound we resumed our march, none but *one* knew whither. I, however, immediately took occasion to make known my instructions and plans confidently to the regimental commanders, so as to secure an intelligent action and coöperation in whatever might occur. Scouts had returned, indicating no serious obstacles to my march from that to Old Church, directly in rear of, and on the overland avenue of communication to New Bridge and vicinity. I proceeded, therefore, *via* Hanover Court House, upon the route to Old Church. Upon reaching the vicinity of Hanover Court House, I found it in possession of the enemy; but very little could be ascertained about the strength and nature of his force. I, therefore, sent Colonel Fitz. Lee's regiment, 1st Virginia cavalry, to make a detour to the right, and reach the enemy's route behind him, to ascertain his force here, and crush it, if possible; but the enemy proving afterward to be one hundred and fifty cavalry, did not tarry long, but left—my column following slowly down, expecting every moment to hurl him upon Lee ; but, owing to a bad marsh, Colonel Lee did not reach the intersection of roads in time, and the cavalry (the regular 6th) passed on in the direction of Mechanicsville. This course deviating too much from our direction, after the capture of a sergeant they were allowed to proceed on their way. Our march led thence by Taliaferro's mill and Edon church to Haw's shop ; here we encountered the first pickets, surprised and caught several videttes, and pushed boldly forward, keeping advanced guard well to the front. The regiment in front was the 9th Virginia cavalry, Colonel W. H. F. Lee, whose advance guard, intrusted to the command of Adjutant Lieutenant Rodins, did admirable service—Lieutenant Rodins handling it in the most skillful manner, managing to clear the way for the march with little delay, and infusing, by a sudden dash at a picket, such a wholesome terror, that it never paused to take a second look. Between Haws' shop and Old Church the advanced guard reported the enemy's cavalry in force in front. It proved to be the 5th regular cavalry (formerly the 2d, commanded by yourself). The leading squadron was ordered forward at a brisk gait, the main body following closely, and gave chase to the enemy for a mile or two, but did not come up to him. We crossed the Tolopotomy, a strong position of defence which the enemy failed to hold, confessing a weakness. In such places half a squadron was deployed afoot as skirmishers till the point of danger was passed. On, on dashed Rodins, here skirting a field, there leaping a fence or ditch, and cleaning the woods beyond, when, not far from Old Church, the enemy made a stand, having been reinforced. The only mode of attack being in column of fours along the road, I still preferred to oppose the enemy with one squadron at a time, remembering that he who brings on the field the last cavalry reserve wins the day. The next squadron, therefore, moved to the front under the lamented Captain Latane, making a most brilliant and successful charge, with drawn sabres, upon the picket guard, and after a hotly-contested hand-to-hand conflict, put him to flight ; but not till the gallant captain had sealed his devotion to his native soil with his blood. The enemy's rout (two squadrons by one of ours), was complete ; they dispersed in terror and confusion, leaving many dead on the field, and blood in quantities in their tracks. Their commander, Captain Royall, was reported mortally wounded. Several officers, and a number of privates, were taken in this conflict, and a number of horses, arms, and equipment, together with five guidons. The woods and fields were full of the scattered and disorganized foe, straggling to and fro, and but for the delay, and the great incumbrance which they would have been to our march, many more could and would have been captured. Colonel Fitz. Lee, burning with impatience to cross sabres with his old regiment, galloped to the front, and begged to be allowed to participate with his regiment, the 1st Virginia cavalry, in the discomfiture of his old comrades—a request I readily granted—and his leading squadron pushed gallantly down the road to Old Church ; but the fragments of Royall's command could not be rallied again, and Colonel Lee's leading squadron charged, without resistance, into the enemy's camp (five companies), and took possession of a number of horses, a quantity of arms and stores of every kind, and several officers and privates. The stores, as well as the tents, in which everything had been left, were speedily burned, and the march resumed—whither?

"Here was the turning point in the expedition. Two routes were before me : the one to return by Hanover Court House, the other to pass around through

New Kent, taking the chances of having to swim the Chickahominy, and make a bold effort to cut the enemy's lines of communication. The Chickahominy was believed by my guides to be fordable near Forge Bridge. I was fourteen miles from Hanover Court House, which I would have to pass if I returned; the enemy had a much shorter distance to pass to intercept me there; besides, the South Anna river was impassable, which still further narrowed the chances of escape in that direction; the enemy, too, would naturally expect me to take that route. These circumstances led me to look with more favor to my favorite scheme, disclosed to you before starting, of passing around. It was only nine miles to Tunstall's Station, on the York river railroad, and that point once passed, I felt little apprehension; beyond, the route was one, of all others, which I felt sure the enemy would never expect me to take. On that side of the Chickahominy infantry could not reach me before crossing, and I felt able to whip any cavalry force that could be brought against me. Once on the Charles City side, I knew you would, when aware of my position, if necessary, order a diversion in my favor on the Charles City road, to prevent a move to intercept me from the direction of White Oak Swamp. Beside this, the hope of striking a serious blow at a boastful and insolent foe, which would make him tremble in his shoes, made more agreeable the alternative I chose. In a brief and frank interview with some of my officers, I disclosed my views, but while none accorded a full assent, all assured me a hearty support in whatever I did. With an abiding trust in God, and with such guarantees of success as the two Lees and Martin, and their devoted followers, this enterprise I regarded as most promising. Taking care, therefore, more particularly after this resolve, to inquire of the citizens the distance and the route to Hanover Court House, I kept my horse's head steadily toward Tunstall's Station. There was something sublime in the implicit confidence and unquestioning trust of the rank and file in a leader guiding them straight, apparently, into the very jaws of the enemy; every step appearing to them to diminish the faintest hope of extrication. Reports of the enemy's strength at Garlick's and Tunstall's were conflicting, but generally indicated a small number. Prisoners were captured at every step, and included officers, soldiers, and negroes. The rear now became of as much interest and importance as the front, but the duties of rear guard devolving upon the Jeff. Davis Legion, with the howitzer attached, its conduct was intrusted to its commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Martin, in whose judgment and skill I had entire confidence. He was not attacked, but at one time the enemy appeared in his rear, bearing a flag of truce, and the party, twenty-five in number, bearing it, actually surrendered to his rear guard, so great was the consternation produced by our march. An assistant-surgeon was also taken; he was *en route*, and not in charge of the sick. Upon arriving opposite Garlick's I ordered a squadron from the 9th Virginia cavalry to destroy whatever could be found at the landing on the Pamunkey. Two transports, loaded with stores, and a large number of wagon, were here burnt, and the squadron rejoined the column with a number of prisoners, horses, and mules. A squadron of the 1st Virginia cavalry (Hammond's) assisted in this destruction. A few picked men, including my aids, Burke, Farley, and Mosley, were pushed forward rapidly to Tunstall's, to cut the wires and secure the depot. Five companies of cavalry, escorting large wagon trains, were in sight, and seemed at first disposed to dispute our progress, but the sight of our column, led by Lee, of the 9th, boldly advancing to the combat was enough. Content with a distant view, they fled, leaving their train in our hands. The party that reached the railroad at Tunstall's surprised the guard at the depot, fifteen or twenty infantry, captured them without their firing a gun, and set about obstructing the railroad, but before it could be thoroughly done, and just as the head of our column reached it, a train of cars came thundering down from the "grand army." It had troops on board, and we prepared to attack it. The train swept off the obstructions without being thrown from the track, but our fire, delivered at only a few rods' distance, either killed, or caused to feign death, every one on board, the engineer being one of the first victims, from the unerring fire of Captain Farley. It is fair to presume that a serious collision took place on its arrival at the White House, for it made extraordinary speed in that direction.

"The railroad bridge over Black creek was fired under the direction of Lieutenant Burke, and it being now dark, the burning of the immense wagon train, and the extricating of the teams, involved much labor and delay, and illuminated the country for miles. The roads at this point were far worse than ours, and the artillery had much difficulty in passing. Our march was finally continued by bright moonlight to Talleysville, where we halted three and a half hours for the column to close up. At this point we passed a large hospital, of one hundred and fifty patients. I deemed it proper not to molest the surgeons and attendants in charge. At twelve o'clock at night the march was continued, without incident, under the most favorable auspices, to Forge Bridge (eight miles), over the Chickahominy, where we arrived just at daylight. Lee, of the 9th, by personal experiment, having found the stream not fordable, axes were sent for, and every means taken to overcome the difficulties by improvised bridges and swimming. I immediately dispatched to you information of my situation, and asked for the diversion already referred to. The progress in crossing was very slow at the point chosen, just above Forge Bridge, and learning that, at the bridge proper, enough of the *debris* of the old bridge remained to facilitate the construction of another—materials for which were afterward afforded by a large warehouse adjacent—I moved to that point at once. Lieutenant Redmond Burke, who, in every sphere has rendered most valuable service, and deserves the highest consideration at the hands of the government, set to work with a party to construct a bridge. A foot-bridge was soon improvised, and the horses were crossed over as rapidly as possible by swimming. Burke's work proceeded like magic; in three hours it was ready to bear artillery and cavalry, and as half of the latter had not yet crossed, the bridge enbled the whole to reach the other bank by one o'clock, P. M. Another branch of the Chickahominy, still further on, was with difficulty forded, and the march was continued without interruption towards Richmond. Having passed the point of danger, I left the column with Colonel Lee, of the 1st, and rode on to report to you, reaching your headquarters at daylight next morning. Returning to my command soon after, the prisoners, one hundred and sixty-five in number, were transferred to the proper authority; two hundred and sixty mules and horses captured, with more or less harness, were transferred to the quartermaster departments of the different regiments, and the commands were sent to their respective cmps. The number of captured arms has not been, as yet, accurately ascertained. A pole was broken, which obliged us to abandon a limber this side of the Chickahominy. The success attending this expedition will, no doubt, cause ten thousand or fifteen thousand men to be detached from the enemy's main body to guard his communications, besides accomplishing the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property, and the interruption, for a time, of his railroad communications. The three commanders, the two Lees and Martin, exhibited the characteristics of skillful commanders, keeping their commands well in hand, and managing them with skill and good judgment, which proved them worthy of a higher trust. Their brave men behaved with coolness and intrepidity in danger, unswerving resolution before difficulties, and stood unappalled before the rushing torrents of the Chickahominy, with the probability of an enemy at their heels, armed with the fury of a tigress robbed of her whelps. The perfect order and systematic disposition for crossing, maintained throughout the passage, insured its success, and rendered it the crowning feature of a successful expedition. I hope, General, that your sense of delicacy, so manifest on former occasions, will not prompt you to award to the two Lees, (your son and nephew), less than their full measure of praise. Embalmed in the hearts and affections of their regiments, tried on many occasions requiring coolness, decision and bravery, everywhere present to animate, direct and control, they held their regiments in their grasp; and proved themselves brilliant cavalry leaders."

There was a great stir, as might be expected, at White House, in anticipation of an attack, when Stuart's cavalry crossed the Pamunkey a few miles above, at Garlick's Landing, where the two schooners were destroyed, and when the flying train, which had been assailed at Tunstall's, arrived with its news of death and disaster. A raid of this description was then something of a novelty, and a general attack was feared. There were few troops at the place; but they were immediately put under arms, with the civilians, by Colonel Ingalles, in charge of the post, while the assailable fleet of steamboats, schooners, transports, and trading vessels in the river made preparations to leave. The government papers and property were placed on board the mail boat which had just arrived from Fortress Monroe. Had the enemy been in force, and made an attempt upon the place, they would either have captured an immense amount of valuable stores, or compelled their destruction. As it was, the damage which was inflicted along his course was comparatively slight, and the expedition, though sufficiently annoying, was in one way profitable to the Union armies. It sounded a note of warning which was not neglected, and when the right of the army was seriously threatened a fortnight later by the advance of Jackson, the enemy found, on the railway and at White House, the movement everywhere anticipated by General McClellan.

It was more than ever evident after this raid that something was necessary to be done in the army of the Potomac to secure the object of its visit to the Peninsula, the capture of Richmond, or, at least, extricate it from the difficulties which had beset its progress from the moment of its first landing—embarrassments and hardships which were beginning to tell fearfully upon its condition. The army was, indeed, being reinforced by McCall's division; but a few thousand new troops arriving, to be, in turn, exposed to the same injurious influences, could not be expected to counteract the steadily working force of malaria and over-exertion, which were rapidly decimating the army. Moreover, the enemy was gaining in strength. "Stonewall" Jackson, who by his rapidity of action, the energy of his character, and the consequent devotion of his troops, had taught his foes to watch his movements with interest; if not with anxiety, having accomplished his work on the Potomac, and eluded the skillfully laid plan of President Lincoln for his capture, was now at leisure, after contending with Fremont at Cross Keys, and defeating Shields in the Luray valley, to operate on the right of the army of the Potomac.

The country, seeing the perils to which

that army was exposed by delay, and trusting in its capacity and valor, was impatient for action, and the feeling was undoubtedly shared by the brave, well-trained soldiers in the camps. Bridges had now been built in sufficient numbers to connect, readily, the two wings of the army;—the most important of these was Woodbury bridge, named after the Colonel of the 4th Michigan regiment, its builders, an extraordinary work in extent and solidity,—the lines had been pushed forward, defensive works erected, to secure the safety of the army in case of a repulse, and the force on the right bank of the Chickahominy, where the advance on Richmond was proposed to be made, was considerably augmented by the addition of Gen. Franklin's corps. On the 18th of June General McClellan telegraphed to President Lincoln, "A general engagement may take place at any hour. An advance by us involves a battle more or less decisive. . . . After to-morrow we shall fight the rebel army as soon as Providence will permit. We shall await only a favorable condition of the earth and sky, and the completion of some necessary preliminaries." The strength of the army of General McClellan at this time, according to official reports of the 20th of June, was—present for duty, 115,102 ; on special duty, sick, and in arrest, 12,225 ; absent, 29,511—a total of 156,838. This included McCall's division of 11,000, and other reinforcements from Fortress Monroe. Though the number of furloughs was said to be very liberally extended, it is to be presumed that they covered many cases of broken health, which were to be added to the account of the malaria of the region. The force of the army of Richmond, strengthened as it had been, probably did not greatly exceed that before the city.

The commencement of direct active operations by General McClellan was made on the morning of the 25th of June, when General Heintzelman, holding the advance before Fair Oaks, was ordered to push forward his pickets, and drive the enemy from the woods in his front, thus relieving his men from an unwholesome position in the swampy ground, and bringing them to an open, cleared space beyond. It was a movement intentionally preliminary to the general action, now at length resolved upon. The brunt of this affair, which was carried out with spirit, was chiefly borne by two brigades of Hooker's division, those of Sickles, composed of the New York "Excelsior" regiments and Grover's New England regiments. As the action grew warm, General Kearney, with his command, and other troops, were engaged in the fight. A bombardment was at the same time opened by General Porter from the left bank of the Chickahominy, on the enemy's positions on the other side. Hooker's advance was sharply contested in the wood. General McClellan came upon the field about noon, and personally directed the movement. At three o'clock in the afternoon he reported, in a dispatch to the Secretary of War: "The enemy are making desperate resistance to the advance of our picket lines. Kearney and one half of Hooker's are where I want them. I have this moment reinforced Hooker's right with a brigade and a couple of guns, and hope in a few minutes to finish the work intended for to-day. Our men are behaving splendidly. The enemy are fighting well also. This is not a battle, merely an affair of Heintzelman's corps, supported by Keyes, and, thus far, all goes well, and we hold every foot of ground we have gained. If we succeed in what we have undertaken, it will be a very important advantage gained. Loss not large thus far. The fighting up to this time has been done by General Hooker's division, which has behaved as usual, that is, most handsomely. On our right Porter has silenced the enemy's batteries in his front." Two hours later General McClellan added, in a further dispatch:

"The affair is over, and we have gained our point fully, and with but little loss, notwithstanding the strong opposition; our men have done all that could be desired. The affair was partially decided by two guns that Captain Dusenbury brought gallantly into action under very difficult circumstances. The enemy was driven from his camps in front of this, and all is now quiet." The Union loss was about 500. This affair, which has been called the battle of Oak Grove, was succeeded the next day by an engagement on the left bank of the river, followed by the most important consequences.

The movement of the 25th, just described, had its significance in the obvious purpose of a speedy advance upon Richmond. General McClellan, however, apparently not sanguine of the result, advised of the approach of Jackson, with his entire force, consisting of his own division, and those of Ewell and Whiting, which, he understood, was, on the 24th, at Frederick's Hall, in Louisa county, with the intention of falling upon his right, and breaking up his communications with York river, had, with a view to future events, ordered a number of transports, with stores and supplies, to the James river. He had, in fact, warned by the easy success of the raid of Stuart on his rear, already contemplated the change of base which was, a few days after, fully consummated. The active pressure of the enemy speedily determined the movement.

It is said to have been the strategy of General McClellan to entice the enemy to the left bank of the Chickahominy, that he might make his main attack on the right, by the roads in that quarter leading directly into Richmond; but that design, if he entertained it, was speedily abandoned in the presence of the enemy. On the very afternoon of the affair of Oak Grove, General McClellan was hurried from the field by intelligence brought in by several contrabands, confirming the supposition that Jackson's advance was at or near Hanover Court House, and that Beauregard had arrived at Richmond the day before with strong reinforcements. "I am inclined to think," he telegraphed to the Secretary of War, in the evening, "that Jackson will attack my right and rear. The rebel force is stated at 200,000, including Jackson and Beauregard. I shall have to contend against vastly superior odds if these reports be true; but this army will do all in the power of man to hold their position and repulse an attack." This estimate of the rebel force, was, as usual, much overstated. The report of Beauregard's arrival at Richmond was altogether erroneous, nor is it clear that any of his troops were in Virginia. Lee's force is said to have numbered 90,000, to which Jackson's command added 30,000. Expecting an attack on the right on the morrow, he accordingly proceeded, with the view of making the necessary arrangements, to the camp of General Porter, who commanded the right wing, now reduced to three divisions of about 35,000, in all, with Stoneman's cavalry, which was constantly employed in various reconnoissances along the line of the railway, and toward Hanover Court House.

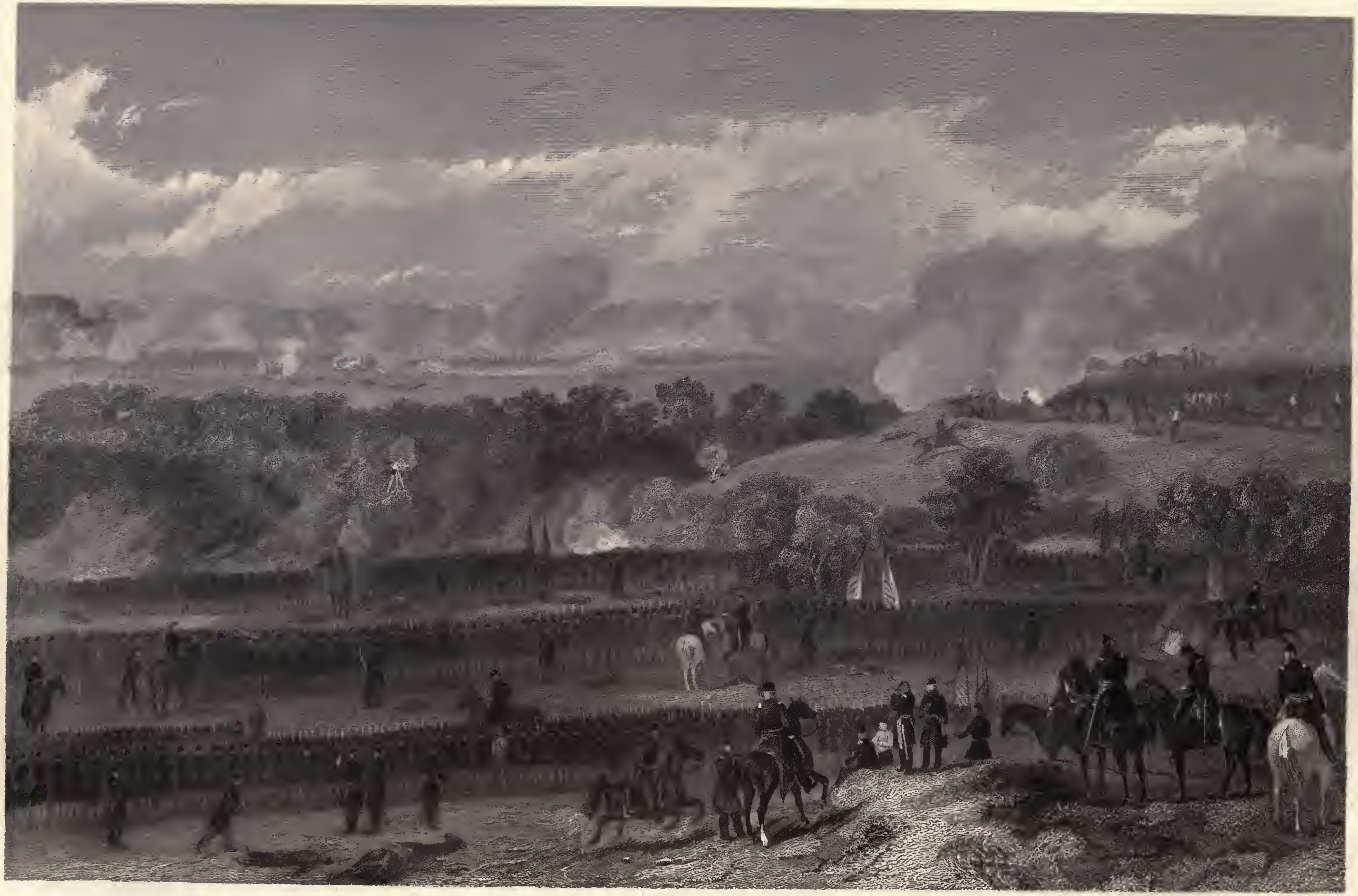
"On my arrival," says General McClellan, in his official report of the events now taking place, "I found that there was a strong probability of Jackson's advancing, although not a certainty of it. I therefore determined to leave our heavy guns in battery, and to retain McCall's division in its strong position on Beaver Dam creek, near Mechanicsville, posting merely small outposts to watch the crossing near Meadow Bridge and Mechanicsville, and to give McCall immediate notice of the enemy's approach. Porter's remaining troops were to be held in reserve, ready to act according to circumstances. The centre and left of the army were also to be held in readiness to repulse any attack, or to move to the assistance of the right. It had long before been determined to hold the position of Beaver Dam creek in the event of being attacked on that side, for the reasons that the position was intrinsically a very strong one, was less liable to be turned on either flank than any position in advance of it, and brought the army in a more concentrated and manageable condition. The natural strength of the position had been somewhat increased by slight rifle pits, and felling a little timber in front of it; with the exception of epaulments for artillery near Gaines' and Hogan's houses, to act against the enemy's batteries on the right bank of the Chickahominy, there were no other artificial defences on the left bank of that stream. Our position on the right bank of the river had been rendered reasonably secure against assault by felling timber, and the construction of slight earthworks. Measures had already been taken to secure the passage of White Oak Swamp. The right wing, under the command of General Fitz John Porter, consisted of the divisions of Morell, Sykes, and McCall, with a large part of the cavalry reserve. He had ten heavy guns in the battery on the banks of the Chickahominy. Such was the state of affairs on the morning of June 26. I was, by that time, satisfied that I had to deal with at least double my numbers, but so great was my confidence in the conduct of the officers, and the bravery, discipline, and devotion of my men, that I felt contented calmly to await the bursting of the coming storm, ready to profit by any fault of the enemy, and sure that I could extricate the army from any difficulty in which it might become involved. No other course was open to me, for my information in regard to the movements of the enemy was too meagre to enable me to take a decided course.

"I had not long to wait. During the afternoon of the 26th the enemy crossed, in several columns, in the vicinity of Mechanicsville and Meadow Bridge, and attacked McCall in his position at Beaver Dam creek. His repeated efforts were constantly repulsed, with but little loss on our side, but with great slaughter on the part of the enemy. The contest ceased here about nine P. M., the enemy leaving us in full possession of every part of the field of battle. During the action McCall was supported by the brigades of Martindale and Griffin, of the division of Morell. While this was going on, there were some sharp affairs of pickets on the centre and left, but nothing of a serious nature. By this time I had certain information that Jackson was rapidly advancing in strong force, from Hanover Court House, and that his advance guard had probably participated in the battle of Beaver Dam creek. This rendered that position untenable. I, therefore, determined still further to concentrate the army by withdrawing Porter's command to a position near Gaines' Mill, where he could rest both his flanks on the Chickahominy, and and cover the most important bridges over that stream. The wagons and heavy guns were withdrawn during the night, the troops falling back to their new position early in the morning. The enemy attacked Seymour's brigade, constituting the rear guard of the division of McCall, but were sharply repulsed, and the movement was not further molested.

In the course of the morning of the 27th, I received intelligence that Longstreet's corps was at Mechanicsville, ready to move down on either bank of the Chickahominy, according to circumstances. The intelligence, and many threatening movements of the enemy on various parts of the centre and left, placed a limit to the amount of the reinforcements available for the support of Porter. Under the circumstances, it was impossible to withdraw him to the right bank of the Chickahominy by daylight. The enemy were so close upon him that the attempt would have insured the loss of a large portion of his corps, and, in any event, the abandonment of his position at that time would have placed our right flank and rear at the mercy of the enemy. It was necessary to fight him where we stood, to hold our position, at any cost, until night, and in the meantime to perfect the arrangements for the change of base to the James river. In the report of General Porter will be found a detailed description of the field of battle at Gaines' Mill, and the circumstances of that eventful contest, creditable alike to the energy of the enemy and the desperate valor of the comparatively small band that repelled the attacks of his enormous masses. It will suffice, for the purposes of this report to state that the action commenced abeut 2 P. M., and that during the afternoon I ordered up the division of Slocum to the support of Porter, and soon after the brigades of French and Meagher, of Richardson's division. The latter were not engaged. At a later period two brigades of Peck's division were ordered forward, but, as their services were not needed, they did not cross the Chickahominy. The contest continued with varying fortunes, until dark, when the enemy discontinued his attack. During the night the final withdrawal of the right wing across the Chickahominy was completed, without difficulty and without confusion, a portion of the regulars remaining on the left bank until the morning of the 28th. Early on that morning the bridges were burned, and the whole army was thus concentrated on the right bank of the Chickahominy. During the battle of Gaines' Mill the position of General Smith was warmly attacked, but the enemy was at once repulsed with loss.

In the course of the night of the 27th, General Keyes was ordered to cross the White Oak Swamp with the 4th corps, and take up a position to cover the passage of the trains. Measures were also taken to increase the number of bridges across the swamp, The trains were set in motion at an early hour, and continued passing across the swamp, night and day, without interruption, until all had crossed. On the 28th, Porter's corps was also moved across the White Oak Swamp; and on the morning of the 29th took up a position covering the roads leading from Richmond towards White Oak Swamp and Long Bridges. During the night of the 28th and 29th the divisions of Slocum and McCall were ordered across the White Oak Swamp, and were placed in position to cover the passage of the remaining divisions and trains. In the course of the same night the corps of Sumner and Heintzelman and the division of Smith were ordered to fall back from their original positions to an interior line resting upon Keyes' old intrenchments on the left, and so arranged as to cover Savage Station. They were ordered to hold this position until dark, then to fall back across the swamps and rejoin the rest of the army. This order was not fully carried out, nor was the exact position I designated occupied by the different divisions concerned. Nevertheless, the result was that two attacks of the enemy—one a very determined onset—were signally repulsed by Sumner's corps, assisted in the last by Smith's division of the 6th corps. These are the two actions known as the affair of Allen's Field, and the battle of Savage Station. The 3d corps crossed the swamp before dark, having left its position before the hour assigned, and was not in action during the day (the 29th). The 2d corps and Smith's division safely crossed the swamp during the night with all their guns and material, and brought up the rear of the wagon train.

"In the night of the 29th and 30th the 4th and 5th corps were ordered to move to James river, to rest on that river at or near Turkey Bend, and occupy a position perpendicular to the river, thus covering the Charles city road to Richmond, opening communication with



BATTLE OF MALVERN HILL.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers

the gunboats, and covering the wagon train, which was pushed as rapidly as possible upon Haxall's and Harrison's plantations. The remaining corps were moved in the same direction, and posted so as to cover the main roads leading from Richmond, as well as the crossing by which the army had passed the White Oak Swamp, and to guard the passage of our large trains to the James river. When the troops were in position in the afternoon, before the enemy attacked, they were posted about as follows: Porter, with two divisions (Morell's and Sykes), and the mass of the reserve artillery on Malvern Hill (the left of the position); next Couch, with one brigade of Peck's division in reserve; next Sedgwick, then McCall, Hooker, Kearney, Slocum, Naglee's brigade, Richardson, and Smith. During the actions which ensued at Turkey Bridge, on the New Market road (Glendale), and at the White Oak Swamp, changes were made in this disposition. The result of the various actions of the 30th, during which our whole line was attacked, was that the enemy was everywhere repulsed, except in his attack upon McCall's division, which, hard pressed by greatly superior numbers, and having lost three of its general officers, broke and lost most of its artillery. The gallant conduct of their comrades near by, especially Hooker's division, retrieved that mishap, and rendered it impossible for the enemy to reap any advantages from it.

"By this time the last of the trains had reached Haxall's Landing, and during the night the troops fell back to the vicinity of that place, all arriving in safety and unmolested at an early hour of the morning. They were promptly placed in position to offer battle to the enemy should he again attack the left of the line, resting on the admirable position of Malvern Hill, with a brigade in the low ground to the left, watching the road to Richmond, the line then following a line of heights nearly parallel to the river, and bending back through the woods nearly to the James river on our right. On our left we relied upon the natural advantages of the position; on the right, where the natural strength was less, some little cutting of timber was done, and the roads blocked. Although our force was small for so extensive a position, it was necessary to hold it at any cost. When the battle commenced in the afternoon, I saw that in the faces and bearing of the men which satisfied me we were sure of victory. The attack was made upon our left and centre, and the brunt of it was borne by Porter's corps (including Hunt's reserve artillery and Tyler's heavy guns) and Couch's division, reinforced by the brigades of Sickles and Meagher. It was desperate, brave, and determined, but so destructive was the fire of our numerous artillery, so heroic the conduct of our infantry, and so admirable the dispositions of Porter, that no troops could have carried the position. Late in the evening the enemy fell back, thoroughly beaten, with dreadful slaughter. So completely was he crushed, and so great were his losses, that he has not since ventured to attack us.

"Previous to the battle of Malvern I had fully consulted with Commodore Rodgers, and with him made a hasty reconnoissance of the positions of the river. The difficulty of passing our transports above City Point was so great that I determined to fall back upon the position now occupied by the army—a position, too, much less extensive than that of Malvern, and, therefore, permitting me to give the men the rest they so much needed. Accordingly the army fell back during the night of the 1st and 2d of July, reaching the place at an early hour on the 2d. On the 3d, the troops were placed essentially in their present positions at Harrison's Landing.

"To the calm judgment of history and the future, I leave the task of pronouncing upon this movement, confident that its verdict will be that no such difficult movement was ever more successfully executed; that no army ever fought more repeatedly, heroically and successfully against such great odds; that no men of any race displayed greater discipline, endurance, patience, and cheerfulness under such hardships. My mind cannot coin expression of thanks and admiration warm enough, or intense enough, to do justice to my feelings toward the army I am so proud to command. To my countrymen I commit them, convinced they will ever honor every brave man who served during those seven historic days with the army of the Potomac. Upon whatever field it may hereafter be called upon to act, I ask that it may never lose its name, but may ever be known as the army of the Potomac—a name which it has never or ever will disgrace."*

Such is the account of General McClellan of the tangled web of battles from which, baffling the plans of the enemy laid for the capture or destruction of the whole, the army of the Potomac emerged in safety, though not without heavy losses, on the banks of the James. Judged by itself, the retreat, a succession of well-fought battles, was one of the most heroic in history; it is only in its connection with a campaign which fairly promised, at its outset, the capture of Richmond, that a sense of disappointment momentarily dulls the achievements of the valiant divisions, which, in the midst of harassing and continuous labors, fought the Seven Days' Battles. To do justice to the heroic incidents of that prolonged struggle would require volumes. To exhaust its annals of hardship and suffering continued through that long unintermitted contest with the enemy—for every day from the beginning had its petty skirmishes, swelling the enormous aggregate of death and disaster; fully to recount the labors of the severer struggle with nature and the elements, as the toil-worn, sickening, fast-dying regiments, sought to secure an uncertain footing, laying roads of corduroy in the swamps, bridging the treacherous Chickahominy at places numerous enough for the full coöperation, or safe withdrawal of the great army; and when all this was done, engaging in an unequal contest with the foe; overpowered by superior numbers, with no hope of victory; fighting by day to retreat by night along a line of seventeen miles through the perilous region of the White Oak Swamp, an exultant enemy on their rear and on their flank—fully to present the details of languishing illness and gory death would drive the reader from the page in horror. The population of a city was swept away—prisoners, the dying, the dead—the sick and wounded abandoned, of necessity, to the tender mercies of the foe, an enormous amount of property destroyed in the week of this lamentable retreat, which, yet, was rejoiced over by the army as a deliverance from greater immediate perils. The official report of General McClellan sums up a grand total of 15,224 killed, wounded and missing in these Seven Days' Battles. Of this aggregate, Sumner's corps lost 176 killed, 1,088 wounded, 848 missing; Heintzelman's 189 killed, 1,051 wounded, 883 missing; Keyes', 69 killed, 507 wounded, 201 missing; Porter's 873 killed, 3,700 wounded, 2,779 missing; Franklin's, 245 killed, 1,313 wounded, 1,179 missing; Stoneman's cavalry, 19 killed, 60 wounded, 97 missing; the engineers, 2 wounded and 21 missing. The only general officers lost in these engagements were General Reynolds, who was captured at Gaines' Mill, General McCall, who was taken while reconnoitering after the conflict at New Market, and General Meade, who was wounded on the retreat. General Reynolds, a graduate of West Point, and distinguished officer in the regular service, will be remembered for the excellent disposition of his force, and his repulse of Lee, the previous autumn, at Cheat Mountain, in Western Virginia.* General McCall, also a native of Pennsylvania, a West Point officer, well known for his services in the Florida war, and in Mexico, had resigned his commission in 1853, and at the breaking out of the rebellion was living in retirement. Called by Governor Curtin to organize a reserve corps in his native State, he had entered resolutely upon the undertaking, and on the completion of his work, had served with his command on the Potomac, with the rank of brigadier-general. He was in command at the battle of Dranesville, in December, 1861.† Energetic, and impatient of action, his temporary confinement at Richmond as a prisoner of war was sufficiently onerous. General Meade was an engineer officer of reputation in the regular army, had served on the Potomac as brigadier-general of volunteers, and like his associate, just named, was attached to the Pennsylvania Reserves.

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* General McClellan to Adjutant-General Thomas. Headquarters Army of the Potomac, Camp at Berkely, Va., July 15, 1862.

By far the heaviest portion of the Union losses, it will be noticed, was sustained by General Porter's corps. a sad record of the severe battle of Gaines' Mill, fought by less than 30,000 men, with from two to three times their number. McCall's division, on the left wing, attacked in force, was broken, and suffered heavily. A number of cannon were abandoned in the retreat. The sacrifice of life was great; but, in the opinion of General McClellan, saved the remainder of his forces. The enemy was prevented from getting on the flank and rear, and time was gained to withdraw the army and its material. When the army finally reached Harrison's bar, what with actual losses, leaves of absence, and other sources of weakness, General McClellan estimated the number of men "with their colors" at not more than 50,000, less than half of the number of the army a fortnight before, less than a third of all the troops which from the beginning of the campaign had been sent to the Peninsula.* Of the enemy's losses we have no authentic returns; but, admitted to be severe, with the exception of prisoners, they were probably at least as heavy as those of the other side. The stubborn resistance which they everywhere encountered vindicated the courage and discipline, the deservedly high reputation of the Union army. Their columns, from the outset at Beaver Dam and Gaines' Mill, suffered fearfully from the numerous artillery, a main feature in McClellan's army organization. An intelligent observer from the North, who was in Richmond at this time, Mr. W. H. Hurlbert, states, in a review of these affairs, that "on their own side, the most candid, and best-informed Confederates admitted a total loss in killed, wounded and missing, of about 16,000 men."† At the closing engagement at Malvern Hill, the Confederate columns under General Magruder were sent in reckless desperation, in vain attempts to withstand the storm of fire unceasingly poured upon them from the batteries which had been drawn through the swamps with incredible labor, and planted on so advantageous a position, supported, moreover, by the coöperating heavy fire of the gunboats on the James river. Malvern Hill was, indeed, a sad finale to the efforts of the Confederates for the capture of the Federal host, which might have appeared to them at one time fairly within their grasp. They had not only utterly failed to accomplish that, but they had given the enemy the best possible—the only opportunity—to inflict upon them a heavy loss at parting. It would seem that neither side, in this great struggle, was to gain any decided advantage to shorten the war. Richmond was, indeed, saved from capture, but many and fearful conflicts awaited the Confederate army.

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* Ante Vol. I., p. 567.

† Ante pp. 185–6.

* Report of the War Committee of Congress.

† Appendix to translation of Prince de Joinville's "Army of the Potomac," etc.

The Prince de Joinville, a witness of this fearful struggle, pays a glowing tribute to the event which crowned the work. "Porter," says he, "occupied a superb position at a place called Turkey Bend by some persons, and Malvern Hill by others. This position was a lofty open plateau sloping gradually down to the roads by which the enemy must debouch. The left rested upon the river, where lay the Galena, the Monitor, and the flotilla of gunboats. The Federal army, then, had nothing to fear from this side, and had, consequently, only one flank to protect, which was easily done with abattis and field works. On the evening of the 30th all the divisions of the army were united in this strong position, and here the whole train, including the siege guns, was sheltered. The army was in communication with its transports and supplies. The grand and daring movement by which it had escaped a serious danger, and changed an untenable base of operations for one more safe and sure, had been accomplished; but, after so prolonged an effort, the troops were worn out; for five days they had been incessantly marching and fighting. The heat had added to their excessive fatigue; many men had been sun-struck; others quitted the ranks and fell into the lamentable procession of sick and wounded which followed the army as well as it could, and as fast as it could. Doubtless, during this difficult retreat, there had been moments of confusion and disorder, but of what army in like circumstances would not this have been true? This one fact remained unassailable; that, attacked in the midst of a difficult and hostile country by twice its own force, the army of the Potomac had succeeded in gaining a position in which it was out of danger, and from which, had it been properly reinforced, had the concentration of the enemy's forces been met by a like concentration, it might have rapidly resumed the offensive. As we have said, each of its necessarily scattered sections had for five days been called upon to resist the most furious assaults, and had done so with vigor. Now that it was assembled as a whole upon Malvern Hill, the Confederate army, also reunited, might possibly make a last effort against it. So, in the night of the 30th of June and 1st of July, McClellan prepared himself for this eventuality. He put his whole artillery, at least three hundred guns, into battery along the heights, arranging them in such wise that their fire should not interfere with the defence by the infantry of the sort of glacis up which the enemy would be obliged to advance to the attack. The artillery was to be reinforced by the 100-pounders of the gunboats, which were ordered to flank the position. It was mere madness to rush upon such obstacles; but the Confederates attempted it. Again and again during the day of the 1st of July they undertook to carry Malvern Hill, but without the slightest chance of success. The whole day for them was an idle butchery. Their loss was very heavy; that of the Federals insignificant. This success was due to two causes. First, to the fortunate foresight of the general, who, in spite of numerous natural obstacles to the passage of artillery, had spared nothing to bring his on, and next, to the firmness of his troops, Men do not make such a campaign, and go through such experience as they had endured, without coming out more or less formed to war. If their primitive organization had been better, the survivors of this rude campaign I do not fear to assert, might be regarded as the equals of the best soldiers in the world."

Reviewing the incidents of this retreat, we find it to have been skillfully planned by General McClellan, and carried out, taking all the circumstances into account, with extraordinary ability and success by the leading officers entrusted with its execution. An army so encumbered probably never extricated itself with better fortune, or with less profit to the enemy, from so disastrous a situation. The transfer of stores and materials of war from the stations on the railway and at York river, to the James, and the passage of the trains with the heavy artillery through White Oak Swamp, were admirably accomplished, exhibiting a rare tact and administrative ability in the officers, with a ready coöperation on the part of the men. General McClellan, as we have seen, while expecting to try the fortune of war in a general engagement with the army of Richmond, had already determined to change his base of operations from the York river to the James. It was, doubtless, the calculation of the enemy, when Jackson had returned from the Shenandoah, and Stuart had proved the practicability of the scheme, by suddenly throwing a sufficient force on the flank of the Union army, to intercept and capture their vast stores of supplies at the stations on the railway, and at White House, where the provisions and merchandise of a great city were gathered. In this expectation, if it was entertained, the rebels were disappointed.

As early as Tuesday the 24th, in accordance with the orders of General McClellan, army transports on the York and Pamunkey rivers were leaving for James river, where, it will be remembered, the Union gunboats had possession up to Fort Darling, in the vicinity of Richmond. No new supplies were landed at White House, and the immense stores at Dispatch station, eleven miles in advance on the railway, were being steadily reduced. Ammunition only was sent forward. No civilians were allowed to go to the front. On Wednesday, General Casey arrived from Headquarters to take command of the small force, about six hundred men, at White House, and assist Colonel Ingalls in their removal. As a precautionary measure of defence, the trees about White House and its vicinity were cut down to entangle the enemy should they advance, and afford free play to the gunboats which were stationed at the landing ready for action. Preparations were also made to fire the stores accumulated on the shore should they be suddenly attacked. There was great bustle and activity in preparations for departure among the seven hundred vessels of all descriptions gathered in the Pamunkey. Reports and rumors meanwhile were arriving of the threatened movements of the enemy on the right, and the actual conflicts going on at Beaver Dam and Gaines' Mill; wounded men were brought down, and their wants supplied. The first dispatches from the battle fields on the Chickahominy were favorable—not unmingled with anxious instructions from the commander-in-chief. On Friday, when the army before Richmond was withdrawing its trains for the retreat, the evacuation of the military post at White House was in full progress. There was panic, and no little confusion, among sutlers, and the contrabands who eagerly sought a refuge on the freight boats and transports. General Stoneman, cut off from the main army by the movements of the enemy on the right, meanwhile, arrived with his cavalry in the vicinity, prepared to protect the final retreat. Saturday, the 28th, saw the last of the occupation of the station on the Pamunkey for that campaign. The cars sent out on the railway in the forenoon, were turned back from Dispatch station in consequence of reports of the approach of the enemy, and in the afternoon the report was confirmed by a significant piece of Billingsgate, an insulting message brought over the telegraph line. At evening a body of rebels made their appearance, to be greeted by the smoke of the burning refuse, and scanty remains of the Union camps, and the fire of the gunboats, which swept the desolated plain.

In the midst of the wreck and ruin, the

White House itself, the building which had given name to the locality, and the occupation of which had occasioned no inconsiderable discussion, was, with the rest, committed to the flames. A popular notion had prevailed that this edifice had been occupied by General Washington for a time after his marriage, and a certain romantic and patriotic association was thus connected with it. It was, however, an earlier house on the same site, owned by Mrs. Custis, which was entitled to this distinction, the present White House being of recent erection. It was a small and commonplace wooden structure, surrounded by a field shaded by locust trees, on the banks of the Pamunkey. The ownership of the property still remaining in the Custis family, it was now held by the wife of the rebel General Lee, the heir of the late G. W. P. Custis, the grandson of Mrs. Washington, and had been of late occupied by a son of General Lee, also in the Confederate army. On the arrival of the Union troops, General McClellan, with the punctilious regard for private property which was chivalrously observed in the advance of the army of the Potomac, ordered that the house and yard should not be occupied by his men. "I have taken," he wrote "every precaution to secure from injury this house where Washington passed the first portion of his married life. I neither occupy it myself, nor permit others to occupy it or the grounds in immediate vicinity." So far as the memory of Washington was concerned, there was nothing to be said against this special act of protection; but, as the property of a rebel in arms, there was some dissatisfaction with the order of the general, who, especially when it was bruited about that the accommodation was wanted for hospital purposes, was held to account in the newspapers for overscrupulous tenderness to the property of rebels. The subject even engaged the attention of Congress, and a resolution was passed in the House of Representatives calling for information on the subject. This brought out a correspondence between the Secretary of War and General McClellan, in which the latter stated the motive that had dictated his order, and showed that the place was really of less value for hospital purposes than had been represented. It was finally, however, at the request of Secretary Stanton, turned over to this use, and at the time of the evacuation was occupied as the private quarters of those beneficent attendants upon human misery in many lands, the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity.*

More cheering news from the army of the Potomac for the celebration of the 4th of July, might have been desired than the broken details of the Seven Days' Battles, which were that day spread over the northern newspapers, with those sad inventories of killed and wounded, long bulletins of death in solid columns of closely printed small type, with which the country was so sadly familiar. Disappointment throughout the North and West, undoubtedly, chilled the accustomed fervor of the hour, as the nation, roused by the call of the President for a new army of 300,000 men, seriously looked into the future. Yet there was no great depression. The country, inured to the struggle, and confident of the final result, was learning to accept good and evil fortune with equanimity.

On the banks of the James, General McClellan embraced the occasion of the national anniversary to address to his troops now beginning to recover their shattered strength in their secure encampment at Harrison's Landing, with words of encouragement and promise; speaking for the whole land when he assured his followers of a final triumph:—"Soldiers of the army of the Potomac!

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* Letter of Mr. B. J. Lossing to the *New York Evening Post*, July 2, 1862. Correspondence of Secretary Stanton and General McClellan, submitted to Congress, July 9, 1862.

Your achievements of the last ten days have illustrated the valor and endurance of the American soldier, attacked by superior forces, and without hope of reinforcements. You have succeeded in changing your base of operations by a flank movement, always regarded as the most hazardous of military experiments. You have saved all your material, all your trains, and all your guns, except a few lost in battle, taking, in return, guns and colors from the enemy. Upon your march you have been assailed day after day with desperate fury by men of the same race and nation skillfully massed and led. Under every disadvantage of number, and, necessarily, of position also, you have in every conflict beaten back your foes with enormous slaughter. Your conduct ranks you among the celebrated armies of history. No one will now question that each of you may always with pride say: 'I belong to the army of the Potomac.' You have reached the new base complete in organization and unimpaired in spirit. The enemy may at any time attack you. We are prepared to meet them. I have personally established your lines. Let them come, and we will convert their repulse into a final defeat. Your government is strengthening you with the resources of a great people. On this, your nation's birthday, we declare to our foes, who are rebels against the best interests of mankind, that this army shall enter the capital of the so-called Confederacy; that our National Constitution shall prevail; and that the Union, which can alone insure internal peace and external security to each State, 'must and shall be preserved,' cost what it may, in time, treasure, and blood."

Nor should we forget the parallel address of President Davis at Richmond, in which he also promised his army the reward of their long toils in coveted independence: "To the army in Eastern Virginia—Soldiers: I congratulate you on the series of brilliant victories which, under the favor of Divine Providence, you have lately won, and, as the President of the Confederate States, do heartily tender to you the thanks of the country, whose just cause you have so skillfully and heroically served. Ten days ago, an invading army vastly superior to you in numbers, and in the material of war, closely beleaguered your capital, and vauntingly proclaimed its speedy conquest; you marched to attack the enemy in his entrenchments; with well-directed movements and death-defying valor you charged upon him in his positions, drove him from field to field over a distance of more than thirty-five miles, and, despite his reinforcements, compelled him to seek shelter under the cover of his gunboats, where he now lies, cowering before the army he so lately derided and threatened with entire subjugation. The fortitude with which you have borne toil and privation, the gallantry with which you have entered in each successive battle, must have been witnessed to be fully appreciated; but a grateful people will not fail to recognize you, and to bear you in loved remembrance. Well may it be said of you, that you have 'done enough for glory;' but duty to a suffering country, and to the cause of constitutional liberty, claims from you a yet further effort. Let it be your pride to relax in nothing which can promote your future efficiency; your one grand object being to drive the invader from your soil, and carrying your standards beyond the outer bounds of the Confederacy, to wring from an unscrupulous foe the recognition of your birthright, community, independence."

CHAPTER LXXII.

ADJOURNMENT OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS, JULY 17, 1862.

In a previous chapter* we chronicled the important communications made at the opening of the session by the President and heads of departments, representing the political, military, and financial condition of the country at the close of the year 1861. It was the turning point in the history of the war, when it was to be decided whether the nation, disappointed of its hopes of a speedy suppression of the rebellion, would gird itself, at whatever sacrifices it might cost, for a mighty and portentous struggle in the future in maintaining against half a continent in arms the cause of the Union, with all that it involves of moral and material well-being. The answer to this question was given in the affirmative. Of the necessity which led to it, of the method by which the problem was solved there can be no more instructive commentary than the debates of the second session of the 37th Congress. For nearly eight months in the Senate and the House, the war, in one or other of its aspects, was the main subject of discussion; how best to carry it on; the patriotic demands of the time upon public men; the new exigencies of statesmanship; the new demands upon generals in the field; the new relations of slavery to the government:—these and other topics were continually debated; what could not be learned within doors, from argument, was taught by rapid experience in the great march of events in the field. When the Congress met there was considerable uncertainty on many important points; when it adjourned they were practically determined by its legislation. A glance at its debates, a few minutes spent in the perusal of its two hundred "Public Acts," will show the rapid progress the nation was making at this time in the formation of opinions, strengthened, on the instant, into resolutions, and corroborated by the performance of serious and onerous duties.

The sensitiveness of both houses was shown in the consideration, on several occasions, of the alleged disloyal acts or expressions of members. In the preceding extra session, it will be remembered, the expulsion of Mason, Hunter, and other absentee senators in open rebellion against the nation, had not passed without serious debate. An unwillingness was shown to wound the reputation of men compelled, perhaps, by State necessity, to take part against the government to which they had pledged allegiance.* There was less hesitation of this kind now. One of the earliest acts of the Senate, on the 4th of December, was to expel the "traitor," as he was branded in the resolution, John C. Breckinridge, who, after the expiration of his term as Vice President, had been elected to that body, and occupied his seat in the previous session. The preamble stated that "he had joined the enemies of his country, and is now in arms against the government he had sworn to support." He had sent no resignation to the Senate, but in an address "to the people of Kentucky" in October, dated at Bowling Green, had, as he expressed it, "returned his trust into their hands," with the declaration that he "exchanged with proud satisfaction, a term of six years in the United States Senate for the musket of a soldier." In other words, the late Vice President of the United States had openly joined the Confederacy, and been appointed a general in the rebel service. In like manner, the two senators from Missouri, Waldo P. Johnson, and Trusten Polk, having publicly taken part with the secession cause, and gone over to the enemy, were, on the 10th of January, also expelled. These men were open in their support of the rebellion. There were other cases brought forward of more nicety, in the effort to purge the Senate of disaffection. One, in particular, elicited no little discussion, and by the action which was taken became an important precedent.

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* Chapter L., ante pages 186–200.

* Ante Vol. I., pp. 498–9.

On the 16th of December, the attention of the Senate was called, by Mr. Wilkinson (Republican), from Minnesota, to the fact that one of the members, Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana, had, on the 1st of March previous written a letter, addressed "To his Excellency, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States," introducing a certain Mr. Thos. D. Lincoln, as having an improvement in fire arms. The letter had fallen into the hands of the government on the arrest of Mr. Lincoln in Ohio for treasonable communication with the enemy. It was set forth that such a letter was evidence of disloyalty, and it was moved that the writer be expelled. The resolution was met by a few remarks from Mr. Bright justifying and taking the responsibility of the act, in which he presented a letter which he had written, explanatory of the other, to a Mr. Fitch (Sept. 7, 1861), in which he remarked that he was opposed to the Abolitionists, but had always been for the preservation and integrity of the Union; moreover, that he was opposed to the coercive policy of the government. The resolution was then referred to the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Bright, a native of New York, had lived in Kentucky and afterwards removed to Indiana, where he was chosen Lieutenant-Governor, and whence he had thrice been sent to the United States Senate. An able member of his party, he was an ultra pro-slavery Democrat in his politics, and had supported Breckinridge in the recent presidential election.

On the 13th of January, 1862, Mr. Cowan (Rep.), of Pennsylvania, reported on behalf of the Committeee that the facts were not sufficient, and that the resolution do not pass. It was then made a special order for debate. The subject was taken up on the 20th. Wilkinson, in a few words, denounced the act as treason, and Bright as a sympathizer with the enemy. The Fitch letter, he said, only made the matter worse. Bayard, of Delaware, spoke in an apologetic way, going out of the record to assert "He did not believe that the war would effect the restoration of the Union." Morrill (Rep.), of Maine, contended that at the time the letter was written, we were actually in a state of civil war, in which he was sustained by Trumbull (Rep.), of Illinois, and opposed by Pearce (Am.), of Maryland. The debate was resumed the next day by Sumner, of Massachusetts, who urged the expulsion. Lane, of Indiana, also spoke in favor of the measure. Bright sought to defend himself. He reminded the Senate that he had been twenty-seven years in the public service of Indiana, and seventeen years in his present seat, and had done nothing inconsistent with his position as a Senator. Lincoln was an old friend to whom he was under obligations, he had given him the letter when he did not dream of war, and when arms were being sent to the South. Fessenden, of Maine, asked the pertinent question, why, if he thought there should be no war, what occasion he had to suppose Davis wanted an improvement in firearms. Davis, of Kentucky, the successor of the expelled Breckenridge, on the 22d made a stirring appeal for the expulsion, breaking off, however, on resuming the discussion the next day, into a defence of Kentuckian slavery, and a deprecation of interfering with the institution in the conduct of the war, to which Harlan, of Iowa, firmly replied. Harris, of New York, on the 24th pronounced his opinion that it would be establishing a dangerous precedent to insist on the expulsion; he thought that there was a want of sufficient evidence of the treasonable offence charged. Ten Eyck (Rep.), of New Jersey, for a similar reason, would vote against the measure. Clark (Rep.), of New Hampshire, in an indignant speech, was resolute for condemnation. "We owe it," said he, "to the country," and with a pertinent allusion to the battle of Somerset, in Kentucky, the details of which were just received, brought home by the reflection that the fallen victors were from Bright's own State, "we owe it, above all, to the patriotic State of Indiana. Even now the telegraph flashes the news that her 10th regiment has been nearly decimated. Her sons lie dead upon the ground, slain in defence of their country; and shall we retain here a senator who would aid to furnish the rebellion with arms that are to kill and destroy her own citizens?" Of the fact of war at the time the obnoxious letter was written, he said, "The 1st day of March, 1861, was an eventful day. On that day the Secretary of War struck the name of General Twiggs, who had surrendered the army in Texas, from the roll of the army. On that same day the gallant Anderson wrote that he could not hold out much longer, and on that same day the senator from Indiana wrote a letter to Jeff. Davis telling him that Mr. Lincoln had an important improvement in firearms to sell!"

The debate was resumed the next week—the topic apparently affording a welcome stimulant for leisurely senatorial oratory, when no business of more importance was on hand. Mr. Latham (Dem.), of California, contended that public opinion of March, 1861, was very different from the public opinion of January, 1862, and that the senator was not to be judged now for what he did then—an illogical argument, based on a true enough statement of facts. He cited the war speeches in the Senate, of Wigfall and Toombs, previous to their retirement, and the patient manner in which they were borne by their fellow members. Nobody, he said, believed in war at the date of Mr. Bright's alleged offence. If he was to be condemned other senators were guilty for not arresting the seceding traitors of their body. Mr. Saulsbury, of Delaware, also a democrat, talked of proscription and persecution, and violently assailed the administration. "The senator from Massachusetts" (Sumner), he said, "had assailed the senator from Indiana, and the names of Catiline and Arnold seemed less hateful now because they had received his (Sumner's) censure, and their future fame would shine more brightly because they had not received his praise." The Republicans, Howe, of Wisconsin, and Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, thought that if the particular offence was not treason, there was evidence of disloyalty, and that the Senate should be purged of all taint of it, a sentiment powerfully enforced the next day (31st) by Johnson, of Tennessee, who maintained the right and duty of the Senate to decide upon the fitness of its own members for their office. He dwelt upon Mr. Bright's assertion in the letter to Fitch, of his opposition to the whole policy of coercion. "If the Senate," was the language of the indignant Johnson, "had not moral, physical, and political courage enough to expel those who are unsafe depositaries of the public trust and power, then they were not fit to remain there themselves. He did not say these things in any spirit of unkindness, but for the sake of constitutional liberty, and for the sake of his own wife and children. By the failure of the government to enforce the laws, his wife and children had been turned into the street, and his house made into a barrack. He had two sons-in-law—one was in prison, and the other was in the mountains, to evade the tyranny of the hell-born, and hell-hound spirit of disunion." This was the decisive speech of the debate. Still the vote was deferred.

On the resumption of the question a few days after, Browning (Rep.), of Illinois, pronounced the letter "moral treason," for which the senator should be expelled. Dixon (Rep.), of Connecticut, in reply to Senator Harris' position of "treason or nothing" pointed out the invaded provisions of the Constitution, by the Davis government, independently of a state of war, which had been sanctioned by the Bright letter. Doolittle, of Wisconsin (Republican), could not but consider it calculated "to give aid and comfort to the rebels," and would vote accordingly. Sumner, in a second speech, reviewed the defensive arguments and apologies which had been offered. "The guilt of the senator," said he, "in offering arms was complete. Call it treason or disloyalty; in vain you surround him with technical defences of the judicial tribunal. For the sake of the Senate he must be deprived of his place. The case is plain, and has taken too much time to consider it." In the course of his remarks he alluded to Senator Davis' "practical exaltation of slavery above the Constitution." This was now denied by Davis with a significant comment—a compliment to the position to which the senator, in the whirligig of time, bringing about his revenges, had been raised in the house. "The senator shakes his imperial locks like Jove; but he was not the Jove of the Senate nor of the country." This questioning of Sumner's position, under the circumstances, was something of an assertion of it. The nod of Jupiter virtually ended the protracted debate. The next day, the 5th of February, the question was taken up and finally disposed of. Mr. Bright had the floor for a closing speech, in which he expressed his desire "to place himself right on the page of history." He contended that his epistle to Jefferson Davis was a simple letter of introduction—"only a mere courtesy, written when he believed there would be no war, which he was not convinced of till the fall of Sumter, when he would not have given the letter. He professed his allegiance and attachment to the government, which he "would not exchange for any other on earth." If he were condemned he should attribute the sentence to the spirit of party, and "go forth and submit to the people of the State of Indiana the question of right or wrong in the case." He avowed his opposition to "the principle of coercion." "I believe," said he, "in the language of the present Secretary of State, that this Federal system is, of all forms of government, the most unfitted for this labor of coercion. Coercion is war, and 'war,' in the language of the late Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas), 'is disunion.' After war had arisen, he had sustained the government in its efforts to maintain the laws within constitutional limits, though he still doubted whether the line of policy of the last administration, as well as the present, was the best with regard to affairs at Charleston." In other words his peace policy would have abandoned the whole ground to the enemy. Having concluded his speech, Mr. Bright left the Senate Chamber. The vote was then taken, when thirty-two members, exactly the requisite number of two-thirds, gave their voices for the expulsion. Fourteen voted in the negative. There were two democratic votes with the majority, and four republicans, beside the vote of the senators from Western Virginia, with the minority. The Vice President having announced the result, which was received with cheering from the galleries, the Senate adjourned.

A less successful effort was made in opposition to Benjamin Stark, the newly elected senator from Oregon, as the successor of Colonel Baker, taking his seat on the ground that he had "openly defended the course of the South in seceding, had given utterance to sentiments totally at war with the institutions and preservation of our country," and other charges, of a like character, brought forward by Mr. Fessenden, of Maine. The credentials and papers were, after an important debate, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. The committee, without "expressing any opinion as to the effect of the papers before them upon any subsequent proceedings in the case," finding the credentials of the election sufficient, reported that he was entitled to take the oath of office. Mr. Stark was thus enabled "without prejudice to any further proceedings" to take his seat, and the charges against him were left as a fertile subject of discussion to the members. He took his seat on the 27th of February, and the next day, on his own motion, the investigation of the charges was referred to a select committee appointed by the Vice President,—Messrs. Clark, of New Hampshire, Howard, of Michigan, Wright, of Indiana, Willey, of Virginia, Sherman, of Ohio, who reported, on the 22d of April, that for many months prior to the 21st November, 1861, Mr. Stark was an ardent advocate of the cause of the rebellious States, and that after the formation of the Constitution of the Confederate States, he openly declared his admiration for it, and advocated the absorption of the loyal States of the Union into the Southern Confederacy under that Constitution, as the only means of peace, warmly avowing his sympathies with the South, and that, in fact, the Senator from Oregon was disloyal to the government of the Union. On this report a new resolution of expulsion was introduced, which was finally disposed of on the 26th of June, when it was rejected by a vote of 21 to 16.

One of the members from Kentucky, Lazarus W. Powell, was sharply arraigned in a biting resolution—quite a bill of indictment—offered by Mr. Wilkinson, of Minnesota, on the 20th of February. He was charged with having presided over a Southern State Rights convention, held at Henderson, Ky., when, among other resolutions, it was declared "that the war being now waged by the Federal administration against the Southern States is in violation of the Constitution and laws, and has already been attended with such stupendous usurpations, as to amaze the world, and endanger every safeguard of constitutional liberty," and that "the recall of the invading armies, and the recognition of the separate independence of the Confederate States, is the true policy to restore peace, and preserve the relations of fraternal love and amity between the States." For his participation in this convention, held to be treasonable, Mr. Powell was called to account. The resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, who reported on the 12th of March "that it do not pass." An attempt was then made by Mr. Powell's colleague, Mr. Garrett Davis, to reverse the report. The consideration of the subject was pressed with some eagerness—the Legislature of Kentucky being in session, and it being considered important that should Mr. Powell be removed the choice of his successor should not fall into the hands of "a disloyal and traitorous" governor, as Magoffin was characterized by Senator Davis. The latter urged the expulsion of his colleague, but—after a short debate—the principles of the question having been now fully explained in other cases, the Senate, on the 14th of March, decided against the resolution by a vote of 28 to 11.

Another case is deserving of mention for the notoriety subsequently attained by its subject. Clement L. Vallandigham, a Democratic member from Ohio, of the old pro-slavery tendencies, was overhauled by Hickman (Rep.), of Pennsylvania, in a sharp skirmish in the House of Representatives, on the 19th of February. The latter, thinking "the House should be purged of unworthy members," brought up a newspaper paragraph in the *Baltimore Clipper*, charging "the notorious Vallandigham" with furnishing matter sympathizing with "poor bleeding Dixie," and offering "various suggestions how the Yankees might be defeated," to a journal called the *South*, the office of which had been visited by the police. He moved that it be referred to the Judiciary Committee, to inquire into the truth of the allegations. This brought Vallandigham to his legs with a stout protest against the whole proceeding. He denied utterly the truth of the paragraph, and loudly asseverated his loyalty. There were some further remarks, in which Hickman, called upon for a specification of certain suspicions which he had alluded to, evoked, among other things, in support of the "common rumor," the Ohio member's July speech in the extra session. "In the distant future," said he, "when treason and rebellion shall have received their reward, he might look at that speech again as a curiosity of the past." He also reminded Mr. Vallandigham that on the visit of the latter to an Ohio camp in Virginia, "the soldiers knowing him, compelled him to leave on the ground that he was suspected of disloyalty." The resolution was finally withdrawn by its mover, who professed himself satisfied with the declarations it had called forth. "The gentleman having expressed far more loyal sentiments in this discussion than at any time since the meeting of Congress, I am willing that the fact of his protestation should go before the country, and that he shall stand as he is for the present."

The constitution of both Houses was largely Republican, about two-thirds of the members being devoted to the interests of that party. The rump of the old Democratic party, and a small intermediate body of "Unionists" composed the remainder. The Republicans, of course, stood by their anti-slavery creed, and as the "peculiar institution" was now inextricably involved with the fortunes of the war, every blow struck for the latter was a wound inflicted on the other. To extinguish slavery, it was fast getting to be the opinion of the dominant party, would be one of the most effective, if not an indispensable means of the suppression of the rebellion. The government was not yet prepared for this; though there were probably few thinking men who did not hold the opinion that in one way or another the two events would be associated. In the mean time, the Republican members of Congress watched with a jealous eye every opportunity for the promotion of the interest of the slave. On the very first day of the session, Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, in the Senate, gave notice of his intention to introduce a bill "for the confiscation of the property of rebels, and giving freedom to the persons they hold in slavery;" while on the same day, in the House, Mr. Eliot, of Massachusetts offered a joint resolution on the conduct of the war, in which, while all power under the Constitution "to interfere by ordinary legislation with the institutions of the several States" was disclaimed, it was urged that the existing war must be conducted according to the ordinary usages and rights of military service; that the rights of property and civil relations, of necessity, yield to the safety of the State, and that, as a necessary consequence, "the President of the United States, as the commander-in-chief of the army, and the officers in command under him, have the right to emancipate all persons held as slaves in any military district in a state of insurrection against the national government, and that we respectfully advise that such order be issued wherever the same will avail to weaken the power of the rebels in arms, or to strengthen the military power of the loyal forces." Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, also offered resolutions looking to the same result, the confiscation and emancipation of the slaves of rebels, with compensation to loyal citizens who might suffer in consequence. Mr. Sumner of Massachusetts, called for information respecting General Halleck's "General Order No. 3," excluding fugitive slaves from his lines in Missouri, and the subject was also brought forward by Lovejoy, of Illinois, in the House, when explanations were offered similar to those we have already presented.*

The bill of Senator Trumbull, introduced on the 5th of December, provided for "the absolute and complete forfeiture forever " of every species of property of persons in arms against the United States, or in any wise aiding or abetting the rebellion ; the forfeiture to be enforced in rebellious districts by the military power, elsewhere by the courts, and the proceeds of the confiscation, subject to the just claims of loyal creditors, to be held for the benefit of loyal citizens, despoiled of their property by the rebellion, and to defray the expenses incurred in its suppression." The slaves of rebels were to be freed, and it was made the duty of the President "to provide for the colonization of such of them as may be willing to go, in some tropical country where they may have the protection of the government, and be secured in all the rights and privileges of freemen. This was a great advance beyond the confiscation act of the previous session, the penalties of which were confined to property used or intended for the purposes of the rebellion, and to the virtual emancipation of slaves actually employed in hostile service against the United States.† It was far wider in its operation, and more summary in its execution. Various other bills were proposed and discussed with divers amendments, till the subject was referred, in May, to a select committee, of which Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire, was chairman. Separate bills of emancipation and confiscation were passed in the House of Representatives, limiting the penalties, in the first instance, to certain persons more prominently engaged in the rebellion, with an extension to others who should be in arms sixty days after a proclamation shall have been made by the President warning them to return to their allegiance. A single bill embracing these features, was adopted by the Senate, which, after reference to a committee of Conference, was passed by both Houses, at the end of the session, in the Senate by a vote of 27 to 13 ; in the House of Representatives by 82 to 42. It was entitled "an act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes." The first section pronounced the punishment of treason. Every person adjudged guilty of this crime "shall suffer death, and all his slaves, if any, shall be declared and made free ; or he shall be imprisoned for not less than five years, and fined not less than $10,000, and all his slaves, if any, shall be declared and made free ; said fine shall be levied and collected on any or all of the property, real and personal, excluding slaves, of which the said person so convicted was the owner at the time of committing the said crime, any sale or conveyance to the contrary notwithstanding." A second section extended the penalties of imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years, and of a fine not exceeding $10,000, with the liberation of his slaves, to any person inciting or otherwise aiding in rebellion. Persons guilty of these offences were to be forever incapable of holding any office under the United States.

Confiscation was provided for in the following sections : "That to insure the speedy termination of the present rebellion, it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to cause the seizure of all the estate and property, moneys, stocks, credits, and effects of the persons hereafter named in this section, and to apply and use the same, and the proceeds thereof, for the support of the army of the United

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* Ante p. 163.

† Ante Vol. I., p. 494.

States, that is to say: First, of any person hereafter acting as an officer of the army or navy of the rebels in arms against the government of the United States; secondly, of any person hereafter acting as President, Vice President, Member of Congress, Judge of any court, cabinet officer, foreign minister, commissioner, or consul of the so-called Confederate States of America, thirdly, of any person acting as governor of a State, member of a convention or legislature, or judge of any court of any of the so-called Confederate States of America; fourthly, of any person, who, having held an office of honor, trust or profit in the United States, shall hereafter hold an office in the so-called Confederate States of America; fifthly, of any person hereafter holding any office or agency under the government of the so-called Confederate States of America, or under any of the several States of the said Confederacy, or the laws thereof, whether such office or agency be national, State, or municipal in its name or character: *Provided*, That the persons thirdly, fourthly, and fifthly above described, shall have accepted their appointment or election since the date of the pretended ordinance of secession of the State, or shall have taken an oath of allegiance to, or to support the Constitution of the so-called Confederate States; sixthly, of any persons who, owning property in any loyal State or territory of the United States, or in the District of Columbia, shall hereafter assist and give aid and comfort to such rebellion; and all sales, transfers, or conveyances of any such property shall be null and void; and it shall be a sufficient bar to any suit brought by such person for the possession or the use of such property, or any of it, to allege and prove that he is one of the persons described in this section. And be it further enacted, That if any person, within any State or Territory of the United States, other than those named as aforesaid, after the passage of this act, being engaged in armed rebellion against the government of the United States, or aiding or abetting such rebellion, shall not, within sixty days after public warning and proclamation duly given and made by the President of the United States, cease to aid, countenance, and abet such rebellion, and return to his allegiance to the United States, all the estate and property, moneys, stocks, and credits of such person shall be liable to seizure as aforesaid, and it shall be the duty of the President to seize and use them as aforesaid, or the proceeds thereof. And all sales, transfers, or conveyances of any such property after the expiration of the said sixty days from the date of such warning and proclamation shall be null and void; and it shall be a sufficient bar to any suit brought by such person for the possession or the use of such property, or any of it, to allege and prove that he is one of the persons described in this section. And be it further enacted, That to secure the condemnation and sale of any such property after the same shall have been seized, so that it may be made available for the purposes aforesaid, proceedings *in rem* shall be instituted in the name of the United States in any District Court thereof, or in any Territorial Court, or in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, within which the property above described or any part thereof, may be found, or into which the same, if movable, may first be brought, which proceedings shall conform as nearly as may be to proceedings in admiralty or revenue cases, and if said property, whether real or personal, shall be found to have belonged to a person engaged in rebellion, or who has given aid or comfort thereto, the same shall be condemned as enemies' property, and become the property of the United States, and may be disposed of as the Court shall decree, and the proceeds thereof paid into the treasury of the United

States for the purposes aforesaid. And be it further enacted, That the several courts aforesaid shall have power to make such orders, establish such forms of decree and sale, and direct such deeds and conveyances to be executed and delivered by the marshals thereof, where real estate shall be the subject of sale, as shall fitly and efficiently effect the purposes of this act, and vest in the purchasers of such property good and valid titles thereto."

Several sections were devoted to the emancipation and treatment of slaves. By the first it was provided, "That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons, and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found or being within any place occupied by rebel forces, and afterward occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves." Another section excluded rebels from the privilege of reclaiming fugitives, and relieved officers of the army and navy from a fruitful cause of embarrassment: "And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due, is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service." The President was "authorized to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of this rebellion; and for this purpose he may organize and use them in such manner as he may judge best for the public welfare;" and also, "to make provision for the transportation, colonization, and settlement, in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States, of such persons of the African race, made free by the provisions of this act, as may be willing to emigrate, having first obtained the consent of the government of said country to their protection and settlement within the same, with all the rights and privileges of freemen." The concluding sections of this important act vested in the courts of the United States power to carry its provisions into effect, and authorized the President "at any time, hereafter, by proclamation, to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions, and at such time, and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare." Besides this comprehensive act, capable, at the discretion of the President, of so wide an application, there were several others passed during the session more or less directly affecting the paramount question for the the nation, of the perpetuity of slavery within its limits. Two of these determined the long agitated topics of the continuance of the institution in the District of Columbia, and its exclusion from the territories. A bill for the abolition of slavery in the District was introduced in the House of Representatives in the first week of the session, and the Committee for the District, to which it was referred, reported on the 12th of March in favor of the measure. Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, meanwhile, in the Senate, on the 16th of December, had introduced a bill of immediate and compensated emancipation "for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia," which was also referred to the Committee on the District. The Committee, on the 12th of February, reported the bill with amendments, and it was taken up for consideration on the 12th of March. The debate on this and subsequent days was marked by the opposition of senators from the border States. Despairing of defeating the measure entirely, its adversaries, while prepared to vote against it on any terms, sought to neutralize its influence in favor of general emancipation, by engrafting upon the bill new conditions of surrender. Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, while he denied the right of Congress to legislate at all in the matter, urged an amendment requiring all persons liberated under the act to be colonized out of the limits of the United States. He required the colonization to be compulsory; for the liberated slave, he maintained, would not voluntarily emigrate, and if he remained, "especially in the States where there are many slaves, it will inevitably and immediately introduce a war of extermination between the two races." The liberated negroes, becoming criminals and paupers, would become a sore burden upon the white population of the District, while, if emancipation should be extended to the cotton States, it would be "giving up those States to the negro race, and expelling, in a very short time, by inevitable necessity, the white population from that country, or it is introducing war between the two races that will result in the exile or expulsion of one or the other." Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, met the convictions of the Senator from Kentucky by reference to the general good conduct of the negroes emancipated in the British West Indies, and the prosperity of the islands, and by placing the question on the higher grounds of humanity, of Christianity, and of duty.. He cited the 58th chapter of Isaiah, in which the prophet pictures the results of freeing the oppressed and breaking every yoke, and concluded, "now, sir, this nation has an opportunity, if I may say so—and I say it reverently—of putting the Almighty to the test, and of seeing whether the consequences that his prophet has foretold, or his senator has predicted, will follow, as the result of this measure."

Mr. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, thought colonization desirable, but it should be with the consent of the liberated. There could be but three solutions, he said, to this negro question. One was that of Calhoun, holding slavery to be a blessing to mankind, black and white, and promoting its extension under the reign of King Cotton, till the slaveholding aristocracy should shake hands with the slaveholding empire of Brazil. This was the voice of Southern fanaticism, and the dream of the rebellion. A second solution was that of John Brown, placing black and white on an equality, a condition of affairs which the senator declared would result either in "irrepressible conflict," or amalgamation. The third was the solution of Jefferson—a separation of the two races by colonization, "a solution in accordance with that law of the Almighty by which the black man dominates the tropics and always will; by which our race dominates the temperate zone, and will forever. Hayti, and the regions bordering on the Gulf offered a home for the race." Cuba was, of itself, said Mr. Doolittle, "capable of receiving and maintaining the whole negro population of the United States."*

Pomeroy, of Kansas, was surprised "to find upon a bill of this character the entire question of the colonization and condition of the races of the world brought into the discussion. I have noticed (he added), that persons who have some constitutional objections or difficulties in regard to having free colored men about them, never have any very severe difficulties in having slaves about them. Colored men are as sweet as 'the balm of a thousand flowers' in slavery ; but if they are free they have a tremendous odor, and men are anxious to colonize and to banish them." By the last census there were 11,000 colored persons in the District, of whom 3,000 were held as slaves. In meeting them he had not known whether they were slave or free ; emancipation would not, probably, materially add to the number of colored persons in the District ; nor was it necessary to go to any very great efforts to open a country for their colonization. Mr. Pomeroy doubted whether slavery was legally established in the District, and was opposed to compensating masters ; if money was appropriated, the earnings of the slave should be taken into account.

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* Speech in the Senate, March 19, 1862.

Mr. Willey, of Virginia, opposed the bill, "as a border slave-state man." He saw in it "a part of a series of measures, already initiated, all looking to the same ultimate result—the universal abolition of slavery by Congress." He objected to it on the ground of expediency. Legislation of this kind "would hinder and delay, if not imperil, the accomplishment of union and peace, * * it would fire the Southern heart, and on our part, prolong the horrors of war, increase our expenditures, and the burdens of taxation." Wilson, of Massachusetts, followed, tracing the inheritance of slave legislation in the District from "the indecent and vulgar" colonial slave codes of Maryland and Virginia, adopted at the beginning of the century, and vindicating the colored persons of the capital from the aspersions cast upon them. Kennedy, of Maryland, protested against the measure, as ill in itself, and "a forerunner of that other question, which is shortly to become a leading and important question in the future discussions and organizations of parties, and that is the emancipation policy of the President. Saulsbury, of Delaware, proposed as an amendment that the persons to be liberated should, at the expense of the government, be removed and distributed, pro rata, according to population, among the northern and western States—a puerile resolution, on which a vote was taken, thirty-one to two—his own and Mr. Kennedy's.

Sumner, of Massachusetts, spoke on the 31st of March. He "hailed the measure, and the prospect of its speedy adoption with unspeakable delight. It is the first installment of that great debt which we all owe to an enslaved race, and will be recognized in history as one of the victories of humanity. At home, throughout our own country, it will be welcomed with gratitude ; while, abroad, it will quicken the hopes of all who love freedom. Liberal institutions will gain everywhere by the abolition of slavery at the national capital. Nobody can read that slaves were once sold in the markets of Rome, beneath the eyes of the sovereign Pontiff, without confessing the scandal to religion, even in a barbarous age ; and nobody can hear that slaves are now sold in the markets of Washington, beneath the eyes of the President, without confessing the scandal to liberal institutions. For the sake of our good name, if not for the sake of justice, let the scandal disappear." Citing the eloquent language of Wm. Pinkney and Lord Brougham, in denial of any natural right of slavery, he confronted the institution as "an aggregation of gross pretensions, all of them utterly inadmissible. They are five in number ; first, the pretension of property in man ; secondly, the denial of the marriage relation, for slaves are 'coupled' only, and not married ; thirdly, the denial of the paternal relation ; fourthly, the denial of instruction ; and fifthly, the appropriation of all the labor of the slave, and its fruits, by the master.

Such are the five essential elements which we find in slavery ; and this five-fold barbarism, so utterly indefensible in every point, is maintained for the single purpose of compelling labor without wages." Mr. Sumner denied the power of Congress not to abolish slavery, but to maintain it, and drew a curious and interesting parallel between the palliations on the present question and those once put forward in support of Algerine slavery. In conclusion, he welcomed the approaching triumph, not unwilling to recognize in it the harbinger of other trophies of civilization of a like character. "At the national capital slavery will give way to freedom ; but the good work will not stop here. It must proceed. What God and nature decree rebellion cannot arrest. And as the whole wide-spread tyranny begins to tremble, then, above the din of battle, sounding from the sea, and echoing along the land, above even the exultations of victory on well-fought fields, will ascend voices of gladness and benediction, swelling from generous hearts wherever civilization bears sway, to commemorate a sacred triumph, whose trophies, instead of tattered banners, will be ransomed slaves." After several days' further speeches and discussion of amendments, the bill was passed in the Senate, on the 3d of April, by a vote of 29 to 14. It was, a few days after, taken up in the House of Representatives, and, on the 11th, brought to a final hearing. The discussion that day took a wide range over the politics of the day. Nixon, of New Jersey, opened the debate in a speech supporting the policy of the administration. He was in favor of the general principles of the bill. Though gradual emancipation would have been more in harmony with the past modes of dealing with the question, and more in accordance with his own views of public policy; yet, if the House were in favor of immediate emancipation, with just compensation, he was prepared to exercise an express constitutional power, and vote to remove forever the blot of slavery from the national capital. Mr. Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, in a speech of philosophical subtilty, defended the policy of the President in the conduct of the war in reference to slavery, especially in regard to the plan of colonization, for which a certain provision was made in the bill before the House. The war, he said, was not so much a "slaveholder's rebellion" as had been represented. If it were confined to that body of two hundred and fifty thousand, the negroes themselves could put it down. But it was the hostility of the people of the South to the race. "It was the *negro* question, and not the *slavery* question, which made the rebellion;" and he found the solution of the difficulty in colonization. "We can make emancipation," said he, "acceptable to the whole mass of non-slaveholders at the South by coupling it with the policy of colonization. The very prejudice of race which now makes the non-slaveholders give their aid to hold the slave in bondage, will then induce them to unite in a policy which will rid them of the presence of the negroes. He saw no hardship to the latter in encouraging their removal to regions where, freed from present disparagements, their prosperity would be assured. "It is in the gorgeous regions of the American tropics," he concluded, "that our freedmen will find their homes, among a people without prejudice against their color, and to whom they will carry and impart new energy and vigor in return for the welcome which will greet them, as the pledge of the future protection and friendship of our great republic. I look with confidence to this movement as the true and only solution of this question—a question by which the life of the nation has been so often put in peril—a movement by which two races of men will be delivered from an unhappy conjunction, fatal to both, and by which two empires are to be established to bless mankind by their beneficent influences through all future time."

Mr. Blair was followed by the venerable Crittenden, of Kentucky, who, after his distinguished term in the previous Senate, with true republican simplicity, was now occupying a seat in the House. Without denying the right of Congress to exclusive legislation over the District, he opposed the measure as impolitic in its bearing upon the interests of the country. "Of all inauspicious times," he said, "this is the most inauspicious for the measure which we are called upon to adopt. We are not only engaged in this tremendous war, now, I trust, coming to its end, but we are engaged in a war founded upon the apprehension of the people that it is the intention of Congress ultimately to violate the constitutional rights of the different States, in adopting or rejecting slavery, as they please. * * * If the bill were entirely unconnected with any question of slavery in the States, it might be of less importance; but, in principle and character it is connected with it, and it will be so considered, at any rate, by those in rebellion. It will be considered as an evidence of the general purpose and intent of Congress. I do not say that you have not the power; but would not that power be, at such a time as this, most unwisely and indiscreetly exercised? * * * This measure might be, of itself, of but little significance, if it could be entirely limited to the District of Columbia. If that was to be 'the be-all and the end-all' of it, it might not be a thing worth debating. But, sir, we cannot avoid connecting it with the whole system that has been presented to us here for the abolition of slavery elsewhere. There are now on our table from ten to twenty propositions of one sort or another, all contemplating the confiscation, or, in other terms, the liberation of the slaves of the people of the United States. This is one of them. The public mind cannot avoid making the connection. This is but one link in the chain, and a small one; but it is a link in the mighty chain of measures which are in progress here now."

Messrs. Bingham and Biddle, of Ohio, spoke in favor of the measure. "I would have," said the former, "the declaration made here now, beneath the dome of the capitol, careless of all consequences upon the future conduct of traitors in arms against us, that no man shall ever, in the coming future, as long as the Republic stands—here, at least, where our power of legislation is supreme—be deprived of his life, of his liberty, or of his property, without due process of law; and that slavery; or involuntary servitude, shall never be tolerated here, in all the hereafter, except as punishment for crime upon due conviction. That is simple justice; nothing more, nothing less; and it does seem to me that further argument in favor of a proposition resting upon the broadest, clearest principles of simple, even-handed justice, is unnecessary. One year ago, this day, slavery opened its batteries of treason upon your garrison in Fort Sumter, at Charleston; let the anniversary of that crime be signalized by the banishment of slavery forever from the national capital." Biddle saw the onward march of emancipation in the progress of the war. "Every day of its continuance, every delay, every dragging movement, makes this end the more inevitable. Every step on slave-soil, every battle fought, no matter with what temporary result; every musket fired, every sword brandished, every soldier that suffers, and every heart that mourns, but make this result the more absolute. Our early disasters—Bull Run and Ball's Bluff, the death of Lyon, and the removal of Fremont—shall all bear rich fruits; and the breeze that mournfully lifts the flag of the drowned Cumberland, where the bitter salt sea quenched the noblest hearts that ever burned with American heroism, shall yet bear to earth's ends the legend of a continent made free. Does any man dare wish that the battle-fields that have drunk the blood of our brave and beautiful ones should ever again be printed with a fettered foot? Think of slaves tilling the valley of Bull Run, or the fire-girt field where Baker fell; of their turning up and grinning at the bones of the young heroes of the North around Donelson. Fancy the taskmaster lashing his bondmen to toil on the nameless plains of the far-off Tennessee, gorged with the red, rich, free, proud, bounding blood of the northwest!"

The issue made by the opponents of the bill, and the fears of Crittenden were not denied. "I trust it is, indeed," exclaimed Fessenden, of Maine, "the harbinger of that brighter, brightest day at hand, when slavery shall be abolished wherever it exists in the land. This will be the one finality which will give us a righteous and a lasting peace. Lamartine beautifully said of Wilberforce, that he went up to the Eternal with a million of broken fetters in his hand as evidence of a life well spent. To be envied, indeed, would be the transit of the man who had held the august office of President of the United States who could bear in his hand to the throne of the Eternal the *broken* fetters of the millions of slaves of this nation, as evidence of its welcome obedience to the royal law and golden rule."

When the vote was finally taken, at the close of the afternoon, it stood 92 in the affirmative, 38 in the negative. As thus adopted by both houses, the bill declared the immediate abolition of slavery in the District; provided for the appointment of three commissioners to determine the value of the liberated slaves, after hearing the representations of their late owners, awarding to the latter compensation on proof of their loyalty; and further, appropriated $100,000 to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, to aid in the colonization and settlement of such free persons of African descent, now residing in said District, including those to be liberated by the act, as may desire to emigrate to the republics of Hayti or Liberia, or such other country beyond the limits of the United States, as the President may determine. A sum not exceeding one million of dollars was appropriated to compensate the owners of the slaves; the aggregate of the apportionment not to exceed three hundred dollars for each liberated person. Ninety days were allowed masters to state their claims to the commissioners, who, within nine months of the passage of the act, were required to make a full and final report of their proceedings.

On the 16th of April a message was sent to both Houses, the President stating that he had that day signed the bill. "I have never doubted," he added, "the constitutional authority of Congress to abolish slavery in this District; and I have ever desired to see the national capital freed from the institution in some satisfactory way. Hence, there has never been in my mind any question upon the subject except the one of expediency, arising in view of all the circumstances. If there be matters within and about this act which might have taken a course or shape more satisfactory to my judgment, I do not attempt to specify them. I am gratified that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both recognized and practically applied in this act." So, emancipation in the District of Columbia became the law of the land, and slavery was thus far denationalized.

The abolition of slavery at the seat of government made it incumbent upon Congress further to provide by legislation for the amelioration of the condition of the colored race in the District. Emancipation, accordingly, was speedily followed by the introduction of an act in the Senate by Grimes, of Iowa, providing for the education of colored children in the cities of Washington and Georgetown. By the census of 1860, it was found that there were 3,172 colored children in the District, and that a tax was paid by colored persons, amounting to $36,000, of which the school tax, ten per cent on that sum, was appropriated exclusively to the education of white children. It was proposed to give the benefit of this tax to those who paid it. The municipal authorities were therefore required by the bill to set apart the school tax thus levied for the initiation of a system of primary schools for the education of the colored children. The proposition was too reasonable to admit of discussion, and the bill, therefore, early in May, was passed in both Houses without debate. Previous to its passage an amendment was engrafted upon it by Wilson, of Massachusetts, who had previously called the attention of the Senate to the highly discreditable laws of Maryland, affecting the colored race, yet in force on the Statute book,* by which these and other acts were obliterated, and all persons of color in the District were placed, in relation to the laws, on the same footing with the whites. They were made subject to the same ordinances, to be tried in the same way, and, on conviction, suffer the same penalties.

The act of emancipation in the District of Columbia was speedily followed by the passage of another removing slavery from the Territories. The original title of this bill, as it was introduced by Arnold, of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, on the 24th of March, was "an act to render freedom national and slavery sectional," which, after its passage, was amended to read "an act to secure freedom to all persons within the Territories of the United States." The bill was taken up in the House on the 9th of May, in the midst of the exultation of the recent triumphs of the national arms at New Orleans, the debate being interrupted to invite to the floor Captain Bailey and Commander Boggs, who had just arrived at the capital from the Gulf squadron, as bearers of dispatches, "loaded with trophies." There was a scattering fire from the opposition, but no very important debate. Cox, the Southern sympathizer from Ohio, took the old ground of complaint. He was "against this whole business: It was helping the enemies of the country. The conservative men of the House have the power, and ought to 'squelch' out the whole negro business. * * Scarcely had the roll been called at the beginning of the session, before a gentleman introduced a bill connected with the negro, and from that time until now, with the exception of some days spent in the consideration of the tax bill, the whole strain of the House had been devoted to the negro question. Heaven is sick, and earth is weary, of this damnable and dangerous iteration." He admitted, however, that when the war was concluded it might be necessary "to reform, perhaps, some of our opinions in respect to slavery." Arnold, the originator of the bill, stated in few words the disposition of the House. "There is nothing, certainly," said he, "in the present attitude of the institution of slavery towards the government of the United States, that should entitle it to any peculiar favor. To-day, it stands in the attitude of hostility to this government, and is using its utmost power to destroy this government, and the institutions of our country. The object of this bill is to exercise the constitutional power which Congress possesses to prohibit slavery. The design of the bill is to do what the gentleman from New York (Mr. Diven) says that he desires to do, to march up to the line of constitutional power, wherever we possess that power, and to that extent to prohibit this institution." At the next session, on the 12th, after a speech by Fisher, of Maryland, who, while he gave his voice against slavery, deprecated action in the premises, the bill was passed by a vote of 85 to 50. It was then introduced in the Senate, and passed on the 9th of June in that body, by 28 to

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* Speech in the Senate, Feb. 24, 1862.

10. As finally adopted it read, simply, "that from and after the passage of this act, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the Territories of the United States now existing, or which may at any time hereafter be formed or acquired by the United States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

Whilst this legislation on the subject of slavery in the United States was in progress, a bill was passed in relation to two foreign countries, which also favorably affected the condition of the colored population at home. The President, it will be remembered, in his annual message at the opening of the session, suggested the expediency of recognizing the independence of Hayti and Liberia, and of appropriating the necessary sum for maintaining a *chargé* at these places. He might have entered upon this step himself, but thinking it a novel matter of some importance, he asked, as a preliminary, the coöperation of Congress. The subject was referred, in the Senate, to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which, through its chairman, Mr. Sumner, reported a bill authorizing the President to appoint diplomatic representatives to these republics. The subject was taken up for discussion on the 23d of April, when Mr. Sumner, in an elaborate speech, presented the commercial importance of the two countries, particularly of Hayti, and the value of entering upon full diplomatic relations with them. Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, the next day, spoke in opposition. He admitted the force of Mr. Sumner's statistics, and was friendly, he said, to both these infant negro republics, but he was at the same time, "weary, sick, disgusted, despondent with the introduction of the subject of slaves and slavery into the chamber." He was willing that consuls should be appointed, but could not brook the idea of diplomatic agents. If the United States should send such ministers to Hayti, or Liberia, 'a full-blooded negro' might be returned from either of those countries, who, by the law of nations, might demand recognition." He instanced a case in point, in the reception of Soulouque from Hayti, at the French court, which he thus described: — "Well, a great big negro fellow, dressed out with his silver or gold lace clothes, in the most fantastic and gaudy style, presented himself at the court of Louis Napoleon, and, I admit, was received. Now, sir, I want no such exhibition as that in our capital, and in our government. The American minister, Mr. Mason, was present on that occasion, and he was sleeved by some Englishman who was present, who pointed him to the embassador of Soulouque, and said, 'What do you think of him?' Mr. Mason turned round, and said, 'I think, clothes and all, he is worth one thousand dollars.'" The bill, however, was passed the same day by a vote of 32 to 7. In the House, the bill was called up from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in June, and after brief debate, was passed on the 3d by a vote of 86 to 37. This act, and another carrying into effect a new and more efficient treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave trade, placed the foreign relations of the country toward the colored race—so long the object of proscription—on a footing which could not fail to act favorably on their interests at home. In this way, by the exercise of its legitimate powers, the Republican Congress cast the influence of the nation in behalf of human freedom. If more was to be done, the war power, in the necessity of the times, was to be the minister. The confiscation and emancipation bill, in the hands of the President, would provide the means.

In the debates on the various bills, the passage of which we have recorded, a certain series of resolutions offered by Mr. Sumner, in February, were frequently referred to. Though they were not adopted, their introduction is too important a fact to be omitted. Their leading position was that the seceding States, by their formal insurrectionary proceedings, their organization of rebel government, and their act of levying war, had practically "abdicated" all rights under the Constitution, while their treason "worked an instant forfeiture of all those functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the State as a body politic," and that consequently, the territory which they occupied—which belonged to the United States, and was held in trust for its present and future inhabitants—"falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, as other territory; and the State being, according to the language of the law, *felo de se*, ceases to exist." Slavery, it was set forth, as "a peculiar local institution, without any origin in the Constitution, or in natural rights," fell with the State, "for the incident cannot survive the principal." As a necessary deduction, it was maintained that it was the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its exclusive jurisdiction over the territory once occupied by the revolted States, to see that slavery should cease to exist practically, as it had already ceased to exist constitutionally or legally. The recognition of slavery in such territory, or any surrender of slaves, "under the pretended laws of the extinct States," by any officer of the government, was pronounced an act of aid and comfort to the rebellion, and "a denial of the rights of persons, who, by the extinction of the States, have become free, so that, under the Constitution, they cannot again be enslaved." The closing resolution declared that Congress, in pursuance of its duty, should assume complete jurisdiction of the vacated territory, and "proceed to establish therein republican forms of government, under the Constitution, and, in the execution of this trust, provide carefully for the protection of all the inhabitants thereof, for the security of families, the organization of labor, the encouragement of industry, and the welfare of society, and in every way discharge the duties of a just, merciful, and paternal government."

The anxiety of President Lincoln for a peaceful solution of the slavery difficulty, by the entrance upon a system of compensated emancipation, was shown in his message to Congress on the 6th of March. It was his hope that the border slave States, by adopting this policy, would bring a powerful pressure to bear upon their Southern neighbors, and be thus instrumental in ending the war; while, if the resistance continued, he pretty plainly intimated emancipation, with all its consequences, must be accepted, as a necessity in the conduct of the war. This was the message: "Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:—I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable bodies, which shall be substantially as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.

"If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is the end; but if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the States and people immediately interested should be at once distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it. The Federal government would find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that the government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave States north of such parts will then say: 'The Union, for which we have struggled, being already gone, we now choose to go with the Southern section.' To deprive them of this hope substantially ends the rebellion, and the initiation of emancipation completely deprives them of it, as to all the States initiating it. The point is not that all the States tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation, but, that while the offer is equally made to all, the more northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more southern that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their proposed Confederacy. I say 'initiation,' because, in my judgment, gradual, and not sudden emancipation, is better for all. In the mere financial or pecuniary view, any member of Congress, with the census tables and Treasury reports before him, can readily see for himself how soon the current expenditure of this war would purchase, at a fair valuation, all the slaves in any named State. Such a proposition on the part of the general government, sets up no claim of a right by Federal authority to interfere with slavery within State limits, referring, as it does, the absolute control of the subject, in each case, to the State and its people immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them.

"In the annual message, last December, I thought fit to say: 'The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed.' I said this not hastily, but deliberately. War has been, and continues to be, an indispensable means to this end. A practical reacknowledgment of the national authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease. If, however, resistance continue, the war must also continue, and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend, and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency toward ending the struggle, must and will come. The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offence to ask whether the pecuniary consideration tendered would not be of more value to the States and private persons concerned than are the institution and property in it, in the present aspect of affairs. While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon lead to important results. In full view of my great responsibility to my God and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people to the subject.

(Signed) Abraham Lincoln."

A joint resolution, in the very words suggested by the President, passed both Houses of Congress—the House of Representatives on the 11th of March, by a vote of 89 to 31;—the Senate on the 2d of April by a vote of 32 to 10. The remarks of Mr. Crittenden in the debate in the House foreshadowed the reception of the bill, at least, in Kentucky. He saw in it an invitation to agitation, and agitation of the slavery question he constantly deprecated. "The bill," he said, "relates to a subject about which my constituents are very sensitive. I fear they will think they ought to be let alone on this subject. You urge them to take a further step in proof of their loyalty. They will say 'Is this the way the other States of the Union treat us? The moment we come within their grasp, the moment we join hands with them, and take up the sword in defence of the Constitution, they desire that we shall modify our institutions in accordance with their wishes.'"

In the month of May the President again called the attention of the country to his proposition in his proclamation countermanding an order which had been issued by General Hunter in his Department of the South. That officer, on the 9th of May, from his headquarters at Hilton Head, where he was pursuing a liberal policy toward the negroes, looking to their support in the war, issued the following general order: "The three States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, comprising the military department of the South, having deliberately declared themselves no longer under the protection of the United States of America, and having taken up arms against the said United States, it becomes a military necessity to declare them under martial law. This was accordingly done on the 25th of April, 1862. Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible, the persons in these three States, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free." This order, thus cutting the Gordian knot of statesmanship in this complicated question, as might be expected, greatly aroused public attention. Since the attempted emancipation of the slaves in Missouri by General Fremont, no act of the military commanders in the field bearing upon the vexed topic, not even the famous radical Ship Island proclamation of General Phelps, had excited more opposition in certain quarters, or applause in others. Border State men and "conservatives" stood aghast while the advocates of a vigorous war policy saw in the order the inevitable fulfillment of a destiny courted by the South at every step of the rebellion. President Lincoln was not long in declaring his sense of the matter. In a proclamation on the 19th of May, after reciting the order of General Hunter, which had come to his knowledge only through the public prints, he proceeded to state that "the government of the United States had no knowledge or belief of an intention on the part of General Hunter to issue such a proclamation, nor has it yet any authentic information that the document is genuine; and, further, that neither General Hunter nor any other commander or person has been authorized by the Government of the United States to make proclamation declaring the slaves of any State free, and that the supposed proclamation now in question, whether genuine or false, is altogether void, so far as respects such declaration. I further make known, that whether it be competent for me, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free; and whether at any time, or in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the Government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my reponsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field. These are totally different questions from those of police regulations in armies and camps." Having thus disposed, for the time, at least, of the obnoxious order, the President availed himself of the occasion to press upon the border States the policy of emancipation. Citing the resolution which he had sent to Congress in March, he remarked that it had been adopted by large majorities in both branches of Congress, and "now stands an authentic, definite, and solemn proposal of the nation to the States and people most immediately interested in the subject matter." With solemn emphasis he again urged it upon their attention. "To the people of these States I now earnestly appeal—I do not argue, I beseech you to make the arguments for yourselves. You cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, if it may be, far above personal and partisan politics. This proposal makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproach upon any. It acts not the Pharisee. The change it contemplates would come gently as the dews of heaven, not receding, or wrecking any thing. Will you not embrace it? So much good has not been done by one effort in all past time, as in the Providence of God it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it."

Though Congress had readily passed this conciliatory resolution of the President, it was observed that it was but a general expression of a sentiment; nor was it followed by any act making special appropriation of money to carry it into effect. It depended for its efficiency upon the action of the border States. The President was anxious that Congress should not adjourn without further action on the subject. Accordingly, at the end of the session, on the 12th of July, he presented the matter anew to the Senators and Representatives of the border slaveholding States, whom he had called together for the purpose at the White House. He there, with great earnestness, renewed the appeal which he had addressed to Congress. "If," said he, reading from a manuscript which he had prepared, "you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended; and the plan therein proposed is yet one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. Let the States which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly, that in no event will the States you represent ever join their proposed Confederacy, and they cannot much longer maintain the contest. But you cannot divest them of their hope to ultimately have you with them so long as you show a determination to perpetuate the institution within your own States. Beat them at elections, as you have overwhelmingly done, and, nothing daunted, they still claim you as their own. You and I know what the lever of their power is. Break that lever before their faces, and they can shake you no more forever.

"Most of you have treated me with kindness and consideration, and I trust you will not now think I improperly touch what is exclusively your own, when, for the sake of the whole country, I ask: 'Can you, for your States, do better than to take the course I urge? Discarding punctilio and maxims adapted to more manageable times, and looking only to the unprecedentedly stern facts of our case, can you do better in any possible event? You prefer that the constitutional relation of the States to the nation shall be practically restored without disturbance of the institutions; and if this were done, my whole duty in this respect, under the constitution and my oath of office, would be performed. But it is not done, and we are trying to accomplish it by war. The incidents of the war can not be avoided. If the war continues long, as it must if the object be not sooner attained, the institution in your States will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion—by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. How much better for you and for your people to take the step which at once shortens the war and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event! How much better to thus save the money which else we sink forever in the war! How much better to do it while we can, lest the war ere long render us pecuniarily unable to do it! How much better for you, as seller, and the nation as buyer, to sell out and buy out that without which the war could never have been, than to sink both the thing to be sold and the price of it in cutting one another's throats! I do not speak of emancipation at once, but, of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply and in abundance, and when numbers shall be large enough to be company for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go.

"I am pressed with a difficulty not yet mentioned — one which threatens division among those who, united, are none too strong. An instance of it is known to you. General Hunter is an honest man. He was, and I hope still is, my friend. I value him none the less for agreeing with me in the general wish that all men everywhere could be freed. He proclaimed all men free within certain States, and I repudiated the proclamation. He expected more good and less harm from the measure than I could believe would follow. Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offence, to many whose support the country cannot afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask, you can relieve me, and, much more, can relieve the country in this important point.

"Upon these considerations I have again begged your attention to the message of March last. Before leaving the Capitol consider and discuss it among yourselves. You are patriots and statesmen, and as such I pray you consider this proposition; and at the least commend it to the consideration of your States and people. As you would perpetuate popular government for the best people in the world, I beseech you that you do in no wise omit this. Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action to bring a speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of government is saved to the world, its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated, and its happy future fully assured and rendered inconceivably grand. To you, more than to any others, the privilege is given to assure that happiness and swell that grandeur, and to link your own names therewith forever."

The gravity and importance of this address demanded corresponding care in the reply. Accordingly, after some conversation on the subject, the members left to meet in council and prepare a written answer. Formal replies were made by the majority and minority of the representatives. The former, twenty in number, including Wickliffe, Davis, and Crittenden, of Kentucky, Carlile, of Western Virginia, Phelps, of Missouri, while they tested the proposition by various searching questions in regard to the Constitutional power of the government to make the necessary appropriations, and the difficulty in the way of the extent of the sum required, and deprecated any interference with slavery in the States, as likely to aggravate and prolong the war, coldly expressed their willingness—if the President, and their brethren of the loyal States, sincerely believed that the retention of slavery by them was an obstacle to peace and national harmony, and were willing to contribute pecuniary aid to compensate their States and people for the inconveniences produced by such a change of system—that the people themselves shall "consider the propriety of putting it aside." It was calculated in this document, which was drawn up, with no little ingenuity, by a member of the House, Crisfield, of Maryland, that if the proposition, as its terms indicated, were practically extended to all the slave States, there would be, at least, four millions of slaves to be purchased, which, at the price fixed by the emancipation act for the slaves in the District of Columbia—the low average of three hundred dollars, greatly below their real worth—would require $1,200,000,000, and to deport them at $100 each, would require $400,000,000 more. To pay the interest on these sums would require a tax on the country beyond its willingness and its ability to bear. "Stated in this form," was the shrewd language of the report, humorously reducing the question to an absurdity, "the proposition is nothing less than the deportation from the country of sixteen hundred million dollars' worth of producing labor, and the substitution in its place of an interest-bearing debt of the same amount." If the proposition were to be accepted only by the border slave States, Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, Missouri, and Tennessee, the cost would be over $478,000,000—a large sum to be added to existing burdens. The minority report, signed by Noell, of Missouri, and six others, was a protest against the carping and indifferent tone adopted by the majority. They expressed their desire to meet the address of the President "in the spirit in which it was made," and would ask the people of the border States "calmly, deliberately, and fairly" to consider the recommendation. The President, feeling the force of the suggestion that the recommendation, to be worthy of consideration, should be accompanied with some more definite pledge on the part of Congress, on the 14th, sent the following communication to both Houses: "Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:—Herewith is the draft of the bill to compensate any State which may abolish slavery within its limits, the passage of which, substantially as presented, I respectfully and earnestly recommend.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that whenever the President of the United States shall be satisfied that any State shall have lawfully abolished slavery within and throughout such State, either immediately or gradually, it shall be the duty of the President, assisted by the Secretary of the Treasury, to prepare and deliver to each State an amount of six per cent interest-bearing bonds of the United States, equal to the aggregate value, at — dollars per head, of all the slaves within such State, as reported by the census of one thousand eight hundred and sixty; the whole amount for any one State to be delivered at once, if the abolishment be immediate, or in equal annual installments, if it be gradual, interest to begin running on each bond at the time of delivery, and not before. And be it further enacted, That if any State, having so received any such bonds, shall at any time afterwards, by law, reintroduce, or tolerate slavery within its limits, contrary to the act of abolishment upon which such bonds shall have been received, said bonds so received by said State shall at once be null and void in whosesoever hands they may be, and such State shall refund to the United States all interest which may have been paid on such bonds."

It was now within a few days of the end of the session, and no action was taken in the matter. The emancipation and confiscation act was the practical answer of Congress on the present relation of the State to slavery.

The war being thus recognized in its breadth and extent, with new developments in the future, it was, of course, necessary to provide proportionate means of men and money for carrying it on. A new militia act was passed extending the term of service of those called out to nine months. The President, in addition, was authorized to accept the services of one hundred thousand volunteers, as infantry, for the same period, and volunteers were to be received for twelve months in sufficient numbers to fill up the regiments in the field. By another section the President was authorized to receive into the service, "for the purpose of constructing entrenchments, or performing camp service, or any other labor, or any military or naval service for which they may be found competent, persons of African descent, and such persons shall be enrolled and organized, under such regulations, not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws, as the President may prescribe." In case any person thus employed was the slave of a rebel owner, it was provided by the same act that "he, his mother, and his wife and children, shall forever thereafter be free, any law, usage, or custom whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding." This provision, however, was not to apply to the slaves of loyal owners.

On the 1st of July, the President, in concert with a request signed by eighteen governors of the loyal States, who urged "in view of the important military movements now in progress, and the reduced condition of our effective forces in the field, that the time has arrived for prompt and vigorous measures to be adopted by the people in support of the great interests committed to your charge," announced his decision to call into the service an additional force of 300,000 men. He recommended that they should be chiefly of infantry, and that the whole force should be enrolled without delay, "so as to bring this unnecessary and injurious civil war to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion." The governors, of course, responded in emphatic terms, and earnestly set about the work of forwarding enlistments, and recruiting the regiments in the field.

The great financial measures of this session of Congress were the treasury note bill, approved on the 25th of February, authorizing the issue of $150,000,000 of United States notes, of denominations not less than five dollars each, not bearing interest, and creating the same a legal tender in payment of all debts public and private, within the United States, except duties on imports, and payments by the government of interest on bonds and notes, which was required to be paid in coin. Fifty millions of the sum, thus authorized, were to be in lieu of the "demand notes" of the previous session, which were to be taken up as rapidly as possible, and to which, by a recent act, $10,000,000 had been added. As the latter were receivable for duties, they were, of course, now held about the price of gold. This new "circulation" was to be received by the government in payment for any loans which might be negotiated by the Secretary of the Treasury. To fund the debt thus created and enlarged, the issue of coupon or registered bonds to the amount of $500,000,000, bearing six per cent interest, and redeemable at the pleasure of the United States after five years, and payable twenty years from date, was authorized. These bonds, which were known as the "Five-Twenties," became, as the currency was enlarged, and the hostile efforts of the rebels were checked, an eagerly sought mode of investment. All bonds, stocks, and other securities of the United States held within the country, were, by the act, to be exempt from taxation by or under State authority. On the 11th of July an act was passed authorizing an additional issue of $150,000,000 of notes not bearing interest, similar to those just described, of which thirty-five millions of dollars might be of less denominations than five dollars, but none of the fractional part of a dollar. The legal tender clause in these acts met with much opposition in the protracted discussion on the bills in Congress, but the demands of the war were urgent, and it was adopted as the only practicable method of meeting the public necessities. The government was also authorized to receive United States notes on deposit, for not less than thirty days, in sums of not less than $100, for which certificates would be given bearing five per cent interest. By such provisions the country was relieved of an immediate pressure upon the currency, and the government provided with the means of carrying on the war without the aid of foreign capital. Gold, as a necessary consequence, rose in value, and the price of gold regulated the price of commodities in general. The facilities, however, given to trade and credit, in a great measure, for the time, at least, lightened the financial difficulties produced by the war.

To provide internal revenue, to support the government, and to pay interest on the public debt, a voluminous tax bill was passed and approved on the 1st of July. It embraced a comprehensive system of excise duties, licenses, special taxes on articles of luxury, as carriages, yachts, billiard tables, and plate; a widely extended system of stamp duties, legacy and inheritance duties, and an annual tax of three per cent on all gains, profits, or income, of every person residing within the United States, exceeding the sum of six hundred dollars. Incomes exceeding $10,000, and those of citizens residing abroad, were taxed five per cent.

Three other bills may be mentioned for their importance in the legislation of this period. An "act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain," gave to any person the head of a family, or of the age of twenty-one, a loyal citizen of the United States, or one who has legally declared his intentions to become such, the privilege of entering upon one hundred and sixty acres of land, the full title to which would be secured by five years' residence and cultivation. This measure looked to a future increase of the emigration which had been so fruitful a means of developing the wealth of the great West, and was now proving an important aid in maintaining the war. A second act, providing for aid in the construction of a great railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean, bore a certain relation to the last in its sphere of operation. A third declared the voice of the nation on a scandal to modern civilization. It was the act leveled at the ordinance of the Mormons or Latter Day Saints, of Utah Territory, annulling all laws in that region "which establish, maintain, protect, or countenance the practice of polygamy, evasively called spiritual marriage, however disguised by legal or ecclesiastical solemnities, sacraments, ceremonies, consecrations, or other contrivances." Polygamy in the Territories was, by this act, made punishable by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, and by imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years.

To adapt the organization of the navy to the new requirements of the service, an act was passed to establish and equalize the grade of line officers, by which the active list was divided into nine grades, in the following order: Rear admirals, commodores, captains, commanders, lieutenant commanders, lieutenant masters, ensigns, midshipmen. The number of rear admirals was limited to nine; of commodores to eighteen; of captains to thirty-six; of commanders to seventy-two; and the other grades to one hundred and forty-four each.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

GENERAL POPE'S CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA. JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1862.

The entire month of July was passed by the army under General McClellan on the banks of the James river, at the camp at Harrison's Landing, twenty-five miles distant from Richmond. In a military point of view, the troops held an advantageous position; they were well protected by batteries on the adjacent heights, while the depth of water in the river afforded every facility to prompt support, if needed, from the gunboats, and a ready communication to the transports. The enemy, in force, around their capital, respected these advantages, and mindful of the disastrous encounter at Malvern Hills, made no further serious attempt to disturb the army at its new base of operations. Reconnoissances, however, in the direction of Richmond, showed that the onward movement to that city would meet with resistance. It was General McClellan's conviction, nevertheless, that this was now the true route to the enemy's capital, and he steadily called for reinforcements to carry his plans into effect. No little solicitude, meanwhile, was felt for the protection of the national capital, and the line of the Potomac, which had so lately felt the hand of the enemy in Jackson's vigorous movement against Banks. The "Stonewall," indeed, had been forced to retreat; but he had managed the movement so cleverly as to baffle the combination of the Union commands set in motion against him, and his liberated force had told with crushing effect upon the army before Richmond in the Seven Days' Battles. The new "change of base" of McClellan had placed the army of the Potomac farther than ever from Washington, and cut off any prospect of coöperation with the several detached divisions of the Union forces between the Rappahannock and the capital. Reinforcements, indeed, might be sent to him by water, but what reinforcements could be spared in sufficient numbers to bring the army on the James to a sufficient strength for active operations without so impoverishing the other army on the Potomac as to endanger its safety? The question was anxiously discussed at Washington, and while every effort was made to strengthen the force on the James, it was felt that something was due to the army of General Pope, who, as we have stated, had been called from the scene of his exploits in Mississippi, at the end of June, to command the corps of Fremont, Banks, and McDowell, now consolidated in the army of Virginia. Measures, however, were early taken to strengthen the wasted army of McClellan. General Burnside, with a considerable part of his force from North Carolina, early in July, joined the army on the James. To assure himself of the actual condition of affairs, President Lincoln, on the 8th, visited the camp, by way of Fortress Monroe. He arrived in the afternoon, and after a conference with General McClellan, proceeded, in the evening, to a review of the troops. As he rode along the lines of the several divisions, he was greeted at each by a salute of artillery, and the vociferous cheers of the men. "Coming into the trenches," says a correspondent, "he dismounted, and ascending the ramparts of the newest fortifications, briefly addressed the soldiers. He said he had come to see for himself, and to know, the situation of affairs, and that he should go back satisfied. It was said they had been whipped. It was not so, and never would be. He knew the men he saw around him would prove equal to the task before them, and never give up without going into Richmond. He had been unable to sleep from anxiety, but after what he had seen and heard, he should go back to Washington satisfied that it was all right with the army of the Potomac."* President Lincoln left the camp the next day, and, on his arrival at Washington, more favorable accounts of the army were diffused through the country. It was said that he found the losses in the recent battles, in killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners, did not exceed 10,400, and that the army, still strong in numbers, was in excellent heart, and eager for a forward march. On the 20th of July the official returns of General McClellan's army, including the corps of General Dix, in command at Fortress Monroe, showed 101,691 present for duty; 17,828 on special duty, sick, and in arrest; 38,795 absent—a total of 158,314.†

When General Pope was assigned to the command in Virginia he found the effective movable force at his disposal of infantry and artillery, consisting of about 38,000 men, unequally divided between the corps of Fremont, Banks, and McDowell. Of these McDowell's was the largest, numbering over 18,000; Banks had but 8,000. The cavalry—an arm of the service, as the country was effectually taught, too much neglected in these operations in Virginia—numbering about 5,000, was mostly badly mounted and armed, and in poor condition for service.* The forces were widely scattered, and a portion of them, including, particularly, the new troops of Fremont's, now General Sigel's division, in a condition far from effective. The corps of Banks and Fremont were located in the valley of the Shenandoah at Winchester, and mostly above at Middletown. McDowell's command was divided between Manassas Junction on the Orange and Alexandria railway, and the left bank of the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg. It was the wish of the government, as General Pope tells us, "that he should cover the city of Washington from any attack from the direction of Richmond, make such dispositions as were necessary to assure the safety of the valley of the Shenandoah, and at the same time to so operate upon the enemy's lines of communication in the direction of Gordonsville and Charlottesville, as to draw off, if possible, a considerable force of the enemy from Richmond, and thus relieve the operations against that city of the army of the Potomac." The enemy being now out of the way hastening to the defence of Richmond, General Pope was at liberty to station the troops at his disposal as he might think best for the next campaign. Concentration was his first object, and he chose for this purpose the central position east of the Blue Ridge, and south of the Bull Run mountains, whence, if the enemy again descended the valley of the Shenandoah, he could readily move to interpose between their advance and main army, and cut off the retreat. He accordingly brought the corps of Sigel and Banks to the east of the Blue Ridge, to Sperryville and its vicinity, while Ricketts' division, of McDowell's corps, was ordered within easy coöperating distance, to Waterloo Bridge, on the north fork of the Rappahannock. Such was the disposition of General Pope's army when the Seven Days' Battles were fought, and General McClellan retreated to James river. The question then arose, how, under this altered condition of affairs, the two armies should render each other any assistance. To solve this, and other problems, General Halleck was called from the Army of the West to assume the duties of General-in-chief, previously discharged by Scott and McClellan. He arrived at the capital, and entered upon the duties of this important office, on the 23d of July.

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* *New York Tribune* Correspondence. Fortress Monroe, July 9, 1862.

† Report of Committee on the Conduct of the War.

General Pope, in the interim, had signalized his command by the issue of several important orders, which were much commented on. On the 14th, he thus addressed the officers and soldiers of the army of Virginia: "By special assignment of the President of the United States, I have assumed command of this army. I have spent two weeks in learning your whereabouts, your condition, and your wants; in preparing you for active operations, and in placing you in positions from which you can act promptly and to the purpose. I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies—from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary, and to beat him when found—whose policy has been attack, and not defence. In but one instance has the enemy been able to place our western armies in a defensive attitude. I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system, and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily. I am sure you long for an opportunity to win the distinction you are capable of achieving. That opportunity I shall endeavor to give you. Meantime, I desire you to dismiss from your minds certain phrases which I am sorry to find much in vogue amongst you. I hear constantly of taking strong positions and holding them—of lines of retreat, and of bases of supplies. Let us discard such ideas. The strongest position a soldier should desire to occupy is one from which he can most easily advance against the enemy. Let us study the probable lines of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of themselves. Let us look before, and not behind. Success and glory are in the advance. Disaster and shame lurk in the rear. Let us act on this understanding; and it is safe to predict that your banners shall be inscribed with many a glorious deed, and that your names will be dear to your countrymen forever." Several orders, dated July 18, indicated the practice he would pursue toward the enemy in the conduct of the war. "Hereafter, as far as practicable," it was directed, "the troops of this command will subsist upon the country in which their operations are carried on. In all cases supplies for this purpose will be taken by the officers to whose department they properly belong, under the orders of the commanding officers of the troops for whose use they are intended. Vouchers will be given to the owners, stating on their face that they will be payable at the conclusion of the war upon sufficient testimony being furnished that such owners have been loyal citizens of the United States since the date of the vouchers. Whenever it is known that supplies can be furnished in any district of the country where the troops are to operate, the use of trains for carrying subsistence will be dispensed with as far as possible." This order, as General Pope tells us, was construed greatly to his discredit, as authorizing indiscriminate robbery and plunder. It admitted, however, he urges, no such interpretation. It was specific, carefully guarded, in concurrence with the usages of war; while its policy was unquestionable. Indeed, he adds, "the long delay and embarrassment of the army under Gen. Lee, in its subsequent movements towards Washington, occasioned, largely, by the want of supplies taken from the country under this order, fully justified its wisdom."

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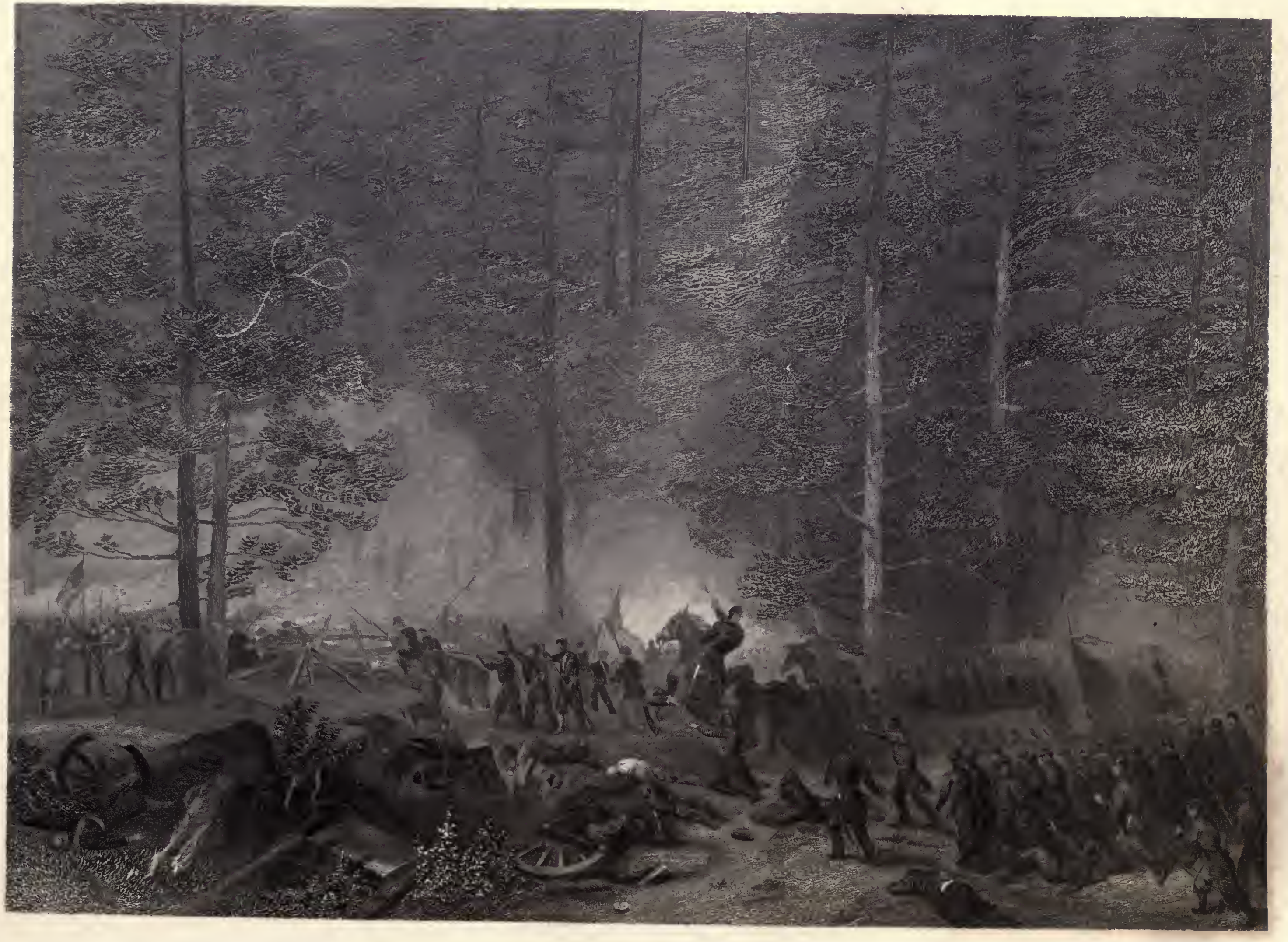
* Official report of General Pope, of his campaign. January 27, 1863.

Another order was directed against the irregular guerrilla warfare, which, throughout the war, as the Union army advanced, had been so annoying to its progress. The people of the valley of the Shenandoah, and throughout the region of operations of the army, living along the lines of railroad and telegraph, and along the routes of travel in the rear of the United States forces, were notified that they would be held responsible for any injury done the track, line or road, or for any attacks upon trains of straggling soldiers by bands of guerrillas in their neighborhood. If such injuries were committed, it was ordered that the citizens living within five miles of the spot, should be turned out *en masse*, to repair the damage, and be, moreover, required to pay to the United States, in money or in property, to be levied by military force, the full amount of the pay and subsistence of the whole force necessary to coerce the performance of the work during the time occupied in completing it." If a soldier, or legitimate follower of the army, were fired upon from any house, the house was to be razed to the ground, and the inhabitants sent prisoners to the headquarters of the army. If such an outrage occurred at any place distant from settlements the people within five miles round were to be held accountable, and pay a sufficient indemnity. Any person detected in such outrages, either during the act, or at any time afterwards, it was ordered, shall be shot without waiting civil process. These orders appeared stringent, but when we reflect upon the crime against which they were leveled, simply murder within our lines, they could not be considered unnecessarily severe. They were, indeed, a guaranty for the safety of non-combatants, whose welfare lay in submission, and the consequent protection of the army in possession.

In addition to the order just recited, General Pope, on the 23d, ordered commanders of army corps, divisions, brigades, and detached commands, to proceed immediately to arrest all disloyal male citizens within their lines, or within their reach, in rear of their respective stations. Such as were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and would furnish sufficient security for its observance, were to be permitted to remain at their homes, and pursue, in good faith, their accustomed avocations. Those who refused were to be conducted South, beyond the extreme pickets of the army, and notified, that if found anywhere again within our lines, or at any point in rear, they would be considered spies, and subjected to the extreme rigor of military law. Any person who, having taken the oath of allegiance, was found to violate it, was to be shot, and his property seized and applied to the public use. These orders of General Pope present pretty clearly the continued elements of disloyalty in the northern and eastern portions of Virginia, already once and again occupied by the Union armies, and under Federal authority. As a matter of course, they awakened the bitter resentment of the enemy. A correspondence on the subject of the alleged arrest of persons claimed to be Confederate citizens, and other grievances of General Pope's orders, coupled with complaints of General Butler, General Phelps, and others, was opened by General Lee with General Halleck, and retaliatory measures were threatened. In a Confederate general order, dated August 1st, General Pope's order of the 23d of July was recited, together with a previous one issued by Brigadier-General Steinwehr, of his army, ordering the arrest of five prominent citizens of Page county, "to be held as hostages, and to suffer death, in the event of any of the soldiers of said Steinwehr being shot by bushwhackers, by which term are meant the citizens of this Confederacy who have taken up arms to defend their lives and families." These orders were pronounced evidence of an intention on the part of some of the military authorities of the United States, "not content with the unjust and aggressive warfare hitherto waged with savage cruelty against an unoffending people, and exasperated by the failure of their efforts to subjugate them, to violate all the rules and usages of war, and to convert the hostilities hitherto waged against armed forces, into a campaign of robbery and murder against innocent citizens and peaceful tillers of the soil." It was therefore declared that Major-General Pope, Brigadier-General Steinwehr, and all commissioned officers serving under them, were not to be considered as soldiers, and should be denied the benefit of the cartel for the general exchange of prisoners, which had recently, on the 22d of July, been signed by General Dix on the part of the United States, and General D. H. Hill on the part of the Confederacy. In the event of their capture, they were to be held in close confinement as long as the obnoxious orders continued in force, or unrepealed, and "that in the event of the murder of any unarmed citizen or inhabitant of this Confederacy, by virtue, or under the pretext of any of the orders, whether with or without trial, whether under the pretence of such citizen being a spy or a hostage, or any other pretence, it shall be the duty of the commanding general of the forces of this Confederacy, to cause immediately to be hung, out of the commissioned officers thus imprisoned, a number equal to the number of our own citizens thus murdered by the enemy." This order was communicated by General Lee to General Halleck, who briefly replied: "As these papers are couched in language exceedingly insulting to the government of the United States, I must respectfully decline to receive them." Captured officers were, meanwhile, subjected to more rigorous imprisonment.

Immediately on entering upon his new command, General Halleck visited the army of General McClellan at Harrison's Landing, to ascertain the feasibility of an advance upon Richmond from that place, with the alternative in view of a junction of the two armies in Virginia upon some other line. He found General McClellan still in favor of the former, but demanding for the operation fifty thousand additional troops. As not more than twenty thousand could be spared without leaving Washington and Baltimore almost defenceless, General Halleck, notwithstanding the protest of General McClellan, decided to withdraw the army of the Potomac, as it continued to be called, from the James river to the line of the Rappahannock, where it could join that of General Pope, and at once protect the capital and operate against the enemy. On the 1st of August General Burnside was ordered to embark his troops from Newport News for Acquia creek, where he arrived on the 3d, the same day on which General McClellan was ordered to bring his entire army to the same point. The evacuation, however, of Harrison's Landing was not commenced till the 14th. To strengthen the command of General Pope, a portion of the force in Western Virginia, under General Cox, was called to the Potomac, which left the line of the Kanawha open to invasion by the enemy, who, for a time, had possession of the salt works in the region.

In the meantime, with the view of facilitating this movement of the army of the Potomac, and resisting any advance of the enemy toward Washington, General Pope took the field in person, and at once set on foot a series of active measures. The forces of Generals Banks and McDowell were pushed forward beyond the Rappahannock, and on the 7th of August, numbering about 28,000, were assembled along the turnpike from Sperryville to Culpeper. Gen. Buford's cavalry, five regiments, covering the front, was advanced to Madison Court House, with his pickets along the Rapidan on the right, and General Bayard's cavalry, four regiments, was extended on the same river on the left. Such was the position of the army, when, on the 7th of August, it was confronted by the advance of the enemy under Jackson and Ewell. The incidents which followed, culminating on the 9th, in the battle of Cedar Mountain, are thus related in the official report of General Pope: "On Wednesday morning, the 7th," says he, "the enemy crossed the Rapidan, at Barnett's Ford, in heavy force, and advanced strong on the road to Culpeper and Madison Court House. I had established my whole force on the turnpike between Culpeper and Sperryville, ready to concentrate at either place, as soon as the enemy's plans were developed. Early on Friday it became apparent that the move on Madison Court House was merely a feint to detain the army corps of General Sigel at Sperryville, and that the main attack of the enemy would be at Culpeper, to which place I had thrown forward part of Banks' and McDowell's corps. Brigadier-General Bayard, with part of the rear of McDowell's corps, who was in the advance, near the Rapidan, fell slowly back, delaying and embarrassing the enemy's advance as far as possible, and capturing some of his men. The forces of Banks and Sigel, and one of the divisions of McDowell's corps, were rapidly concentrated at Culpeper during Friday and Friday night, Banks' corps being pushed forward five miles south of Culpeper, with Ricketts' division of McDowell's corps three miles in his rear. The corps of General Sigel, which had marched all night, was halted in Culpeper to rest for a few hours. On Saturday the enemy advanced rapidly to Cedar Mountain, the sides of which they occupied in heavy force. Gen. Banks was instructed to take up his position on the ground occupied by Crawford's brigade, of his command, which had been thrown out the day previous to watch the enemy's movements. He was directed not to advance beyond that point, and, if attacked by the enemy, to defend his position, and send back



BATTLE OF CEDAR MOUNTAIN.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers.

timely notice. It was my desire to have time to give the corps of General Sigel all the rest possible after their forced march, and to bring forward all the forces at my disposal. The artillery of the enemy was opened early in the afternoon, but he made no advance until nearly five o'clock, at which time a few skirmishers were thrown forward on each side, under cover of the heavy wood in which his force was concealed. The enemy pushed forward a strong force in the rear of his skirmishers, and General Banks advanced to the attack. The engagement did not fairly open until after six o'clock, but for an hour and a half was furious and unceasing. Throughout the cannonading, which, at first, was desultory, and directed mainly against the cavalry, I had continued to receive reports from General Banks that no attack was apprehended, and that no considerable infantry force of the enemy had come forward. Yet, towards evening, the increase in the artillery firing having satisfied me an engagement might be at hand, though the lateness of the hour rendered it unlikely, I ordered General McDowell to advance Ricketts' Division to support General Banks, and directed General Sigel to bring his men upon the ground as soon as possible. I arrived, personally, on the field at seven P. M., and found the action raging furiously. The infantry fire was incessant and severe. I found General Banks holding the position he took up early in the morning. His losses were heavy. Ricketts' division was immediately pushed forward, and occupied the right of General Banks, the brigades of Crawford and Gordon being directed to change their position from the right and mass themselves in the centre. Before this change could be effected it was quite dark, though the artillery fire continued at short range without intermission. The artillery fire at night by the 2d and 5th Maine batteries, in Ricketts' division, of General McDowell's corps, was most destructive, as was readily observable the next morning, in the dead men and horses, and broken gun-carriages of the enemy's batteries, which had been advanced against it. Our troops rested on their arms during the night in line of battle, the heavy shelling being kept up on both sides until midnight. At daylight the next morning, the enemy fell back two miles from our front, and still higher up the mountain. Our pickets at once advanced and occupied the ground. The fatigue of the troops from long marches and excessive heat, made it impossible for either side to resume the action on Sunday. The men were, therefore, allowed to rest and recruit the whole day, our only active operations being of cavalry on the enemy's flank and rear. Monday was spent in burying the dead, and in getting off the wounded. The slaughter was severe on both sides, most of the fighting being hand to hand. The dead bodies of both armies were found mingled together in masses over the whole ground of the conflict. The burying of the dead was not completed until dark on Monday, the heat being so terrible that severe work was not possible. On Monday night the enemy fled from the field, leaving many of his dead unburied, and his wounded on the ground, and along the road to Orange Court House. A cavalry and artillery force, under General Buford, was immediately thrown forward in pursuit, and followed the enemy to the Rapidan, over which he passed, with his rear guard, by ten o'clock in the morning.

"The behavior of General Banks' corps during the action was very fine. No greater gallantry and daring could be exhibited by any troops. I cannot speak too highly of the coolness and intrepidity of General Banks, himself, during the whole of the engagement. He was in the front, and exposed as much as any man in his command. His example was of the greatest benefit to his troops, and he merits and should receive the commendation of his government. Generals Williams, Augur, Gordon, Crawford, Prince, Green, and Geary, behaved with conspicuous gallantry. Augur and Geary were severely wounded, and Prince, by losing his way in the dark, while passing from one flank to another, fell into the hands of the enemy. I desire, publicly, to express my appreciation of the prompt and skillful manner in which Generals McDowell and Sigel brought forward their respective commands, and established them on the field, and of their cheerful and hearty coöperation with me, from beginning to end. Brigadier-General Roberts, Chief of Cavalry of this army, was with the advance of our forces on Friday and Saturday, and was conspicuous for his gallantry, and for the valuable aid he rendered to Generals Banks and Crawford. Our loss was about 1,500 killed, wounded and missing, of whom 290 were taken prisoners. As might be expected, from the character of the engagement, a very large proportion of these were killed. The enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, we are now satisfied, is much in excess of our own."*

In the subsequent account of this battle, in his prolonged account of the entire campaign, General Pope "approximately" brings up his losses to about 1,800 killed, wounded, and prisoners, "besides which, fully 1,000 straggled back to Culpeper Court House, and beyond, and never entirely returned to their commands." General Pope, also, in this report, intimates that General Banks, while acting with that consummate courage, which particularly distinguished the Massachusetts regiments under his command, had shown some rashness in leaving a strong position, and attacking the enemy, who were in superior force, and strongly posted, sheltered by woods and ridges, before the whole disposable force of the army was brought up for the engagement. General Banks, according to this statement, under-estimated the force of the enemy, thinking he would be able to crush their advance before their main body could come up from the direction of the Rapidan.

A brief report from the Confederate General Jackson, thus, characteristically records this engagement: "On the evening of the 9th God blessed our arms with another victory. The battle was near Cedar Run, about six miles from Culpeper Court House. The enemy, according to the statement of prisoners, consisted of Banks', McDowell's, and Sigel's commands. We have over 400 prisoners, including Brigadier-General Prince. While our list of killed is less than that of the enemy, yet we have to mourn the loss of some of our best officers and men. Brigadier-General Charles S. Winder was mortally wounded, while ably discharging his duty at the head of his command, which was the advance of the left wing of the army. We have collected about 1,500 small arms, and other ordnance stores."*

The disastrous engagement at Cedar Mountain, in which the corps of General Banks had suffered so severely, was not followed by the withdrawal of General Pope's army from the region. On the contrary, the enemy fell back towards Gordonsville, to await the arrival of the main army of General Lee, while General Pope, immediately reinforced by General Rufus King's division from Falmouth, and, on the 14th, by 8,000 men of General Burnside's forces, under General Reno, again firmly held the line of the Rapidan, with Sigel on the right, McDowell in the centre, at Cedar Mountain, and Reno on the left. General Banks' shattered corps was at Culpeper. It being presently ascertained that the enemy were advancing in greatly superior numbers, General Pope retired, with his forces, on the 19th, to the north bank of the Rappahannock, in the vicinity of

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* General Pope to General Halleck. Headquarters, Cedar Mountain, Va., Aug. 13, 1862.

* Major-General T. J. Jackson to Colonel R. H. Chilton, A. A. G. Headquarters, Valley District, Aug. 12, 1862.

Kelly's ford, and Rappahannock station, on the railway. The enemy immediately followed, and for two days, the 21st and 22d, the two armies were confronted, and kept up an artillery fire across the river, which the rebels in vain endeavored to cross. There were no obstacles, however, in the way of their passing the stream above, and they, accordingly, made their movement in that direction, a body of General Stuart's cavalry crossing at Waterloo Bridge, traversing the country in the rear of the Union army, and, on the night of the 22d, falling upon Catlett's station, on the railroad, where they surprised the guard, and captured a large wagon train, including the papers, personal effects and equipage of Generals Pope and McDowell, which were freely pillaged. General Pope's, and a few other wagons were burnt. While these depredations were going on, a furious thunder-storm was raging, deluging the country. There was, of course, much confusion in the darkness. Some resistance was offered, but nothing effective. Stuart's party, not more than 300 in number, had it all their own way, though there were not less than 1,500 infantry, and five companies of cavalry, who should have been prepared to meet them. Indeed, General Pope, who might naturally feel sore on the matter—seeing the rummage of his effects was vaunted by the rebels as a personal indignity inflicted as a return for his obnoxious "orders,"—pronounces the success of the enemy, who, besides the spoil of his headquarters, and the destruction of property, carried off a number of prisoners and horses, "most disgraceful to the force which had been left in charge of the trains." Having in this raid inflicted what injury the night permitted, the enemy left before daylight on their return to Warrenton.

When the advance of the enemy on his right was fully ascertained, General Pope determined to recross the Rappahannock, and "fall, furiously, with his whole army," upon the flank and rear of their long column, which was passing up the river. This movement was defeated by the rapid rise in the river, from the storm of the night of the 22d. As the same flood, however, would impede the enemy in crossing, General Pope ordered Sigel, on his right, to march, with his whole corps, supported by Reno and Banks, towards Waterloo Bridge, and cut off and attack the portion of Lee's army which had already crossed the river. McDowell was, at the same time, ordered to Warrenton, with Brigadier-General Reynolds' Pennsylvania Reserves, the first of McClellan's army of the Potomac to join General Pope's command, to coöperate with this movement. "General Sigel," says General Pope, "moved, as ordered, slowly up the Rappahannock, in the direction of Sulphur Springs, on the 23d, and first encountered a force of the enemy near the point where a small creek, called Great Run, puts into the Rappahannock, about two miles below the Sulphur Springs. The enemy was driven across the stream, but destroyed the bridges. The heavy rains had caused this small creek to rise so much that it was not then fordable, so that the night of the 23d, and part of the morning of the 24th, were spent by General Sigel in rebuilding the bridges. On the night of the 23d also, the advance of McDowell's corps occupied Warrenton, a cavalry force of the enemy having retreated from there a few hours before. On the morning of the 24th, General Sigel, supported by Generals Reno and Banks, crossed Great Run, and occupied the Sulphur Springs, under a heavy fire of artillery from batteries which the enemy had established all along the south side of the Rappahannock. The bridge which had been burned at Sulphur Springs, and upon which the forces of the enemy, which had crossed a day or two previous, escaped from the advance of General Sigel, was rebuilt, and General Sigel pushed forward with the force supporting him, in the direction of Waterloo Bridge."

In one of these engagements of General Sigel's command, General Henry Bohlen fell while leading his troops against the enemy. Born in Germany, he had established himself in Philadelpha, where he became a prosperous merchant and highly respected citizen. His patriotism led him to raise a regiment of his countrymen, of which he took the command, in General Blenker's division. He was then promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, and attached to the department of Fremont, distinguishing himself greatly by his conduct at the engagement at Cross Keys.

The enemy, meanwhile, were pushing their forces rapidly on to the north, between the Blue Ridge and the Bull Run mountains, a large detachment of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, on the 24th, being discovered well on their way toward Manassas railroad at Rectortown. The Union forces, gathered between Warrenton and the north fork of the Rappahannock, confronted the Confederate centre on the right bank of the river. It was the object of General Pope to hold the enemy till reinforcements should arrive from McClellan's army. It was the enemy's object to anticipate this movement, and get between the army of General Pope and Washington, and cut off his supplies. As Lee's army was advancing rapidly towards the accomplishment of its design, General Pope felt compelled, at all hazards, to give them battle on the march. Portions of the army of the Potomac, and General Cox's division, which had been ordered from Western Virginia, were on their way from Alexandria and Fredericksburg to his aid. As the complicated movements which followed involve many nice matters of detail, on a proper estimate of which must rest the military reputation of General Pope, it is but justice to that officer to cite his connected narration of the remaining days of this heroic campaign—days, in the ordinary life of armies, filled with the events of months.

"On the 23d," says he, "I received a dispatch from the General-in-Chief, informing me that heavy reinforcements would begin to arrive at Warrenton Junction the succeeding day, and on the 24th I received dispatches from Colonel Haupt, the railroad superintendent at Alexandria, who informed me that thirty thousand men, ordered forward to join me, had demanded transportation from him, and that they would all be shipped that afternoon, or early the next morning. The force which I thus expected was, as reported to me, to consist of the division of General Sturgis, ten thousand strong; the division of General Cox, seven thousand strong; the corps of General Heintzelman, ten thousand strong; and the corps of Gen. Franklin ten thousand strong. By the night of the 25th it became apparent to me that I could no longer keep open my communications with Fredericksburg, and oppose the crossing of the Rappahannock at Rappahannock station, without abandoning the road from Warrenton to Washington, and leaving open to the enemy the route through Thoroughfare Gap, and all other roads north of the Orange and Alexandria railroad. As the main body of his force was constantly tending in that direction, I determined no longer to attempt to mask the lower fords of the Rappahannock, but to assemble such forces as I had along the Warrenton turnpike, between Warrenton and Gainesville, and give battle to the enemy on my right or left, as he might choose. I therefore directed McDowell to occupy Warrenton with his own and Sigel's corps, supporting him by Banks' corps from the direction of Fayetteville. I pushed Reno forward to occupy a point near the Warrenton turnpike, and about three miles to the east of that town. I sent orders to General Porter, who had reported to me by note from the neighborhood of Bealeton station, to push forward and join Reno. Heintzelman's corps, which had reached Warrenton Junction, was ordered to remain for the present at that point, it being my purpose to push forward that corps, as soon as practicable, to Greenwich, about halfway between Warrenton and Gainesville. I sent orders to Colonel Haupt, to direct one of the strongest divisions being sent forward to take post in the works at Manassas Junction, and requested General Halleck to push Franklin with all speed to Gainesville ; that he could march quite as rapidly as he could be transported by rail, with the limited means of railroad transportation in our possession, and that his baggage and supplies could be sent forward to Gainesville by rail. I also sent orders to the Colonel commanding at Manassas Junction for the first division that reached there from Alexandria to halt and take post in the works at that place, and directed him to push forward all of his cavalry in the direction of Thoroughfare Gap, to watch any movements the enemy might make from that direction. I had instructed General Sturgis, commanding at Alexandria, on the 22d of August, to post strong guards along the railroad from Manassas Junction to Catlett's station, and requested him to superintend this in person. I also directed General Kearney, who reached Warrenton Junction on the 23d, to see that sufficient guards were placed all along the railroad in his rear. After these precautions and assurances, I had thought, and confidently expected, that by the afternoon of the 26th, Franklin would have been at or near Gainesville ; one division would have been occupying the works at Manassas Junction, and that the forces under Sturgis and Cox would have been at Warrenton Junction, whence they could have been at once pushed north in the direction of Warrenton turnpike. The orders for the disposition of the forces then under my command were sent, and the movements made, so far as practicable, during the day of the 26th. About eight o'clock at night on the 26th, the advance of Jackson's force, having passed through Thoroughfare Gap, cut the railroad in the neighborhood of Kettle Run, about six miles east of Warrenton Junction. The cavalry force which I had sent forward to Thoroughfare Gap, on the morning of the 26th, made no report to me. The moment our communications were interrupted at Kettle Run, I was satisfied that the troops which had been promised me from the direction of Washington, had made no considerable progress. Had Franklin been even at Centreville, on the 26th, or had Cox and Sturgis been as far west as Bull Run on that day, the movement of Jackson through Thoroughfare Gap, upon the railroad at Manassas, would have been utterly impracticable. So confidently did I expect, from the assurances which I had time and again received, that these troops would be in position, or, at all events, far advanced toward me, that Jackson's movement toward White Plains, and in the direction of Thoroughfare Gap, had caused but little uneasiness ; but, on the night of the 26th, it was very apparent to me that all these expected reinforcements had utterly failed me ; and that upon the small force under my own immediate command, I must depend alone for any present operations against the enemy. It was easy for me to retire, in the direction of the lower fords of the Rappahannock, to Fredericksburg, so as to bring me in immediate contact with the forces there, or arriving there ; but, by so doing, I should have left open the whole front of Washington ; and, after my own disappointment of the reinforcements which I had expected, I was not sure that there was any sufficient force, in the absence of the army under my command, to cover the capital. I determined, therefore, at once to abandon the line of the Rappahannock, and throw my whole force in the direction of Gainesville and Manassas Junction, to crush the enemy, who had passed through Thoroughfare Gap, and to interpose between the army of General Lee and Bull Run. During the night of the 26th, the main body of the enemy still occupied their positions from Sulphur Springs to Waterloo Bridge and above; but toward morning on the 27th, I think their advance moved off in the direction of White Plains, pursuing the route previously taken by Jackson, and, no doubt, with a view of uniting with him eastward of the Bull Run range.

"From the 18th of August, until the morning of the 27th, the troops under my command had been continuously marching and fighting night and day, and during the whole of that time there was scarcely an interval of an hour without the roar of artillery. The men had had little sleep, were greatly worn down with fatigue, had had little time to get proper food, or to eat it, had been engaged in constant battles and skirmishes, and had performed services, laborious, dangerous, and excessive, beyond any previous experience in this country. As was to be expected under such circumstances, the numbers of the army under my command had been greatly reduced by death, by wounds, by sickness, and by fatigue, so that, on the morning of the 27th of August, I estimated my whole effective force (and I think the estimate was large) as follows; Sigel's corps, 9,000 men; Banks' corps, 5,000 men; McDowell's corps, including Reynolds' division, 15,500 men; Reno's corps, 7,000; the corps of Heintzelman and Porter (the freshest, by far, in that army), about 18,000 men, making, in all, 54,500 men. Our cavalry numbered, on paper, about 4,000 men; but their horses were completely broken down, and there were not 500 men, all told, capable of doing such service as should be expected from cavalry. The corps of Heintzelman had reached Warrenton Junction, but was without wagons, without artillery, with only four rounds of ammunition to the man, and without even horses for the general and field officers. The corps of Porter had also reached Warrenton Junction, with a very small supply of provisions, and but forty rounds of ammunition for each man. On the morning of the 27th, in accordance with the purpose previously set forth, I directed McDowell to move forward rapidly on Gainesville, by the Warrenton turnpike, with his own corps and Sigel's, and the division of Reynolds, so as to reach that point during the night. I directed General Reno, with his corps, followed by Kearney's division of Heintzelman's corps, to move rapidly on Greenwich, so as to reach there that night, to communicate at once with General McDowell, and to support him in any operations against the enemy in the vicinity of Gainesville. I moved forward along the railroad, toward Manassas Junction, with Hooker's division of Heintzelman's corps, leaving orders for General Porter to remain with his corps at Warrenton Junction, until relieved by General Banks, who was marching to that place from Fayetteville, and as soon as he was relieved, to push forward also in the direction of Gainesville, where, at that time, I expected that the main collision with the enemy would occur. The army trains of all the corps I instructed to take the road to Warrenton Junction, and follow in the rear of Hooker's division, toward Manassas Junction, so that the road pursued by the trains was entirely covered from any possible interruption by the enemy. On the afternoon of the 27th a severe engagement occurred between Hooker's division and Ewell's division of Jackson's forces. The action commenced about four miles west of Bristow station. Ewell was driven back along the railroad, but still confronted Hooker at dark, along the banks of Broad Run, immediately in front of Bristow station, at which point I arrived at sunset. The loss in this engagement was about three hundred killed and wounded on each side, the enemy leaving his dead, many of his wounded, and much of his baggage on the field of battle.

"The railroad had been torn up, and the bridges burned, in several places between Bristow station and Warrenton Junction. I accordingly directed Major-General Banks to cover the railroad trains at Warrenton Junction until General Porter's corps had marched from that place, and then to run back the trains as far as practicable, and covering them with his troops, to repair the bridges as fast as possible. I also directed Captain Merrill, of the engineers, with a considerable force, to repair the railroad track and bridges as far as possible in the direction of Bristow station. The road was, accordingly, put in order from Warrenton Junction to Kettle Run, during the 27th, and the trains ran back to that point early next day. At dark on the 27th, General Hooker reported to me that his ammunition was nearly exhausted, and that he had but five ronnds to a man left. I had by that time become convinced that the whole force under Jackson, consisting of his own, A. P. Hill's, and Ewell's divisions, was south of the turnpike, and in the immediate neighborhood of Manassas Junction. McDowell reached his position during the night of the 27th, as did also Kearney and Reno, and it was clear on that night that he had interposed completely between Jackson and the main body of the enemy, which was still west of the Bull Run range, and in the neighborhood of White Plains. Thinking it altogether likely that Jackson would mass his whole force and attempt to turn our right at Bristow station, and knowing that Hooker, for want of ammunition, was in little condition to make long resistance, I sent back orders to General Porter, about dark of the 27th, to move forward at one o'clock in the night, and report to me at Bristow by daylight in the morning, leaving instructions in some detail for Banks, who was expected at Warrenton Junction during that night or early in the morning. General Porter failed utterly to obey the orders that were sent him; giving as an excuse that his men were tired, that they would straggle in the night, and that a wagon-train proceeding eastward, in the rear of Hooker's division, would offer obstructions to his march. He, however, made no attempt whatever to comply with this order, although it was stated to him in the order itself that his presence was necessary, on all accounts, at daylight, and that the officer delivering the dispatch was instructed to conduct him to the field. There were but two courses left open to Jackson in consequence of this sudden and unexpected movement of the army. He could not retrace his steps through Gainesville, as it was occupied by McDowell, having at command a force equal, if not superior, to his own. He was obliged, therefore, either to retreat through Centreville, which would carry him still further from the main body of Lee's army, or to mass his force, assault us at Bristow station, and turn our right. He pursued the former course, and retired through Centreville. This mistake of Jackson's alone saved us from the serious consequences which would have followed this disobedience of orders on the part of General Porter.

"At nine o'clock on the night of the 27th, satisfied of Jackson's position, I sent orders to General McDowell to push forward, at the very earliest dawn of day, toward Manassas Junction, from Gainesville, resting his right on the Manassas Gap railroad, and throwing his left well to the east. I directed General Reno to march at the same hour from Greenwich, direct upon Manassas Junction, and Kearney to march at the same hour upon Bristow. This latter order was sent to Kearney to render my right at Bristow perfectly secure against the probable movement of Jackson in that direction. Kearney arrived at Bristow about eight o'clock in the morning, Reno being on the left, and marching direct upon Manassas Junction. I immediately pushed Kearney forward in pursuit of Ewell, toward Manassas, followed by Hooker. General Porter's corps did not arrive at Bristow until half-past ten o'clock in the morning; and the moment he found that Jackson had evacuated Manassas Junction, he requested permission to halt at Bristow and rest his men. Sykes' division of Porter's corps, had spent the whole day of the 27th, from ten o'clock in the morning until daylight of the 28th, in camp at Warrenton Junction. Morell's division, of the same corps, had arrived at Warrenton Junction during the day of the 27th, and also remained there during the whole of that night. Porter's corps was by far the freshest in the whole army, and should have been, and I believe was, in better condition for service than any troops we had. General McDowell reported to me afterward that he had given orders for the movement of his command upon Manassas Junction at two o'clock at night, in accordance with the directions I had sent him, but that General Sigel, who commanded his advance, and was at Gainesville, instead of moving forward from Gainesville at daylight, as he was ordered, was, absolutely, with his advance, in that town as late as half-past seven o'clock in the morning. Meantime, beginning about three o'clock in the morning of the 28th, Jackson commenced evacuating Manassas Junction, and his troops were marching from that point in the direction of Centreville, until ten or eleven o'clock in the day. If the whole force under McDowell had moved forward as directed, and at the time specified, they would have intercepted Jackson's retreat toward Centreville by eight o'clock in the morning, and I do not believe it would have been possible for Jackson to have crossed Bull Run, so closely engaged with our forces, without heavy loss.

"I reached Manassas Junction with Kearney's division and Reno's corps about twelve o'clock in the day of the 28th, less than an hour after Jakson, in person, had retired. I immediately pushed forward Hooker, Kearney, and Reno upon Centreville, and sent orders to Fitz John Porter to come forward to Manassas Junction. I also wrote to McDowell, and stated the facts so far as we were then able to ascertain them, and directed him to call back the whole of his force that had come in the direction of Manassas Junction, and to move forward upon Centreville. He had, however, without my knowledge, detached Rickett's division in the direction of Thoroughfare Gap, and that division was no longer available in his movement toward Centreville. Late in the afternoon of the 28th, Kearney drove the enemy's rear guard out of Centreville, and occupied that town, with his advance beyond it, about dark. The enemy retreated through Centreville, one portion of his force taking the road by Sudley Springs, and the other pursuing the Warrenton turnpike toward Gainesville, destroying the bridges on that road over Bull Run and Cub Run—McDowell, with his whole force, consisting of his own corps (except Ricketts' division), Sigel's corps, and the division of Reynolds, marching in the direction of Centreville, encountered the advance of Jackson's force retreating toward Thoroughfare Gap, about six o'clock on the evening of the 28th. A severe action took place between King's division, of McDowell's corps, and the advance of Jackson, which was terminated by darkness. Each party maintained its ground. Gibbon's brigade, of King's division, which was in the advance of that division, sustained the brunt of the action, but was supported handsomely by Doubleday's brigade, which came into action shortly after. This engagement, and its result, were reported to me, near Centreville, about ten o'clock that night.

"I felt sure, then, and so stated, that there was no escape for Jackson. I accordingly sent orders to General McDowell, as also to Gen. King, several times during the night of the 28th, and once by his own staff officer, to hold his ground at all hazards, and prevent the retreat of Jackson to the west, and that at daylight in the morning our whole force from Centreville and Manassas Junction would be up with the enemy, who must be crushed between us. I also sent orders to General Kearney to push forward at one o'clock that night, cautiously, from Centreville along the Warrenton turnpike, to drive in the pickets of the enemy, and to keep closely in contact with him during the night; to rest his left on the Warrenton turnpike, and to throw his right well to the north, if possible, across Little River turnpike; at daylight in the morning to assault vigorously with his right advance; and that Hooker and Reno would be up with him very shortly after day-dawn. I sent orders to General Porter, whom I supposed to be at Manassas Junction, where he should have been, in compliance with my orders of the day previous, to move upon Centreville at the earliest dawn, and stated to him the position of the forces, and that a severe battle would undoubtedly be fought during the morning of the 29th. The only apprehension I had at that time was that Jackson might attempt to retreat to the north, in the direction of Leesburg, and for the purpose of preventing this, I directed Kearney to keep closely in contact with him during the whole of the night of the 28th. My force was so disposed that McDowell, Sigel, and Reynolds, whose joint forces amounted to about twenty-five thousand men, were immediately west of Jackson, and between him and Thoroughfare Gap, while Kearney, Hooker, Reno and Porter, about twenty-five thousand strong, were to fall on the enemy from the east, at daylight in the morning, or very shortly after. With this disposition of troops we were so far in advance of Longstreet, that by using our whole force vigorously, we should be able to crush Jackson before Longstreet could by any possibility reach the scene of action. To my great disappointment, however, I learned, toward daylight, on the morning of the 29th, that King's division had fallen back in the direction of Manassas Junction, thus leaving open the road to Thoroughfare Gap, and making new movements and dispositions of troops immediately necessary.

"The disposition of the troops on the west of Jackson having failed, through Ricketts' movement toward Thoroughfare Gap, and the consequent withdrawal of King, an imminent change in the disposition and proposed movements of the troops for the succeeding day became necessary; and about daylight on the morning of the 29th, shortly after I received information of the withdrawal of King's division, I sent orders to General Sigel, who was in the neighborhood of Groveton, supported by Reynolds' division, to attack the enemy vigorously as soon as it was light enough to see, and bring him to a stand, if it were possible to do so. I instructed General Heintzelman to push forward from Centreville toward Gainesville at the earliest dawn, with the divisions of Hooker and Kearney, and directed General Reno to follow closely in his rear; to use all speed, and as soon as they came up with the enemy to establish communication with Sigel, and attack with the utmost promptness and vigor. I also sent orders to Major-General Fitz-John Porter, at Manassas Junction, to move forward with the utmost rapidity, with his own corps, and King's division of McDowell's corps, which was supposed to be at that point, upon Gainesville, by the direct road from Manassas Junction to that place. I urged him to make all speed, that he might come up with the enemy and be able to turn his flank near where the Warrenton turnpike is intersected by the road from Manassas Junction to Gainesville. Shortly after sending this order, I received a note from General McDowell, whom I had not been able to find during the night of the 28th, dated at Manassas Junction, requesting that King's division might not be taken from his command. I immediately sent a joint order to Generals McDowell and Porter, directing them, with their two corps, to march with all speed toward Gainesville, on the direct road from Manassas Junction. Sigel attacked the enemy about daylight on the morning of the 29th, a mile or two east of Groveton, where he was soon joined by the divisions of Hooker and Kearney. Jackson fell back several miles, but was so closely pressed by these forces that he was compelled to make a stand, and to make the best defence possible. He accordingly took up a position with his left in the neighborhood of Sudley Springs, his right a little to the south of Warrenton turnpike, and his line covered by an old railroad-grade, which leads from Gainesville in the direction of Leesburg. His batteries, which were numerous, and some of them of heavy calibre, were posted between the ridges in the open ground on both sides of the Warrenton turnpike, while the mass of his troops were sheltered in dense woods behind the railroad embankments. I arrived on the field from Centreville about noon, and found the two armies confronting each other, both considerably cut up by the sharp action in which they had been engaged since daylight in the morning. Heintzelman's corps occupied the right of our line, in front or west of the Sudley Springs road. General Sigel was on his left, with his line extended a short distance south of the Warrenton turnpike; the division of General Schenck occupying the high ground to the left of that road. The extreme left was occupied by General Reynolds. General Reno's corps had reached the field, and the most of it had been pushed forward into action, leaving four regiments in reserve, and in rear of the centre of our line. Immediately after I reached the ground General Sigel reported to me that his line was weak; that the divisions of Schurz and Steinwehr were much cut up, and ought to be drawn back from the front. I informed General Sigel that this was utterly impossible, as there were no troops to replace them, and that he must hold his ground; that I would not again push his troops into action, as the corps of Porter and McDowell were moving forward from Manassas Junction, on the road to Gainesville, and must very soon be in position to fall upon the enemy's right flank, and probably upon his rear. I rode to the front of our line, and inspected it from right to left, giving the same information to Generals Heintzelman and Reno. The troops were, accordingly, suffered to rest in their positions, and to re-supply themselves with ammunition. From twelve until four o'clock very severe skirmishes occurred, constantly, at various points on our line, and were brought on at every indication the enemy made of a disposition to retreat. About two o'clock in the afternoon several pieces of artillery were discharged on the extreme right of the enemy's line, and I fully believed that Generals Porter and McDowell had reached their positions and had become engaged with the enemy. I did not hear more than three shots fired, and was at a loss to know what had become of those two corps, or what was delaying them, but I received information shortly afterward that General McDowell was advancing to join the main body by the Sudley Springs road, and would probably be up with us in two hours. At half-past four o'clock, I sent a peremptory order to General Porter to push forward at once into action on the enemy's right, and, if possible, to turn his rear, stating to him generally, the condition of things on the field in front of me. About half-past five o'clock, when General Porter should have been coming into action in compliance with this order, I directed Generals Heintzelman and Reno to attack the enemy. The attack was made with great gallantry, and the whole of the left of the enemy was doubled back towards its centre, and our own forces, after a sharp conflict of an hour and a half, occupied the field of battle, with the dead and wounded of the enemy in our hands. In this attack Grover's brigade, of Hooker's division, was particularly distinguished by a determined bayonet-charge, breaking two of the enemy's lines and penetrating to the third before it could be checked. By this time General McDowell had arrived on the field, and I pushed his corps immediately to the front, along the Warrenton turnpike, with orders to fall upon the enemy, who was retreating toward the pike from the direction of Sudley Springs. The attack along the turnpike was made by King's division at about sunset in the evening; but by that time the advance of the main body of the enemy, under Longstreet, had begun to reach the field, and King's division encountered a stubborn and determined resistance at a point about three-fourths of a mile in front of our line of battle.

"While this attack was going on, the forces under Heintzelman and Reno continued to push back the left of the enemy in the direction of Warrenton turnpike, so that about eight o'clock in the evening the greater portion of the field of battle was occupied by our army. Nothing was heard of General Porter up to that time, and his force took no part whatever in the action, but were suffered by him to lie idle on their arms, within sight and sound of the battle during the whole day. So far as I know he made no effort whatever to comply with my orders, or to take any part in the action. I do not hesitate to say that if he had discharged his duty as became a soldier under the circumstances, and had made a vigorous attack on the enemy as he was expected and directed to do, at any time up to eight o'clock that night, we should have utterly crushed or captured the larger portion of Jackson's force before he could have been, by any possibility, sufficiently reinforced to have made an effective resistance. I did not myself feel for a moment that it was necessary for me, having given General Porter an order toward the enemy, in a particular direction, to send him, in addition, specific orders to attack, it being his clear duty, and in accordance with every military precept, to have brought his forces into action wherever he encountered the enemy, when a furious battle with that enemy was raging during the whole day, in his immediate presence. I believe, in fact, I am positive, that at five o'clock on the afternoon of the 29th, General Porter had in his front no considerable body of the enemy. I believed then, as I am very sure now, that it was easily practicable for him to have turned the right flank of Jackson, and to have fallen upon his rear; that if he had done so, we should have gained a decisive victory over the army under Jackson before he could have been joined by any of the forces of Longstreet, and that the army of General Lee would have been so crippled and checked by the destruction of this large force as to have been no longer in condition to prosecute further operations of an aggressive character. Our losses during the 29th were very heavy, but no separate returns of killed and wounded for that day have been made to me. I believe, from all I could learn from corps commanders, and so reported, that our loss during that day was not less than six or eight thousand killed and wounded, and I think this estimate will be confirmed by the general reports, which cover the losses during the battles of the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th August, and the 1st of September. My estimate of the loss of the enemy, reported to the Department on the morning of the 30th, was based upon the statements made to me by Generals Hooker and Kearney, who had been over the whole field on the left. General Hooker estimated the loss of the enemy as at least two to one, and General Kearney as at least three to one of our own.

"Every indication, during the night of the 29th, and up to ten o'clock on the morning of the 30th, pointed to the retreat of the enemy from our front. Paroled prisoners of our own, taken on the evening of the 29th, and who came into our lines on the morning of the 30th, reported the enemy retreating during the whole night in the direction of and along the Warrenton turnpike. Generals McDowell and Heintzelman, who reconnoitred the positions held by the enemy's left on the evening of the 29th, confirmed this statement. They reported to me that the positions occupied by the enemy's left had been evacuated, and that there was every indication that he was retreating in the direction of Gainesville. On the morning of the 30th, as may be supposed, our troops, who had been so continually marching and fighting for so many days, were in a state of great exhaustion. They had had little to eat for two days previous, and artillery and cavalry horses had been in harness and saddled continuously for ten days, and had had no forage for two days previous. It may easily be imagined how little these troops, after such severe labors, and after undergoing such hardship and privation, were in condition for active and efficient service. I had telegraphed to the General-in-Chief, on the 28th, our condition, and had begged of him to have rations and forage sent forward to us from Alexandria with all dispatch. I informed him of the imminent need of cavalry horses to enable the cavalry belonging to the army to perform any service whatever. About daylight of the 30th, I received a note from General Franklin, written by direction of General McClellan, and dated at eight o'clock P. M., on the 29th, informing me that rations and forage would be loaded into the available wagons and cars at Alexandria, as soon as I would send back a cavalry escort to bring out the trains. Such a letter, when we were fighting the enemy, and Alexandria was swarming with troops, needs no comment. Bad as was the condition of our cavalry, I was in no situation to spare troops from the front, nor could they have gone to Alexandria and returned within the time by which we must have had provisions, or have fallen back in the direction of Washington. Nor do I yet see what service cavalry could have rendered in guarding railroad trains. It was not until I received this letter that I began to feel discouraged and nearly hopeless of any successful issue to the operations with which I was charged; but I felt it to be my duty, notwithstanding the desperate condition of my command, from great fatigue, from want of provisions and forage, and from the small hope that I had of any effective assistance from Alexandria, to hold my position at all hazards and under all privations, unless overwhelmed by the superior forces of the enemy. I had received no sort of information of any troops coming forward to my assistance since the 24th, and did not expect, on the morning of the 30th, that any assistance would reach me from the direction of Washington; but I determined again to give battle to the enemy on the 30th, and, at least, to lay on such blows as would cripple him as much as possible, and delay, as long as practicable, any further advance toward the capital. I accordingly prepared to renew the engagement. At that time, my effective forces, greatly reduced by losses in killed, wounded, missing, and broken-down men, during the severe operations of two or three days and nights previous; the sharp actions of Hooker, King and Ricketts on the 27th and 28th, and the furious battle on the 29th, were estimated by me and others as follows: McDowell's corps, including Reynolds' division, 12,000 men; Sigel's corps, 7,000; Reno's corps, 7,000; Heintzelman's corps, 7,000; Porter's corps, which had been in no engagement, and was, or ought to have been, perfectly fresh, I estimated at about 12,000 men, including the brigade of Piatt, which formed a part of Sturgis' division, and the only portion that ever joined me. But, of this force, the brigades of Piatt and of Griffin, numbering, as I understood, about five thousand men, had been suffered to march off at daylight on the 30th to Centreville, and were not available for operations on that day. This reduced Porter's effective force in the field to about seven thousand men, which gave me a total force of 40,000 men. Banks' corps, about 5,000 strong, was at Bristow station, in charge of the railroad trains, and of a portion of the wagon trains of the army, still at that place. Between twelve and two o'clock in the day I advanced the corps of Porter, supported by King's division of McDowell's corps, to attack the enemy along the Warrenton turnpike; at the same time I directed Heintzelman and Reno, on our right, to push forward to the left and front toward Warrenton turnpike, and attack the enemy's left, in flank, if possible. For a short time, Ricketts' division, of McDowell's corps, was placed in support of this movement on our right.

"It was necessary for me to act thus promptly, and make the attack, as I had not the time, for want of provisions and forage, to await an attack from the enemy, nor did I think it good to do so under the circumstances. During the whole night of the 29th, and the morning of the 30th, the advance of the main army, under Lee, was arriving on the field to reinforce Jackson, so that by twelve or one o'clock in the day, we were confronted by forces greatly superior to our own; and these forces were being every moment largely increased by fresh arrivals of the enemy from the direction of Thoroughfare Gap. Every moment of delay increased the odds against us, and I therefore advanced to the attack as rapidly as I was able to bring my forces into action. Shortly after General Porter moved forward to the attack by the Warrenton turnpike, and the assault on the enemy was begun by Heintzelman and Reno on the right, it became apparent that the enemy was massing his troops as fast as they arrived on the field, on his right, and was moving forward from that direction to turn our left; at which point it was plain he intended to make the main attack. I accordingly directed General McDowell to recall Ricketts' division immediately from our right, and post it on the left of our line. The attack of Porter was neither vigorous nor persistent, and his troops soon retired in considerable confusion. As soon as they commenced to fall back the enemy advanced to the assault, and our whole line, from right to left, was soon furiously engaged. The main attack of the enemy was made upon our left, but was met with stubborn resistance by the divisions of General Schenck, General Milroy, and General Reynolds, who, shortly after the action began, were reinforced on their left and rear by the whole of Ricketts' division. The action raged furiously for several hours, the enemy bringing up his heavy reserves, and pouring mass after mass of his troops upon our left. So greatly superior in number were his forces, that, while overpowering us on our left, he was able to assault us, also, with superior forces on our right. Porter's forces were rallied and brought to a halt as they were retiring to the rear. As soon as they could be used, I pushed them forward to support our left, and they there rendered distinguished service, especially the brigade of regulars under Colonel Buchanan. Tower's brigade, of Ricketts' division, was pushed forward into action, in support of Reynolds' division, and was led forward in person by General Tower with conspicuous skill and gallantry. The conduct of that brigade, in plain view of all the forces on our left, was especially distinguished, and drew forth hearty and enthusiastic cheers. The example of this brigade was of great service, and infused new spirit into all troops who witnessed their intrepid conduct. Reno's corps was also withdrawn from its position on our right centre late in the afternoon, and thrown into action on our left, where it behaved with conspicuous gallantry. Notwithstanding these great disadvantages, our troops held their ground with the utmost firmness and obstinacy. The losses on both sides were very heavy. By dark our left had been forced back about a half or three-quarters of a mile, but still remained firm and unbroken, and still covered the turnpike in our rear.

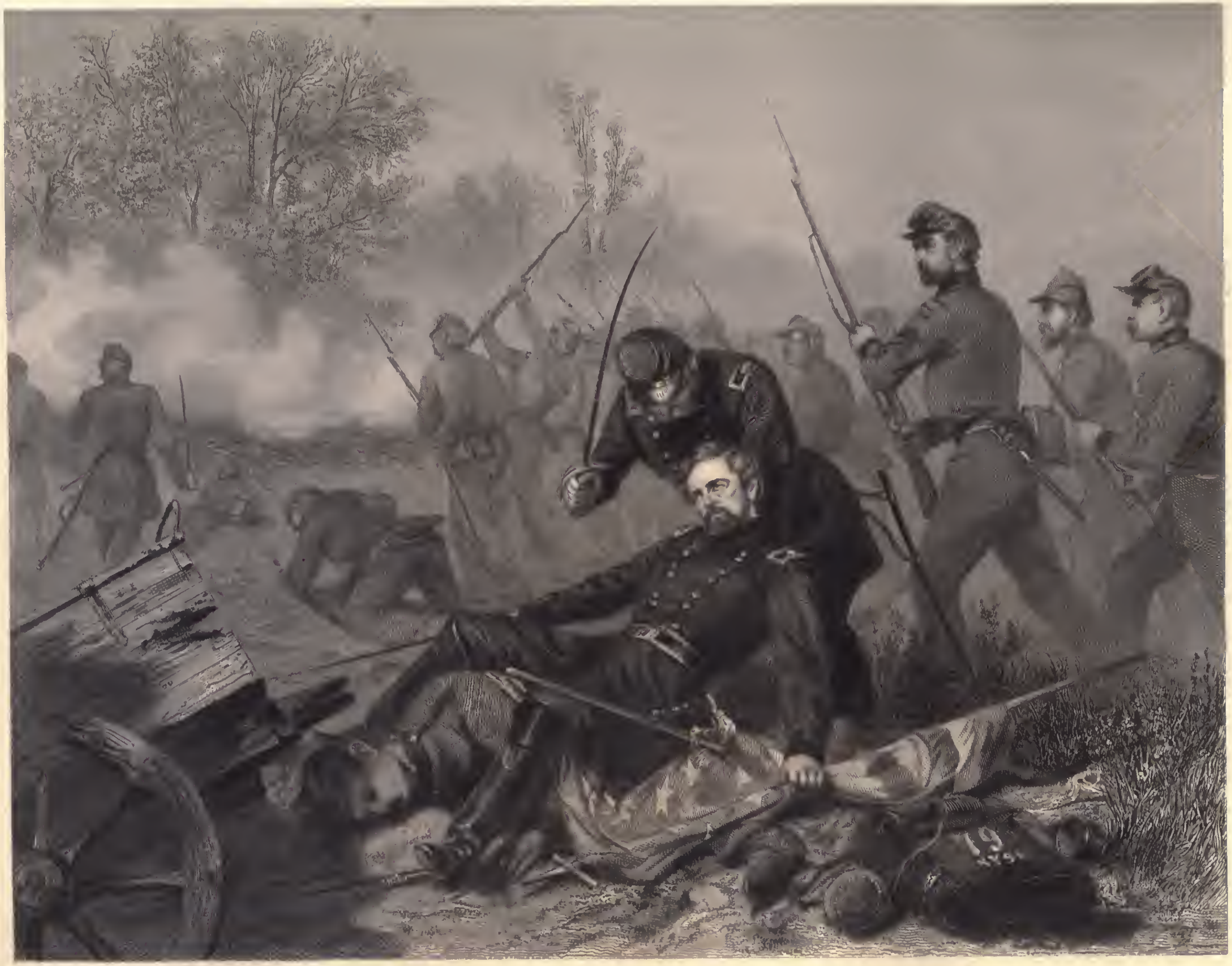
"About six o'clock in the afternoon, I heard, accidentally, that Franklin's corps had arrived at a point about four miles east of Centreville, and twelve miles in our rear, and that it was only about eight thousand strong. The result of the battle of the 30th, the very heavy losses we had suffered, and the complete prostration of our troops from hunger and fatigue, made it plain to me that we were no longer able, in the face of such overwhelming odds, to maintain our position so far to the front; nor could we have been able to do so under any circumstances, suffering as were the men and horses, from fatigue and hunger, and weakened by the heavy losses incident to the uncommon hardships which they had suffered. About eight o'clock at night, therefore, I sent written instructions to the commanders of corps to withdraw leisurely toward Centreville, and stated to them what route each should pursue, and where they should take post. General Reno was instructed, with his whole corps, to cover the movement of the army toward Centreville. The withdrawal was made slowly, quietly, and in good order, no pursuit whatever having been attempted by the enemy. A division of infantry, with its batteries, was posted to cover the crossing at Cub Run. The exact losses, in this battle, I am unable to give, as the reports received from the corps commanders only exhibit the aggregate losses during the whole of the operations from August 22d to September 2d. Before leaving the field that night, I sent orders to General Banks, at Bristow station, to destroy the railroad trains, and such of the stores in them as he was unable to carry off, and join me at Centreville. I had previously sent him orders to throw into each wagon of the army trains as much as possible of the stores from the railroad cars, and to be sure and bring off with him from Warrenton Junction and Bristow station, all the ammunition, and all the sick and wounded that could be transported, and for this purpose, if it were necessary, to throw out the personal baggage, tents, etc., from the regimental trains. At no time during August 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st, was the road between Bristow station and Centreville interrupted by the enemy. The whole of the trains of the army were on that road, in charge of General Banks, and covered and protected by his whole corps. If any of these wagons were lost, as I believe none were, it was wholly without necessity. I enter thus specifically into this matter, and submit the orders sent to General Banks, and his subsequent report to me, because no part of the misrepresentation of this campaign has been greater than the statement of our heavy loss of wagons and supplies. The orders submitted will show conclusively that every arrangement was made, in the utmost detail, for the security of our trains and supplies, and I am quite convinced that General Banks is not the man to neglect the duty with which he was charged.

"I arrived at Centreville between nine and ten o'clock on the night of the 30th. On the same night I sent orders to the corps commanders to report to me in person, as early after daylight as possible on the morning of the 31st, and on that morning the troops were directed to be posted as follows: Porter was to occupy the intrenchments on the north or right of Centreville; Franklin on his left, in the intrenchments; in rear of Centreville, between Franklin and Porter, as a support, was posted the corps of Heintzelman; Sigel occupied the intrenchments on the left and south side of the town, with Reno on his left and rear. Banks was ordered to take post, as soon as he arrived, on the north side of Bull Run, and to cover the bridge on the road from Centreville to Manassas Junction; Sumner, as soon as he arrived, was ordered to take post between Centreville and Chantilly, and to occupy Chantilly in force; McDowell was posted about two miles in the rear of Centreville, on the road to Fairfax Court House. Ammunition trains and some provisions were gotten up on the 31st, and all corps commanders were notified, by special order to each, that the ammunition trains were parked immediately in rear of Centreville, and were directed to send officers to procure such ammunition as was needed in their respective corps. I directed the whole of the trains of the army to be unloaded at Centreville, and sent to Fairfax station to bring up rations and forage. We remained during the whole day of the 31st, resting the men, getting up supplies of provisions, and re-supplying the commands with ammunition. The enemy's cavalry appeared in force in front of our advance at Cub Run, during the morning of the 31st, but made no attempt to cross, and no attack upon our troops posted there. A few pieces of artillery were fired, but with no result on either side.

"The whole force that I had at Centreville, as reported to me by the corps commanders, on the morning of the 1st of September, after receiving the corps of Sumner and Franklin, was as follows: McDowell's corps 10,000 men; Sigel's corps, about 7,000; Heintzelman's corps, about 6,000; Reno's, 6,000; Banks', 5,000; Sumner's, 11,000; Franklin's, 8,000—in all, 63,000 men. From these forces, two brigades, as I before stated, had been sent to Fairfax station, to guard the trains and the depot at that place, which makes it necessary to deduct four thousand men. It is proper for me to state here, and I do it with regret and reluctance, that at least one half of this great diminution of our forces was occasioned by skulking and straggling from the army. The troops which were brought into action fought with all gallantry and determination, but thousands of men straggled away from their commands, and were not in any action. I had posted several men in rear of the field of battle, on the 29th of August, and although many thousand stragglers and skulkers were arrested by them, many others passed round through the woods, and did not rejoin their commands during the remainder of the campaign. I had telegraphed to the General-in-Chief, from Rappahannock station, on the 22d, this practice of straggling was very common, and was reducing our force considerably, even at that time. I also sent orders, on the same day, to General Sturgis, to arrest all stragglers arriving at Alexandria; to confine them in military prisons, and to bring them to speedy trial. The active and incessant movements of the army prevented me, during the whole of this campaign, from giving that attention to the subject, except in orders, which ought to be, and must be given to it, to preserve efficiency and discipline among any troops. Our cavalry at Centreville was completely broken down, no horses whatever having reached us to remount it. Generals Buford and Bayard, commanding the whole of the cavalry force of the army, reported to me that there were not five horses to the company that could be forced into a trot. It was impossible, therefore, to cover our front with cavalry, or to make cavalry reconnoissances, as is usual and necessary in front of an army.

"I directed General Sumner, on the morning of the 1st of September, to push forward a reconnoisance of two brigades toward the Little River turnpike, to ascertain if the enemy were making any movements in the direction of Germantown or Fairfax Court House. The enemy was found moving again slowly toward our right, heavy columns of his force being in march toward Fairfax along Little River pike. The main body of our forces was so much broken down, and so completely exhausted, that they were in no condition, even on the 1st of September, for any active operations against the enemy; but I determined to attack at daylight on the 2d of September, in front of Chantilly. The movement of the enemy had become so developed by the afternoon of the 1st, and was so evidently directed to Fairfax Court House, with a view of turning my right, that I made the necessary disposition of troops to fight a battle between the Little River pike and the road from Centreville to Fairfax Court House. I sent General Hooker, early in the afternoon to Fairfax Court House, and directed him to assemble all the troops that were in the vicinity, and to push forward to Germantown with his advance. I directed McDowell to move back along the road to Fairfax Court House, as far as Difficult Creek, and to connect by his right with Hooker. Reno was to push forward to the north of the road from Centreville to Fairfax, in the direction of Chantilly. Heintzelman's corps was directed to take post on the road between Centreville and Fairfax, immediately in the rear of Reno. Franklin took post on McDowell's left and rear; Sumner was posted on the left of Heintzelman, while the corps of Sigel and Porter were directed to unite with the right of Sumner; Banks was instructed, with the wagon trains of the army, to pursue the old Braddock road, and come into the Alexandria turnpike in rear of Fairfax Court House. Just before sunset on the 1st, the enemy attacked us on our right, but was met by Hooker, McDowell, Reno, and Kearney's division, of Heintzelman's corps. A very severe action occurred in the midst of a terrific thunder-storm, and was terminated shortly after dark. The enemy was driven back entirely from our front, but during that engagement we lost two of the best, and one of our most distinguished officers—Major-General Kearney and Brigadier-General Stevens—who were both killed while gallantly leading their commands, and in front of their line of battle. It is unnecessary for me to say one word of commendation of two officers who were so well and widely known to the country. Words cannot express my sense of the zeal, the gallantry, and the sympathy of that most earnest and accomplished soldier, Major-General Kearney. In him the country has suffered a loss which it will be difficult, if not impossible to repair. He died as he would have wished to die, and as became his heroic character. On the morning of the 2d of September, the enemy still continuing his movements toward our right, my whole force was posted behind Difficult creek, from Flint Hill to the Alexandria turnpike. Although we were quite able to maintain our position at that place until the stragglers could be collected, and the army, after its labors and perils, put into condition for effective service, I considered it advisable, for reasons which developed themselves at Centreville, and were apparent to the General-in-Chief, that the troops should be drawn back to the intrenchments in front of Washington, and that some reorganization should be made of them, in order that earlier effective service should be secured than was possible in their condition at that time. I received orders about twelve o'clock on the 2d of September, to draw back the forces within the intrenchments, which was done in good order, and without any interruption by the enemy.

"It seems proper for me, since so much misrepresentation has been put into circulation as to the support I received from the army of the Potomac, to state precisely what forces of that army came under my command, and were at any



ATTACK AT CHANTILLY.—DEATH OF GEN. STEVENS.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers

time engaged in the active operations of the campaign. Reynolds' division of Pennsylvania Reserves, about 2,500 strong, joined me on the 23d of August, at Rappahannock station. The corps of Heintzelman and Porter, about 18,000 strong, joined me on the 26th and 27th of August at Warrenton Junction. The Pennsylvania Reserves, under Reynolds, and Heintzelman's corps, consisting of Hooker and Kearney, rendered most gallant and efficient service in all the operations which occurred after they had reported to me. Porter's corps, from unnecessary and unusual delays, and frequent and flagrant disregard of my orders, took no part whatever, except in the action of the 30th of August. This small fraction of 20,500 men was all of the 91,000 veteran troops from Harrison's Landing which ever drew trigger under my command, or in any way took part in that campaign. By the time that the corps of Franklin and Sumner, 19,000 strong, joined me at Centreville, the original army of Virginia, as well as the corps of Heintzelman and the division of Reynolds, had been so much cut up in the severe actions in which they had been engaged, and were so much broken down and diminished in numbers by the constant and excessive duties they had performed, that they were in little condition for any effective service whatever, and required, and should have had some days of rest to put them in anything like condition to perform their duties in the field."

Such, in his own language, is General Pope's history of this memorable campaign—a service, as he remarks, of peculiar difficulty, and likely to be little rewarded by popular applause, in proportion to its sacrifices. "To confront with a small army vastly superior forces," as he justly observes, "to fight battles without hope of victory, but only to gain time, and to embarrass and delay the forward movement of the enemy, is, of all duties the most hazardous and the most difficult which can be imposed upon any general, or any army." Happily, to the honor of the North, be it said, its praises and thanks were not exclusively reserved for victories alone. It had its congratulations for its able defenders, who, on more than one occasion overpowered by superior numbers, or suffering from those chances of the field proverbial in war, brought off their thinned and enfeebled ranks in an honorable retreat. This cheerful endurance of disaster, and encouragement of the men under defeat, was often reproachfully commented upon by English journalists; but it was, in reality, highly creditable to the nation which paid its tribute to worth, not always exacting good fortune as a test of merit. In this respect, at least, the sentiment was praiseworthy, that the men who fought and suffered the burdens of the day were sustained, though the campaign, from causes for which they were not answerable, might fail—thus refuting, for once, the old charge of the ingratitude of republics. Certainly, no soldiers who ever enjoyed a triumph better deserved one than the baffled defenders of the State, who, under the leadership of General Pope, in Virginia, in numerous brave conflicts, broke the efforts of the enemy, in their advance upon Washington, and, by the diversion which they effected, brought off the army of the Potomac in safety, on its withdrawal from the James river. The Union loss in these engagements, in stern encounter with the foe, bears witness to the heroism with which, in the midst of severe labors and disasters, the national cause was upheld.

General Pope, in the narrative which we have cited, expresses his sense of the loss the country sustained in the death of Major-General Kearney and Brigadier-General Stevens, in the engagement at Chantilly. Kearney was, emphatically, an active officer in the field. On a previous page we have noticed his education, his voluntary zeal for the military profession, his services in Mexico, and have seen his brilliant conduct in the foremost of the fight, through McClellan's campaign in the Peninsula, at Williamsburg, at Fair Oaks, and through those perilous, hard-fought days of the retreat to Malvern Hill. Among the first of the army of the Potomac again to take the field with General Pope, in the last week of his life he was constantly in action with his division, which he ever brought off in triumph. His death was a heroic act of self-sacrifice. The circumstances are thus narrated: While he was engaged in supporting Reno's division "he was apprised that the troops had given way on his left, and that there was a gap between their flanks which the enemy were occupying. He rode forward to see for himself if it could be so, telling his orderly and aids to keep back, that he might be unnoticed. He left them and did not return. They supposed him safe but a prisoner. But the next morning General Lee sent in a flag of truce with his body."* The remains of General Kearney were brought to New York, and interred in the family vault, in the churchyard of old Trinity on Broadway.

The death of General Stevens was equally heroic. Transferred from South Carolina, where we have seen him actively engaged, to North Carolina, he accompanied Reno's corps to Virginia, joined General Pope's army, and was prominent in the brilliant actions of that brief campaign. A correspondent thus narrates the circumstances of his death on the field of Chantilly: "The army was retreating from Centreville. The battle was fought against a rebel force that had penetrated five miles nearer Washington than our rear, and was moving to strike upon the flank. General Stevens' division, the advance of Reno's corps, was on the left of the road taken by the trains, and intercepted the enemy. He saw that the rebels must be beaten back at once, or during the night they would stampede the wagons, and, probably, so disconcert our retreat that the last divisions would fall a prey to their main force. He decided to attack immediately, at the same time sending back for support. Having made his dispositions, he led the attack on foot, at the head of the 79th (Highlanders). Soon meeting a withering fire, and the color sergeant, Sandy Campbell, a grizzled old Scotchman, being wounded, they faltered. One of the color guard took up the flag, when the general snatched it from him. The wounded Highlander at his feet cried: 'For God's sake, General, don't *you* take the colors; they'll shoot you if you do!' The answer was, 'Give me the colors! If they don't follow now, they never will;' and he sprang forward, crying, 'We are all Highlanders; follow, Highlanders! forward, *my* Highlanders!' The Highlanders did follow their Scottish chief, but while sweeping forward a ball struck him on his right temple. He died instantly. An hour afterward, when taken up, his hands were still clenched around the flagstaff. A moment after seizing the colors, his son, Captain Hazzard Stevens, fell, wounded, and cried to his father that he was hurt. With but a glance back, that Roman father said: 'I can't attend to you now, Hazzard. Corporal Thompson, see to my boy.' The language I have given as General Stevens' was taken down upon the field by a member of his staff. He had often remarked that if it were his fate to fall in battle, he hoped he should be shot through the temple and die instantly."*

Colonel Fletcher Webster, of the 12th Massachusetts regiment of volunteers, also fell in the second battle of Bull Run, on the 30th of August. He was the eldest and only surviving son of the eminent statesman, his younger brother having fallen in the war with Mexico. Educated at Dartmouth College, he had been employed as Assistant Secretary of State at Washington while his father held that office, and had subsequently accompanied Caleb Cushing to China as secretary of Legation. At the first call for volunteers, in Boston, he raised a regiment and, proceeding to the Potomac, was in honorable service till his death on the field. Colonel George W. Pratt, of the 20th New York State volunteers, fell on the 30th of August, at the battle near Gainesville. The son of Zadock Pratt, an eminent public-spirited citizen of New York, he brought to the service the finest qualifications of the gentleman and scholar. A good linguist, accomplished by foreign travel in early manhood, he left the luxuries of wealth and literature at his home on the Hudson river at the call of his country, and honorably fell, at the head of his men, in a charge upon the enemy. Colonel John A. Koltes, acting brigadier in General Steinwehr's division, a native of Prussia, a gentleman of liberal education, who had shown his devotion to the Union by raising a regiment of his countrymen in Pennsylvania, also fell in this engagement much regretted. Yet another victim of these disastrous days was Colonel Thornton F. Brodhead, a native of New Hampshire, an officer of the regular army, at the time of his death on the field at Manassas, on the 30th of August, in command of the 1st Michigan Cavalry regiment. Colonel Brodhead distinguished himself in the Mexican war. Returning to civil life, he resumed his profession of the law. He was also known as a politician, having served in the Legislature of Michigan, and held an office at Detroit under the administration of President Pierce.

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* Sketch of the Career of General Kearney. *New York Times*, Sept. 6, 1862.

* Special Correspondence *New York Tribune*. Washington, Sept. 5, 1862.

The Confederate General Lee, on the night of the 30th, thus announced to President Jefferson Davis the engagement of that and the previous days: "The army of Northern Virginia achieved to-day, on the plains of Manassas, a signal victory over the combined forces of Generals McClellan and Pope. On the 28th and 29th each wing, under Generals Longstreet and Jackson, repulsed with valor attacks made on them separately. We mourn the loss of our gallant dead in every conflict, yet our gratitude to Almighty God for his mercies rises higher each day. To Him and to the valor of our troops a nation's gratitude is due." This dispatch was communicated to the Confederate Congress, then sitting at Richmond, with the following message: "I have the gratification of presenting to Congress two dispatches from General Robert E. Lee, commanding the army of Northern Virginia, communicating the result of the operations north of the Rappahannock. From these despatches it will be seen that God has again extended his shield over our patriotic army, and has blessed the cause of the Confederacy with a second signal victory on the field already memorable by the gallant achievement of our troops. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the skill and daring of the commanding-general who conceived, or the valor and hardihood of the troops who executed, the brilliant movement whose result is now communicated. After having driven from their intrenchments an enemy superior in numbers, and relieved from siege the city of Richmond, as heretofore communicated, our toil-worn troops advanced to meet another invading army, reinforced, not only by the defeated army of General McClellan, but by the fresh corps of Generals Burnside and Hunter. After forced marches with inadequate transportation, and across streams swollen to unusual height, by repeated combats they turned the position of the enemy, and forming a junction of their columns in the face of greatly superior forces, they fought the decisive battle of the 30th, the crowning triumph of their toil and valor."

General Pope, having brought this difficult campaign to a conclusion, urgently applied to the Government to be relieved, and was, in consequence, transferred to the department of the North-West, for which he left Washington on the 7th of September. The charges against Major-Gen. Fitz John Porter, indicated in his report of misconduct before the enemy, were formally brought by Gen. Pope before a court martial, which, after 45 days session in Washington, ending in January, 1863, pronounced a verdict of guilty on the main points, with the sentence that the accused be "cashiered, and be forever disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit under the government of the United States." At the request of President Lincoln, the "Proceedings, Findings, and Sentence" were reviewed by the Hon. Joseph Holt, who now held the office of Judge Advocate General. On the delivery of his written opinion, an elaborate paper which was at once given to the press—the sentence was approved by the President.

Whilst this court-martial was held at the capital, another, at the same place, was sitting in judgment on the conduct of General McDowell in the campaign. A letter from that officer to President Lincoln, dated September 6, 1862, sets forth the motive of this investigation, which was made purely at the request of General McDowell: "I have been informed by a Senator," he writes, "that he has seen a note in pencil, written by a colonel of cavalry, mortally wounded in the recent battle, stating, among other causes, that 'he was dying, a victim to McDowell's treachery,' and that his last request was that this note might be shown to you. That the colonel believed this charge, and felt that his last act on earth was a great public service, there can be, I think, no question. This solemn accusation, from the grave of a gallant officer who died for his country, is entitled to great consideration, and I feel called upon to endeavor to meet it as well as so general a charge, from one now no longer able to support it, can be met. I therefore beg you to please cause a court to be instituted for its investigation; and, in the absence of any knowledge whatever as to the particular act or acts, time or place, or general conduct, the deceased may have had in view, I have to ask that the inquiry be without limitation, and be upon any point and every subject which may, in any way, be supposed to have led to this belief; that it may be directed to my whole conduct as a general officer, either under another, or while in a separate command, whether on matters of administration or command—to my correspondence with any of the enemy's commanders, or with any one within the enemy's lines—to my conduct, and the policy pursued by me toward the inhabitants of the country occupied by our troops with reference to themselves or their property; and, further, to any imputations of indirect treachery or disloyalty toward the nation, or any individual having, like myself, an important trust—whether I have or have not been faithful as a subordinate to those placed over me, giving them heartily and to the best of my capacity, all the support in my power; and whether I have or have not failed, through unworthy personal motives, to go to the aid of, or send reinforcements to my brother commanders. That this subject of my alleged treachery or disloyalty may be fully inquired into, I beg that all officers, soldiers, or civilians, who know, or think they know, of any act of mine liable to the charge in question, be allowed and invited to make it known to the court. I also beg that the proceedings of the court may be open and free to the press from day to day." The dying officer alluded to in this frank and candid request, which expresses in every word the impulses of a man of honor—was Colonel Brodhead, whose death we have recorded among the victims of the second battle of Bull Run. The court examined a great number of witnesses, and passed in review the whole course of General McDowell's military administration from August, 1861, when he entered on the command of a division under General McClellan, through the period of his separation from that officer, and his independent command of the Department of the Rappahannock, to the last scenes of his campaign with General Pope. His correspondence with the enemy, and conduct towards the inhabitants of the country occupied by his forces, were duly investigated and found irreproachable. His loyalty and sound discipline being thus established, an old charge of drunkenness was, in like manner, but more summarily, disposed of. Indeed, nothing could be more ridiculous than this last instance of popular misrepresentation, the General, a man of singularly fine physique, and sound health, habitually carrying temperance to abstemiousness. In the military movements of the last days of August his conduct was pronounced energetic, and free from any imputation of an unworthy motive. In regard to "the charge of disloyalty made by an officer of the rank of colonel, after being fatally wounded in battle: It was made in general terms, without defining any specific act. The accuser is dead, and the court does not feel at liberty to say more of it than that it is utterly destitute of any foundation in fact; that it is fully disproved by all the evidence bearing on the point, and that the dying officer who made it must have been the subject of deplorable misapprehension, like many others who have formed opinions from calumnious rumors and presumptions." Indeed, the exculpation of General McDowell was thorough and complete.*

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* Findings and Opinions of the Court of Inquiry in the case of General McDowell. Washington, D. C., February 14, 1863.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

GEN. BUTLER'S DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF. NAVAL AND MILITARY EVENTS ON THE MISSISSIPPI, AT VICKSBURG, BATON ROUGE AND ELSEWHERE. MAY—OCTOBER, 1862.

The military administration of General Butler in New Orleans, narrated with all its appropriate details, would furnish one of the most curious and instructive lessons of the character, "the natural history" of the rebellion, and its cost to the insurgents in the necessities imposed upon the officers of the government for its suppression. The attitude taken by the mayor and common council at the time of Commodore Farragut's capture of the city—acknowledging their inability to defend, and yet refusing to surrender, and thus maintaining a contemptuous spirit of independence, was most unfriendly to the pacific overtures made to the inhabitants, and their real welfare. The city had long been the scene of mob violence, and this insulting action of the authorities, seeking to connect the rebellion with a sentiment of honor, was well calculated to encourage the prevalent spirit of lawlessness. The army which had been expelled had taken refuge in the neighboring country, and was ready, at any moment, on the first sign of weakness within, to attempt the recapture of the city. The situation required a military ruler of sagacity and determination; a man of expedients, who would meet, on the instant, novel circumstances; one who could and would contest faction, and suppress revolt in the bud; whose personal energy and resources would supplement the small numbers of the limited army left for the occupation of the conquered region. Such a man was found in General Butler.

His proclamation on entering upon the administration, dated the 1st of May, announced the objects of the occupation—"to restore order, maintain public tranquillity, enforce peace and quiet under the laws and Constitution of the United States." For this purpose, at the outset, the city was declared under martial law. "Thrice before," was the language of the proclamation, "has the city of New Orleans been rescued from the hands of a foreign government and still more calamitous domestic insurrection, by the money and arms of the United States. It has, of late, been under the military control of the rebel forces, and at each time, in the judgment of the commanders of the military forces holding it, it has been found necessary to preserve order and maintain quiet by an administration of martial law. Even during the interim from its evacuation by the rebel soldiers and its actual possession by the soldiers of the United States, the civil authorities have found it necessary to call for the intervention of an armed body known as the 'European Legion,' to preserve the public tranquillity. The commanding general, therefore, will cause the city to be governed, until the restoration of the United States authority and his further orders, by martial law." All persons in arms were required to surrender themselves with their equipments; all flags or devices in conflict with the authority of the United States were suppressed: the American ensign, it was especially enjoined, "must be treated with the utmost respect by all persons under pain of severe punishment. A liberal amnesty was offered to former adherents to the Confederate government, or who had been in its service: on laying down their arms and separating themselves from the enemies of the United States they were not to be "disturbed in person or property, except so far under orders of the commanding general as exigencies of the public service may render necessary"—a condition which held them in a measure as hostages for the good behavior of others whom they might naturally be supposed to have the power or influence to control. In view of the angry threats which prevailed, it was declared that "the killing of an American soldier by any disorderly persons or mob, is simply assassination and murder, and not war." The owner of the house where such murder shall be committed was to be held responsible, and the house to be liable to destruction. Civil causes were to be referred to the ordinary tribunals; all others, in any way affecting the forces or laws of the United States, were to be submitted to the military court. By a special provision Confederate bank notes were to be allowed for a time in circulation, the reason being given that their suppression would cause great distress among the poorer classes who had no other substitute for money; "such circulation will be permitted so long as any one will be inconsiderate enough to receive them, until further orders." This permission was formally withdrawn at the end of the month. No publication was to be allowed of a seditious influence; a censorship of the press was established for the examination of all war articles and correspondence. Local regulations for the preservation of the peace of the city were prescribed in detail. The proclamation, in fact, was an exceedingly business-like document, of a direct practical character, with few or no generalities. The closing sentence intimated, however, the writer's view of the situation: "While it is the desire of these authorities to exercise this government mildly, and after the usages of the past, it must not be supposed that it will not be vigorously and firmly administered as the occasion calls."

Before the proclamation could be published one of its provisions was required to be enforced—that regulating the press. The newspapers of the city refused to print it, when a guard was sent to the office of the *True Delta*, with a band of printers from the New England regiments, who speedily put the document in type for the next morning's issue of that journal.

One of the earliest duties of General Butler, was making provision for the wants of the mechanics and working classes of the city who had been deprived of employment by the rebellion. Their necessities had to be supplied, and the General, while looking round for the means of meeting them, hailed the opportune capture of a large quantity of stores intended for the rebels in the field. This he promptly ordered to be distributed to the suffering classes, availing himself of the occasion to brand with scorching invective the authors of the destitution, in their work of disorganization of the national industry. "This hunger," said he, in a general order on the 9th of May, "does not pinch the wealthy and influential, the leaders of the rebellion, who have gotten up this war, and are now endeavoring to prosecute it, without regard to the starving poor, the working man, his wife and child. Unmindful of their suffering fellow-citizens at home, they have caused or suffered provisions to be carried out of the city for the Confederate service since the occupation by the United States forces. Lafayette square, their home of affluence, was made the depot of stores and munitions of war for the rebel armies, and not of provisions for their poor neighbors Striking hands with the vile, the gambler, the idler, and the ruffian, they have destroyed the sugar and cotton which might have been exchanged for food for the industrious and good, and regrated the price of that which is left, by discrediting the very currency they had furnished, while they eloped with the specie; as well that stolen from the United States, as the banks, the property of the good people of New Orleans, thus leaving them to ruin and starvation. Fugitives from justice, many of them, and others, their associates, staying, because too puerile and insignificant to be objects of punishment by the clement government of the United States. They have betrayed their country, they have been false to every trust. They have shown themselves incapable of defending the State they have seized upon, although they have forced every poor man's child into their service as soldiers for that purpose, while they made their sons and nephews officers. They cannot protect those whom they have ruined, but have left them to the mercies and assassinations of a chronic mob. They will not feed those whom they are starving. Mostly without property themselves, they have plundered, stolen, and destroyed the means of those who had property, leaving children penniless and old age hopeless. Men of Louisiana, workingmen, property-holders, merchants, and citizens of the United States, of whatever nation you may have had birth, how long will you uphold these flagrant wrongs, and, by inaction, suffer yourselves to be made the serfs of these leaders? The United States have sent land and naval forces here to fight and subdue rebellious armies in array against her authority. We find, substantially, only fugitive masses, runaway property owners, a whiskey-drinking mob, and starving citizens, with their wives and children. It is our duty to call back the first, to punish the second, root out the third, feed and protect the last. Ready only for what we had not prepared ourselves, to feed the hungry, and relieve the distressed with provisions. But to the extent possible within the power of the commanding general it shall be done."

It was the policy of General Butler, as he said on his return to the North, "to deal kindly with the workingmen;" and he found a return in their support.

Within the first month of his administration, 14,000 of "those who compose the bone and sinew of New Orleans," took the oath of allegiance. One thousand were employed every day in the improvement of the condition of the city, to the great benefit of its sanitary condition, and the health of its inhabitants, which was preserved in an extraordinary degree. No less than 34,000 persons were daily fed at the government expense. This large number was composed of about 10,000 families, some 1,200 of whom were Americans, 4,000 British sub- and the rest French, Spanish, German, Italian, etc. The fund for this outlay was provided by assessments and confiscation of rebel property, which was diligently ferreted out to meet this and other requirements of the public service. Certain wealthy cotton factors, who had advised the planters not to bring in their cotton, "for the purpose of forcing foreign intervention," were fined $350,000 for the relief fund, and 25 per cent was assessed on "another set of men" who had subscribed a million and a quarter of dollars for the defence of the city. A large amount of specie, $800,000, was seized on the 10th of May by order of General Butler, at the office of the Consulate of the Netherlands. The money, it was alleged, wrongfully held by the Confederates for the purposes of the rebellion, was placed there to protect it from the operation of the laws of the United States. The person of the Consul was subjected to some indignity in taking possession. This act brought out a protest from the consuls of France and other European powers in the city, as a violation of treaty rights, to which General Butler replied: "No person can exceed me in the respect I shall pay to the flags of all nations, and to the consulate authority, even while I do not recognize many claims made under them; but I wish it most distinctly understood, that, in order to be respected, the consul, his office, and the use of his flag, must each and all be respected." This act of General Butler became a subject of much interest in diplomatic correspondence. The Honorable Reverdy Johnson, of Baltimore, was sent to New Orleans as a special commissioner, to examine into the matter, and, on his report, the money was restored to its foreign claimants.

To the consuls of Spain, France, Belgium, Greece, Italy, and Switzerland, on a subsequent occasion protesting against the order requiring the oath of allegiance from all persons desiring protection of their property, General Butler having concluded his legal argument on the subject, wrote: "Now, if any citizen or foreigner, means to 'conceal' rebellious or traitorous acts against the United States, in the sense above given, it will be much more for his personal comfort that he gets out of this department at once. Indeed, gentlemen, if any subject of a foreign state does not like our laws, or the administration of them, he has an immediate, effectual, and appropriate remedy in his own hands, alike pleasant to him and to us; and that is, not to annoy his consul with complaints of those laws, or the administration of them, or his consul wearying the authorities with verbose protests, but simply to go home —'stay not on the order of his going, but go at once.' Such a person came here without our invitation; he will be parted with without our regrets. But he must not have committed crimes against our laws, and then expect to be allowed to go home to escape the punishment of those crimes. I must beg, gentlemen, that no more argumentative protests against my orders be sent to me by you as a body. If any consul has anything to offer for my consideration, he will easily learn the proper mode of presenting it. It is no part of your duties or your rights."

Another order of General Butler, issued on the 15th, a few days after the entrance of the Dutch consul's premises, was productive of still greater animadversion. In the peculiar state of feeling causing and engendered by the rebellion, it had been the habit with a portion of the female population of the South to express their contempt for the United States officers who, in the course of the discharge of their public duties, visited their cities and towns. Many actions of this kind, in the nature of insults, were reported, from the very beginning of the war, at Baltimore, in Virginia, in Tennessee, and wherever the national troops penetrated at the South. Instances of rudeness, and positive insult, were constantly occurring. Of course, no lady with a proper feeling of self-respect would seek to attract the attention of a stranger by any act of approval or censure, but there were many pursuing a contrary course, who had no hesitation in going far beyond the bounds of delicacy, inflamed by spite, or mortification, or a false sense of the service they were rendering their beloved rebellion. As a social grievance, the conduct of the sex towards the officers became, in many instances, insupportable. They could not appear in public without encountering some unseemly word or gesture of contempt. It was even carried to the extent of "deliberately spitting in the faces of the Union soldiers, and upon their uniforms."* Gen. Butler, who had given his pledge in his proclamation that the national flag should be respected "by all persons," was not disposed to see his army—a living embodiment of the flag—habitually treated with insult. It was not politic, nor had he any inclination, to wage a ceaseless war with women; but, the occasion, he thought, demanded something to be done, and with characteristic boldnesss and sagacity, he resolved to touch their pride by branding, in the most emphatic manner, their discreditable conduct.

> Namque, etsi nullum memorabile nomen,
> Feminea in pena est nec habet victoria laudem,
> Exstinxisse nefas tamen et sumsisse merentes
> Laudabor pœnas.

He accordingly issued from headquarters the following order No. 28: "As officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from women calling themselves ladies of New Orleans, in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered, hereafter, when any female shall, by mere gesture or movement, insult, or show contempt for any officers or soldiers of the United States, she shall be regarded, and held liable to be treated, as a woman about town, plying her vocation." The penalty to which such a "woman" was liable under the municipal regulations of the city, was imprisonment in the calaboose; but it was with no design of inflicting punishment of this nature that the order was issued. It was simply a species of *reductio ad absurdum*, exposing the conduct of the women in the strongest light, and making it impossible, by making it thoroughly disreputable. It was on the same principle with the edict of a sovereign of Spain, who, finding his sumptuary laws of no avail in checking the extravagance of the ladies of his kingdom, decreed that a certain luxury of dress should be appropriated to courtezans. It was a delicate remedy but it proved effectual.

Few persons, however, at the South, in their unfriendly state of mind, were disposed to recognize the severe practical humor of the order of General Butler. They chose to take it up in the worst construction of which its somewhat unguarded language was susceptible. Foremost among these was Mayor Munroe, who, since his extraordinary correspondence at the surrender of the city, had still continued to exercise the mutilated functions of his office. Immediately on the publication of the obnoxious document, he addressed the following letter to General Butler: "Sir—Your general order No. 28, is of a character so extraordinary and astonishing that I cannot, holding the office of chief magistrate of this city, chargeable with its peace and dignity, suffer it to be promulgated in our presence without protesting against the threat it contains, which has already aroused the passions of our people, and must exasperate them to a degree beyond control. Your officers and soldiers are permitted, by the terms of this order, to place any construction they may please upon the conduct of our wives and daughters, and upon such construction, to offer them atrocious insults. The peace of the city, and the safety of your officers and soldiers from harm or insult, have, I affirm, been successfully secured, to an extent enabling them to move through our streets almost unnoticed, according to the understanding and agreement entered into between yourself and the city authorities. I did not, however, anticipate a war upon women and children, who, so far as I am aware, have only manifested their displeasure at the occupation of their city by those whom they believe to be their enemies, and I will never undertake to be responsible for the peace of New Orleans while such an edict, which infuriates our citizens, remains in force. To give a license to the officers and soldiers of your command to commit outrages such as are indicated in your order upon defenceless women, is, in my judgment, a reproach to the civilization, not to say, to the Christianity of the age, in whose name I make this protest." To this remonstrance General Butler replied by the following authoritative order: "John T. Monroe, late Mayor of the city of New Orleans, is relieved from all responsibility for the peace of the city, and is suspended from the exercise of any official functions, and committed to Fort Jackson until further orders." This demonstrative reply brought the mayor to headquarters, when General Butler remonstrated with him on his perversion and misrepresentation of his language, and demanded from him an apology if he would escape the visit to Fort Jackson. The mayor, apparently convinced, withdrew his letter, admitting in writing that his communication had been sent under a mistake of fact, and that it was "improper in language." To his verbal explanations to the mayor, General Butler added the following letter: "Sir—There can be, there has been, no room for misunderstanding of general order No. 28. No lady will take any notice of a strange gentleman, and *a fortiori* of a stranger, simply in such form as to attract attention. Common women do. Therefore, whatever woman, lady, or mistress, gentle or simple, who, by gesture, look, or word, insults, shows contempt for, thus attracting to herself the notice of my officers and soldiers, will be deemed to act as becomes her vocation as a common woman, and will be liable to be treated accordingly. This was most fully explained to you at my office. I shall not, as I have not, abated a single word of that order; it was well considered; if obeyed, will protect the true and modest woman from all possible insult. The others will take care of themselves. You can publish your letter if you publish this note and your apology." Matters here rested till the next day, when the mayor again presented himself at headquarters, desirous of withdrawing his apology, or obtaining a modification of the order. General Butler thereupon "told him unequivocally that he had nothing to modify; that he was not sorry for what he had written; that he would not withdraw it if he could, and could not if he would; but, at the request of the mayor, the General gave him permission to publish the offensive letter and the apology, and to add that the order applied only to those women who had insulted by word, look, or gesture, the officers or soldiers of the United States army. He also told him that he could append to the correspondence the startling fact that 'water is wet' and 'blackbirds are black'—a delicate piece of satire, that I fear was entirely lost upon the obtuse intelligence of the magistrate. After an explanation from the General that would have been thoroughly clear to the comprehension of a child, the mayor left, apparently satisfied; but, Saturday night, he again sent the General a letter, the counterpart of the first. Yesterday morning he was again at headquarters, with several of his friends, including Judge Kennedy, John McClellan, Chief of Police, and D. G. Duncan. The mayor demanded the right to withdraw his apology, and General Butler granted it; but informed Mr. Mayor that he had played with the United States authority long enough, and now he had got to go to Fort Jackson. The other parties named above, admitting their approval of the mayor's conduct, were also sent to Fort Jackson."* By order of General Butler, Brigadier-General Shepley, of Maine, who had, since its occupation by the army, filled the duties of military commandant of the city, was appointed, "in the absence of the late mayor," to discharge the duties of that official. He accordingly issued a proclamation calling upon all good citizens for aid, and proceeded to administer the government of New Orleans with new vigor and efficiency. In the maintenance of good order, and in the prompt enforcement of sanitary regulations which warded off the threatened pestilence of midsummer, the city, doubtless, gained much by the change.

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* New Orleans Correspondence of the *New York Evening Post*, June 25, 1862.

Meanwhile, General Butler's order No. 28 was bruited about the world by the friends of the South, or those who, from interest or other motives, were inclined to look askance upon his proceedings, as an utterly wanton and brutal manifesto. The first that was heard of it at the North was through the rebel lines by way of Corinth, where General Beauregard seized upon it with avidity to inflame the passions of his troops. He ordered it to be read on dress parade, adding, "Men of the South, shall our mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters, be thus outraged by the ruffianly soldiers of the North, to whom is given the right to treat, at their pleasure, the ladies of the South as common harlots? Arouse, friends, and drive back from our soil these infamous invaders of our homes, and disturbers of our family ties." This was, perhaps, to be expected from the author of the "Beauty and Booty" proclamation before Washington, and, something, perhaps, was to be allowed to an officer hard pressed in the proverbially unscrupulous game of war; but there was, surely, little reason for the virtuous indignation shown on the occasion in the British Parliament. In the House of Lords, on the 13th of June, Earl Clarendon called attention to the famous order of General Butler, condemning it, as without precedent in the annals of war, and asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs if he had information on the order, and if he had protested against it. Earl Russell replied, that the government believed the proclamation was authentic, and hoped that the American government would, for its own sake, refuse its sanction to it, and disavow it. "The proclamation," he said, "was important to the whole world. The usages of war should not be aggravated by proclamations of this character. He thought that such a proclamation, addressed to a force which had just captured a hostile city, was likely to lead to great brutality." The Premier, Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons, "thought that no man could read the proclamation without feelings of the deepest indignation. It was a proclamation to which he did not scruple to attach the epithet of infamous. An Englishman must blush to think such an act had been committed by a man belonging to the Anglo-Saxon race. If it had sprung from some barbarous people not within the pale of civilization, one might have regretted it, but would not have been surprised. But that such an order should have been issued by a soldier—by a man who had raised himself to the rank of a general—was a subject not less of astonishment than pain. He could not bring himself to believe that the government of the United States would not, as soon as they had notice of the order, have stamped it with their censure and condemnation." If the order had escaped the notice of the Administration at Washington, it was felt to be the duty of Her Majesty's government to remedy the deficiency. In the absence of Lord Lyons, Mr. Stuart, in pursuance of advices from Earl Russell, brought up the delicate subject in "a very courteous manner" in conversation with the American Secretary of State. Mr. Seward, not disinclined to a jest, in a letter to Mr. Adams, in his published diplomatic correspondence, has recorded his reply: "I answered him, that we must ask his government, in reading that proclamation, to adopt a rule of construction which the British nation had elevated to the dignity of a principle, and made it the motto of their national arms—*Honi soit qui mal y pense.* That it was not until a gross construction of the order was brought to the knowledge of this government that we saw that the proclamation contained *un double entendre.* That gross meaning the government, of course, rejected, and it regretted that in the haste of composition a phraseology which could be mistaken or perverted had been used. I was happy, however, to inform him that all sensibility about the order seemed to have passed away, and no complaints were now heard of any impropriety of conduct on the part of the ladies of New Orleans."*

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* Correspondence *New York Herald*. New Orleans, May 20, 1862.

If the proclamation was so read by Her Majesty's government, it was not to be wondered at that it afforded an easy topic for a burst of affected moral indignation from the London press. The *Saturday Review*, a journal of the best educated classes, took the lead in this gratuitous misrepresentation. The offence of General Butler, who was represented as treating the ladies of a conquered city "as Alaric's soldiers treated the nuns of Rome, or as the Sepoys were said to have treated our countrywomen at Delhi," was compared with the outrage against humanity of the cruel Haynau, the Austrian flogger of women. "He outraged but one victim; and his cruelty left no stain upon his fame. No commander of any civilized nation in the world, up to this time, has carried his contempt for manly feeling so far as, deliberately, for the purposes of repression, long after the excitement of battle was over, to let loose the lusts of men upon the women who had fallen into his hands. In this, as in other matters, the model Republic has been the bearer of a new revelation to mankind." Such was the spirit with which the cause of America had to contend in England, where, indeed, there was little sympathy shown with General Butler, at any time, in his energetic efforts for the suppression of the rebellion. On the spot where the order of General Butler was intended to suppress a great social nuisance, it is described as operating like a charm. "It at once executed itself." Soldiers passed through the street without fear of insult, while not a single complaint was preferred of the ill-conduct of a soldier to the sex.*

Another occasion occurred in which the sex was implicated, however, calling for some severity from General Butler. A highly meritorious young army officer, of an eminent family of New York, Lieutenant George C. De Kay, son of Commodore De Kay, of the United States navy, having been treacherously shot at on the 26th of May, by the enemy at Grand Gulf, Mississippi, was brought to New Orleans, where his wounds were tended with the greatest anxiety. All the circumstances of his case, his youth, family, personal bravery, and frank, manly character, were calculated to call forth, as they did, peculiar sympathy. The injuries which he had received proved fatal. He died on the 27th of June, and it was arranged that his funeral should take place the next day at Christ Church. On the way thither the procession passed the residence of Mrs. Phillips, on Charles street, who, it will be remembered, had rendered herself obnoxious to a long-suffering government by her conduct, in sympathy with the rebellion, at the national capital. She had since found her way to New Orleans, and now, it would appear, took the opportunity, as the remains of a gallant officer were carried by the balcony on which she sat, to deride the procession in a marked and intentionally offensive manner. At the church, also, various indignities were offered by a rabble who had occupied the seats, among whom were women with secession badges. General Butler was absent from the city at the time, but returning a day or two after, fired at the insult, summoned Mrs. Phillips before him. The result is shown in his order of June 30, which narrates the circumstances of the affair. "Mrs. Phillips, wife of Philip Phillips, having been once imprisoned for her traitorous proclivities and acts at Washington, and released by the clemency of the government, and having been found training her children to spit upon officers of the United States, for which act of one of those children both her husband and herself apologized, and were again forgiven, is now found on the balcony of her house during the passage of the funeral procession of Lieutenant De Kay, laughing and mocking at his remains, and upon being inquired of by the commanding General if this fact were so, contemptuously replies—'I was in good spirits that day:' It is therefore ordered that she be not 'regarded and treated as a common woman,' of whom no officer or soldier is bound to take notice, but as an uncommon, bad, and dangerous woman, stirring up strife and inciting to riot; and that, therefore, she be confined at Ship Island, in the State of Mississippi, within proper limits there, until further orders, and that she be allowed one female servant, and no more, if she so choose. That one of the houses for hospital purposes be assigned her as quarters, and a soldier's ration each day be served out to her, with the means of cooking the same, and that no verbal or written communication be allowed with her, except through this office, and that she be kept in close confinement until removed to Ship Island."

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* Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams. Washington, July 9, 1862.

* Letter from "one of the most distinguished men now in Louisiana." *New York Evening Post*, June 25, 1862.

A few days after, writing to a friend at Boston, General Butler thus reviewed the circumstances under which his orders in regard to the women of New Orleans, had been issued: "I am as jealous," he wrote, "of the good opinion of my friends as I am careless of the slanders of my enemies, and your kind expressions in regard to Order No. 28, leads me to say a word to you on the subject. That it ever could have been so misconceived as it has been by some portions of the Northern press is wonderful, and would lead one to exclaim with the Jew: 'O, Father Abraham, what these Christians are, whose own hard dealings teach them to suspect the very thoughts of others!' What was the state of things to which the woman order applied? We were two thousand five hundred men in a city seven miles long, by two to four wide, of a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, all hostile, bitter, defiant, explosive—standing, literally, on a magazine, a spark only needed for destruction. The devil had entered the hearts of the women of this town (you know seven of them chose Mary Magdalene for a residence), to stir up strife in every way possible. Every opprobrious epithet, every insulting gesture, was made by these bejeweled, becrinolined, and laced creatures, calling themselves ladies, toward my soldiers and officers, from the windows of houses and in the streets. How long do you suppose our flesh and blood could have stood this without retort? That would lead to disturbances and riot, from which we must clear the streets with artillery—and then a howl that we had murdered these fine women. I had arrested the men who hurraed for Beauregard. Could I arrest the women? No. What was to be done? No order could be made save one that would execute itself. With anxious, careful thought, I hit upon this: 'Women who insult my soldiers are to be regarded and treated as common women plying their vocation.' Pray how do you treat a common woman plying her vocation in the streets? You pass her by unheeded. She cannot insult you! As a gentleman, you can and will take no notice of her. If she speaks, her words are not opprobrious. It is only when she becomes a continuous and positive nuisance that you call a watchman and give her in charge to him. But some of the Northern editors seem to think that whenever one meets such a woman one must stop her, talk with her, insult her, or hold dalliance with her, and so from their own conduct they construed my order. The editor of the *Boston Courier* may so deal with common women, and out of the abundance of the heart his mouth may speak—but so do not I. Why, these she-adders of New Orleans, themselves, were at once shamed into propriety of conduct by the order, and from that day no woman has either insulted or annoyed any live soldier or officer, and, of a certainty, no soldier has insulted any woman. When I passed through Baltimore on the 23d of February last, members of my staff were insulted by the gestures of the ladies (?) there. Not so in New Orleans. One of the worst possible of all these women showed disrespect to the remains of gallant young De Kay, and you will see her punishment; a copy of the order which I enclose, is at once a vindication and construction of my order. I can only say, that I would issue it again under like circumstances."

The same day with the issue of the order in regard to Mrs. Phillips, came two others of a similar character. They will sufficiently explain themselves. The first thus ran: "Fidel Keller has been found exhibiting a human skeleton in his bookstore window, in a public place in this city, labeled 'Chickahominy,' in large letters, meaning and intending that the bones should be taken by the populace to be the bones of a United States soldier slain in that battle, in order to bring the authority of the United States and our armies into contempt, and for that purpose had stated to the passers-by that the bones were those of a Yankee soldier, whereas, in truth and fact, they were the bones purchased some weeks before of a Mexican consul, to whom they were pledged by a medical student. It is therefore ordered that for this desecration of the dead, he be confined at Ship Island for two years, at hard labor, and that he be allowed to communicate with no person on the island except Mrs. Phillips, who has been sent there for a like offence. Any written messages may be sent to him through these headquarters. Upon this order being read to him the said Keller requested that so much of it as associated him with 'that woman' might be recalled, which request was, therefore, reduced to writing by him, as follows: 'New Orleans, June 30, 1862. Mr. Keller desires that that part of the sentence which refers to the communication with Mrs. Phillips be stricken out, as he does not wish to have communication with the said Mrs. Phillips. F. Keller. Witness: D. Waters.' Said request seeming to the commanding general to be reasonable, so much of said order is revoked, and the remainder will be executed." The second recalls the accounts of the desecration of the remains of the dead by the rebels after the battle of Bull Run: "John W. Andrews exhibited a cross, the emblem of the suffering of our blessed Saviour, fashioned for a personal ornament, which he said was made from the bones of a Yankee soldier, and having shown this, too, without rebuke, in the Louisiana club, which claims to be composed of chivalric gentlemen; it is, therefore ordered, that, for this desecration of the dead, he be confined at hard labor for two years on the fortifications at Ship Island, and that he be allowed no verbal or written communication to or with any one except through these headquarters."

Among the interesting trophies which came into the hands of General Butler, in his occupation of New Orleans, was the identical flag of the revenue cutter McClelland, which, at the outset of the rebellion, was the subject of the famous order of General Dix, "to shoot, on the spot, any man who attempted to haul down the American flag." It was taken from the vessel, with the Confederate ensign, its successor, by David Ritchie, a young Scotch sailor serving on board, when the rebels, on the eve of the capture of New Orleans, were about burning the cutter. General Butler, with a friendly letter, recalling the "decisive and patriotic order—the first bold stroke in favor of the Union under the past administration," sent both flags to General Dix. "His heart," he wrote, had "bounded with joy" on first reading the order, and he had now "redoubled pleasure in testifying his admiration" by forwarding the flags, which he had no doubt the Secretary of the Treasury would permit General Dix to retain, "as they could not be in better hands."

Among other incidents of a retributive character which occurred at this time at New Orleans, was the occupation by General Butler of the residence of the traitor, General Twiggs, whose property in the city was generally confiscated to the government. Among his effects were found three swords, with their equipments, which, in other days, had been presented to the General in acknowledgment of his gallantry in the Mexican war. One had been ordered by Congress in honor of the storming of Monterey; another by the State of Georgia, and the third by the city of Augusta, in that State, for this and other services in the advance to Mexico. These swords were forwarded by General Butler to President Lincoln, with the following statement of the manner in which they they came into his hands, and a suggestion of the disposition to be made of them. "General Twiggs," he wrote, "left these swords with a young woman, on the evening before he fled from New Orleans, and in his flight on the day of the approach of the fleet, he wrote, in his carriage, while *en route*, this extraordinary paper: "I leave my swords to Miss —, and box of silver. D. E. Twiggs. New Orleans, April 25, 1862." This paper was claimed as a deed of gift of these very valuable weapons by the young woman named; but, as she had neglected to inform her father of this singular donation—*causa fugœ*—and as the girl's mother caused them to be given to a negro, to be sent back to General Twiggs' house, I ventured to interfere with this testamentary disposition. A more lamentable instance of the degradation to which this rebellion has reduced its votaries can hardly be imagined. Swords given to a general for courage and good conduct in the armies of the Union—tokens of admiration by his fellow-citizens, and of the gratitude of a State and the nation—voluntarily bequeathed for safe keeping to a woman, as a more proper custodian than himself, by that same general, when flying at the approach of the armies of that country which he had renounced and betrayed, at last find a depositary with a negro, for the sake of enslaving whose race the double crime of treachery and rebellion has been consummated. Now that the weapon given by the United States is returned to the Executive, and the others placed at his disposal, might

I take leave to suggest a proper disposition of them? Might not the first be presented to some officer as a token of appreciation of loyalty and devotion to the country? The qualities of courage and good conduct in the battlefield have never been found wanting in our armies; but loyalty and entire devotion to the country have failed in so many examples, of which General Twiggs is a shining one, that some token of respect for those qualities, bestowed in this manner, might not be inappropriate. The sword from the State of Georgia might be deposited in the library at West Point, with an appropriate inscription, as a perpetual memento to the youth there how worse than useless are all education and military training, even when allied to gallantry and courage, if heartfelt patriotism and undying fealty to the Constitution and the flag are wanting. That given by the city of Augusta might be deposited in the Patent Office as a warning against the folly and uselessness of such an invention as secession." The President, in return, named General Butler as the officer whose devotion and loyalty to the country entitled him to the gift of the sword presented by Congress. Within three months of the occupation of New Orleans, on the 15th of July, General Twiggs died at Augusta, Georgia.

The execution of Mumford, already alluded to,* for the offence of hauling down the United States flag from the Mint, on the first occupation of the city, took place on the 7th of June. It is memorable, as the first instance in the history of the Government, of a military trial and conviction for such an offence. It was followed, after a short interval, by another execution of two persons, Wm. M. Clary, late second officer of the United States steam-transport Saxon, and Stanislaus Roy, of New Orleans, for "having forged a pretended authority of the major-general commanding, being armed in company with other evil disposed persons, under false names, and in a pretended uniform of soldiers of the United States, entered the house of a peacable citizen, No. 93 Toulouse street, about the hour of eleven o'clock in the night time, and there, in a pretended search for arms and treasonable correspndence, by virtue of such forged authority, plundered said house, and stole therefrom $1,885 in current bank notes, one gold watch and chain, and one bosom-pin." In these executions, General Butler, in the one case, as a measure of State policy, and, as it appeared to him, of humanity, in the end, punished a signal dishonor shown to the supreme authority of the nation; in the other he had, with stern impartiality, protected the citizens from the recurrence of an outrage which, without this severity, might have been often repeated. Of the execution of Mumford, he is reported to have said in a speech to the citizens of Philadelphia, on his return to the North in January of the following year:—"The flag of the United States was raised upon the United States Mint, and after floating there a short time, was dragged down by a drunken gambler in the presence of the fleet in broad daylight. The symbol of our nationality, which we all revere, was torn in shreds, and every one that could bore off a piece as a trophy. That act, in its consequences, might have been most calamitous. The commander of the national fleet had a right to suppose that the Mayor of the city had come to the conclusion to renew the contest, and the symbol of that renewal was the tearing down of the flag. It might, as a military proposition, have brought upon the city instant bombardment—but through the very proper caution of Commodore Farragut. A shot or two was fired, and no response made. Mark you! it was not the fault of Mumford that New Orleans was not laid in ashes, and men, women and children crushed beneath the shells of the national fleet. It was in mercy for the towns that we should take hereafter, that I felt it necessary to punish Mumford according to the just laws of war, after the confession of guilt. Whether rightly or wrongly, the act still commends itself to my judgment. Feeling the utter worthlessness of the man that treason had attempted to exalt into a patriot, I was inclined to spare him. But that was not permitted. The Thugs, rowdies and gamblers assembled before the execution and resolved that he should not be hung. It became a question whether they ruled New Orleans or the Commanding General of the United States, and from that day there was never any question upon that subject."

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* Ante p. 395.

By a Proclamation of President Lincoln, of the 12th of May, it was announced that on the 1st of June the hitherto blockaded ports of Beaufort, Port Royal, and New Orleans would be open to commercial intercourse, subject to limitations prescribed by the Treasury Department, regarding articles contraband of war, and other military necessities of the situation. In the month of June various Union meetings were held in the city, followed by large returns of the inhabitants, according to the provisions of the registry order, to their old allegiance. Two representatives, Union men, Messrs. Benjamin F. Flanders and Michael Hahn, were, in November, elected members of the national Congress.

The chief military events during General Butler's administration of his department outside of the city of New Orleans, were the occupation of Baton Rouge, on the Mississippi; the subsequent attack upon and defence of that place, and an Expedition some months later to the Lafourche district to the west of the city. Immediately after the capture of New Orleans and the abandonment by the enemy of the fortifications in its vicinity, flag-officer Farragut sent detachments of his squadron up the Mississippi to take possession of the principal places and clear the way for the opening of the river throughout its course, in coöperation with the fleet of Commodore Davis, advancing toward him from above Memphis. At Baton Rouge, one hundred and forty miles above New Orleans, the national flag was raised, and the Arsenal and other public property taken possession of by Commodore Palmer of the Iroquois on the 8th of May. On the 12th he visited Natchez and received the virtual surrender of the city, it not being thought necessary to occupy the place as it had not been a military position. A week later, on the 18th, Commander S. P. Lee, with the advance of the squadron, arrived near Vicksburg, and under orders from flag-officer Farragut and General Butler, demanded the surrender of the place and its defences, promising the same protection to private property and personal rights under the laws of the United States which had been accorded in similar circumstances elsewhere. The authorities peremptorily declined to surrender the city, whereupon Commander Lee asked the removal of the women and children out of the reach of danger, in view of a probable bombardment. Commodore Farragut arrived shortly after with a column of troops under General Williams, and was followed by an additional naval and military force including Porter's mortar flotilla, which had been withdrawn from its proposed theatre of operations on the Gulf. The fortifications at Vicksburg, consisting of an extensive range of batteries on the heights, the town being built on a bluff rising to a considerable elevation above the river, were not very readily to be assailed by the guns of the squadron. In fact, the reduction of the place, which was capable of easy reinforcement from its railway connections with the interior, was speedily ascertained to be an undertaking of no slight difficulty. An important movement, however, was made by Commodore Farragut on the 28th of June, in boldly passing the forts, with the flag-ship Hartford, the frigate Richmond, the sloops-of-war Oneida and Iroquois, and several inferior vessels of the Lower Mississippi fleet. The passage was made in open daylight shortly after dawn, the squadron replying with its heavy armament to the guns of the forts. For an hour the contest was kept up with a vast expenditure of ammunition, the mortar boats below joining their fire to the bombardment. Of ten vessels under orders, eight passed the batteries and joined the rams of Commodore Davis's fleet, which had descended the river and were keeping guard a short distance above the town at the mouth of the Yazoo, where a number of formidable rebel vessels were understood to be laid up, or in preparation for future action. The casualties to Farragut's fleet in passing the batteries were reported in all fifteen killed and thirty wounded. The damage to the vessels was slight, though being of wood they were exposed to great hazard. There was no means of ascertaining the injury done the enemy. Immediately after this affair, Commodore Davis, with an important portion of his flotilla, including the flag-ship Benton, the Cairo, Louisville, and a number of mortar boats, descended the river from Memphis and joined Commodore Farragut above Vicksburg.

It was at this time that a plan was formed and begun to be carried into effect, of diverting the waters of the Mississippi from their course by Vicksburg, into a new channel through a canal to be dug across the projecting tongue of land which causes an extreme bend of the stream before the town. If this narrow neck of land, about two miles in width, could be thus severed and rendered navigable, Vicksburg with its batteries left high and dry in an inland position, would no longer offer any obstacles to the much desired free navigation of the river. A large number of negroes were accordingly summoned from the neighboring plantations and set to work in digging the canal. Whatever might be the plausibilities of the undertaking, however, there was one important defect in prosecuting it at this time. The river, upon which much reliance was placed for assisting the labors of the negroes in working its own way through on a gentle hint from the spade, was, from the season of the year, falling, and consequently acting every day with less force. On actual experiment, moreover, the toughness of the sub-soil was found to be quite refractory to the threatened inundation, and it was more than doubtful if the path for the proposed channel had been struck in the right place. At any rate, after many exertions and more sanguine announcements, the work at the end of two months was definitely abandoned for the season.

The next incident of importance to the fleet after the passage of Vicksburg, was an encounter with the Arkansas, a famous gunboat of the enemy, the construction of which had been commenced at Memphis, whence just previous to the conquest of that place by the Union forces, she had been taken in an unfinished state to the upper waters of the Yazoo for safety. On the 26th of June, two days previously to the arrival of Commodore Farragut above the city, Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred W. Ellett ascended that river, with two rams, some sixty-five miles, to a spot where the stream was obstructed by a raft and four guns in battery. His object was to capture or destroy three of the rebel gunboats, the Van Dorn, Polk, and Livingston; but in this he was anticipated by the enemy, who set the vessels on fire and started them down the stream to arrest his own progress. To escape the threatened conflagration he was compelled to retire.* The Arkansas was reported to be in preparation above the raft. There were various rumors about her armor and equipment, but little was known of her actual strength, till it was one morning suddenly demonstrated by her adventurous descent into the Mississippi, and assault of the Union fleet on her successful passage to the protecting fortifications of Vicksburg. It was the very day, the 15th of July, which had been chosen for another reconnoissance of the Yazoo, and at five in the evening the iron-clad Carondelet, the wooden gunboat Tyler, and the steam ram Queen of the West, had left the fleet for the purpose. They had not gone far, the Tyler being in the advance a few miles up Old river, into which the Yazoo empties, when the Arkansas was discovered steaming down. All uncertainty as to her offensive powers was speedily dissipated as she turned her powerful batteries upon the Tyler. She was completely enclosed with a plating of railway iron, and mounted ten large guns, three on a side and two at each end. In strength and armament she was, in fact, what the enemy claimed her to be—the Merrimac of the Mississippi. It was in vain for the Tyler to keep up a contest with this destructive monster. The guns of the wooden vessel were ineffectual against the iron sides of her assailant, while every well-directed shot of the latter told with effect. The Tyler bravely keeping up an ineffectual fire was pierced in several places, eight of her officers and men killed, and sixteen wounded, fled down the river closely pursued by her antagonist. The Queen of the West, which was behind the Tyler, following the course of events, made the best of her way back to the Mississippi, escaping any serious damage from the enemy. At the mouth of Old river the Arkansas fell in with the Carondelet, which being partly iron-clad, determined to test her powers. The Union vessel opened fire on the Arkansas when she came within range, but with no better result than the efforts of her companion; while the fire of the rebel's heavy guns penetrated her weaker sides, killing and wounding a number of her men. In this emergency, Captain Walke resolved to board the enemy; his vessel was brought alongside, and a number of his men mounted the deck of the Arkansas, but finding no means of entrance within, were compelled to abandon the undertaking. Before parting with her the Arkansas fired a shot which burst a steam pipe on board the Carondelet, which caused many of her crew to jump overboard. Thus marking her path by the disaster of her foes, the Arkansas entered the Mississippi and approached the powerful squadrons of Commodores Farragut and Davis, and the rams, commanded by Colonel Ellet — more than twenty vessels of various powers, from the Hartford and Richmond with their formidable batteries, to the humble but effective gunboat. The whole fleet opened their guns upon the stranger, which pursued her course intrepidly through the midst of the bombardment, exploding the steam-chest of the ram Lancaster, by the way, and escaping the hostile fire, reached in safety the protecting fortifications of Vicksburg. The Union loss in this encounter, heaviest on board the Lancaster, was, in all, forty-two killed and sixty-nine wounded. That of the enemy, was ten killed and fifteen wounded. Captain Isaac N. Brown, her commander, who was himself slightly wounded, reported serious damage to his vessel. The smokestack was shot to pieces, with a loss of steam, so that the ram could not be used, and other injury was inflicted in the engagement at close quarters. In the evening there was a general bombardment of the works at Vicksburg by the Union fleets, and Commodore Farragut again passed the city to a station below, but whatever losses were inflicted upon the enemy, the Arkansas, apparently too much disabled to take part in the engagement, escaped further injury.

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* Lieutenant-Colonel A. W. Ellett to the Hon. E. M. Stanton. Above Vicksburg, June 28, 1862.

The officers of the navy were not disposed to sit in quiet while the enemy enjoyed this triumph of the Arkansas. Lieutenant-Colonel Ellet, in particular, took the matter seriously to heart. On the 20th of July, five days after the disaster, he addressed from the ram Switzerland the following communication to flag-officer Davis :—"Permit me to say, Commodore, that I apprehend the continued existence of the rebel gunboat Arkansas so near us is exercising a very pernicious influence upon the confidence of our crews, and even upon the commanders of our boats ; and, in view of this state of facts, it does seem to me that some risk should be encountered to insure her destruction and reëstablish our own prestige on the Mississippi river. I hope you have given my proposition your careful consideration, and that you may not conclude that the risk of failure is too great to attempt its accomplishment. I feel great confidence that, with united action, it will be made a complete success. I will myself command a boat that I shall select to run the Arkansas down, with a very small but carefully selected crew ; while, if you and Commodore Farragut will vigorously attack the batteries, I shall feel that success will surely attend the effort. Hoping to hear from you favorably as to the attempt to destroy the rebel gunboat Arkansas, and that you will excuse the freedom of these suggestions from one whose experience is so slight as compared with your own, I remain, with feelings of great respect, your obedient servant, Lieutenant-Colonel ALFRED W. ELLET, Commanding Steam-ram Fleet." The note was answered in person by both Commanders, Commodore Farragut walking over the Peninsula, the scene of the labors of the canal diggers, to the conference. It was then agreed that Davis should engage the upper and Farragut the lower batteries, while Colonel Ellet should "ram" the Arkansas. The plan of the attack, and its subsequent fortunes, as graphically described by a correspondent, were as follows : "Three of the vessels of Commodore Davis—the Benton, Cincinnati, and Louisville—were to engage the upper rebel batteries, the Bragg to lie behind the bend in readiness to butt the Arkansas in the event of her appearance above ; and the Essex to run down in advance of the Queen and grapple her as she passed, draw her out into the stream, to give the Queen an excellent opportunity to ram her, Farragut meanwhile engaging the lower batteries.

"After the Queen had struck the enemy, she was to come up or go down the river, as was most advantageous, the Benton protecting her retreat in the former, and the Essex in the latter case ; the Sumter to ram the hostile gunboat if the Queen failed to perform her task. The three gunboats opened fire ; the Bragg took her position, and the Essex led off in fine style, the Queen following at a high rate of speed, and under very favorable auspices. As the ram passed the flagship, Commodore Davis waved his hand to Colonel Ellet, standing near the pilot-house, and cried : 'Good luck, good luck !' The Colonel misunderstood the words, supposing the Commodore said, 'Go back, go back !' and therefore turned the Queen about, and steamed toward the Benton, when he heard, 'Go on, go on !' Without comprehending this apparent inconsistency, and believing the first duty of a soldier is to obey, the Colonel steamed down under the batteries ; and arriving at the first water battery, near the Marine hospital, where the hostile gunboat was lying, he discovered the Essex had gone on, and was then in advance one half or three quarters of a mile. The Queen was now exposed not only to the batteries of the enemy, but to those of the gunboat, which lay with her stern into shore and her bow up stream, apparently expecting and prepared for an attack. All this while, so far from the gunboats drawing the hostile fire, and standing between the Queen and harm, she was receiving most damaging attention from all sides. Shot and shell were raining around her, and she had been struck a number of times in very delicate localities. Colonel Ellet saw his was a desperate chance; that he had staked his life upon a cast, and that he had probably lost; that those on whom he had depended had failed, and he could now depend only on himself and fate.

"The Colonel was resolved to take the odds, and he took them. He went against the Arkansas partially up stream, designing to butt her forward of her side guns—her weakest place—but the eddies in the river altered his course somewhat, and he struck her aft of the aft side gun, and, unfortunately, a glancing though violent blow, that made both the traitorous and the loyal craft tremble. The Arkansas seemed to shrink and yield before the blow, and for a moment it was thought her side would give way; but she reacted, and the ram flew back from her, and, in moving toward her again, ran into the bank. The Queen reversed her engines, and, as she went sternward into the stream, her head veered up the river; and it was then evident her sole opportunity, if any there was for escape, was above. . . .

"Already had the ram been struck twenty or twenty-five times. Her chimney-stacks were perforated with balls; one of her steam-pipes had been shot away; in various places large holes had been bored through the sides and bow of the dauntless vessel, and yet no one was hurt, though many of the escapes had been almost miraculous. The ram moved up the river, and the rebel batteries increased their fire. Heavy shot and shell fell before, behind, and around her, and every few seconds one would go tearing through her deck or cabin. As she passed one of the upper batteries, a 32-pound shot struck her in the rear, went through every one of her larboard state-rooms, in which no person happened to be at the time, into the Captain's office, penetrating the iron safe, and, passing out, shattered the wooden carriage of one of the mounted brass pieces on the boiler deck, dismounting the gun, and, hitting it, left a deep indentation in the metal. A 32-pound shot, after passing through the heavy timber bulwarks of the ram, and becoming nearly spent, grazed the hip of Lieutenant James M. Hunter, causing a severe contusion. Several huge round-shot passed immediately over the heads of Colonel Ellet and his son while in their recumbent position. Had they been standing, they would have become headless, and perhaps trunkless, heroes. A 50-pound rifled shot passed through the pilot-house, within a few inches of the legs of Alexander Ford, who was then at the wheel, and narrowly escaping the breast of his associate, Roley S. McKey, standing at his side, and passing the word from the commander of the ram. Jacob Lauber and John McCullough, engineers, were thrown down once or twice from the wind of flying shot, and their assistant, John R. Skelton, was struck with a small fragment of a shell on the left hand — the most serious wound received by any one on the Queen of the West. The vessel presented a most dismantled and forlorn appearance, and is as nearly shot to pieces, for any vessel that will float, as can well be imagined."

After this adventurous, though, unhappily, marred affair, the attack upon Vicksburg was for the time abandoned. It was now the middle of summer, and the inevitable exposure of the troops in the swamps and on the river began to tell fearfully on the health of the men. The fall in the river also compelled the heavy draft vessels of Commodore Farragut to retire. It was perceived, moreover, that there was little hope of capturing the city without the assistance of a large coöperating land force, which could not then be brought into the field. Accordingly, Commodore Davis presently turned northwardly, in conjunction with the forces of General Curtis, conducting, in August, a successful expedition up the Yazoo, in which the enemy were put to flight, and a battery and various munitions of war were captured; while Commodore Farragut, with the land forces of General Williams, several thousand in number, proceeded down the Mississippi, the former to New Orleans, the latter shortly to meet the enemy in a deadly engagement at Baton Rouge, to which place we now turn our attention.

It was the plan of the enemy, after the security of Vicksburg was for the present established, to regain command of the Mississippi above New Orleans by securing possession of Baton Rouge. It was arranged that the ram Arkansas, having been repaired and strengthened after her recent contest, should descend the river and assail the few Union gunboats at that place, while a vigorous attack of the troops from Camp Moore, in the interior, led by General Breckenridge, should be made upon the town. At the beginning of August the place was held by about four thousand men, enfeebled by sickness to an effective force of little more than half their number, of New England and Western regiments, under command of General Thomas Williams. This officer, a native of the State of New York, was a graduate of West Point of the class of 1837, when he entered the 4th artillery. He was subsequently assistant professor of mathematics at the Academy, and aid to General Scott, with whom he served in Mexico, attaining the brevet rank of Major for his gallant services. Early in the present war he was made Brigadier-General of volunteers. We have seen him in command at Hatteras, after the conquest of that post, and there he remained till he joined General Butler's Expedition to New Orleans. His spirit and determination, witnessed in his command on the Mississippi, were fully shown in the gallantry of his conduct in the defence of Baton Rouge. He was aware of the approach of the enemy, and on the 4th of August, when their coming was immediately expected, had his forces drawn up about a mile outside the town, on the level continuation of the bluff, in a circuit covering the two roads which led into the interior, and which were connected by a straight road, on which was situated an extensive cemetery. This cross road defined the centre of the position. The left on the upper side of the town, where the arsenal and government buildings were located, in consequence of the vicinity of the Arkansas, which was stationed at a bend of the river above, was thought to be the most probable point of assault by the enemy, and was strengthened accordingly. This position of the line was held by the 4th Wisconsin, 9th Connecticut, and 14th Maine regiments, extending to the right with Manning's battery. The 21st Indiana and 6th Michigan occupied the centre, with the 7th Vermont at hand in their rear, supporting Everett's battery. The right was held by the 30th Massachusetts, supporting Nims's battery. The Union gunboats, Cayuga, Sumter and Essex, were stationed above near the government buildings, and the Katahdin and Kineo below, ready to protect the troops with their fire on whichever side the assault should be made. Early on the following morning, the 5th, about five o'clock, the atmosphere being filled with a heavy fog, the enemy were heard approaching the position. Arranging their forces on the open grounds, after an attempt to draw the Union forces out, they presently made their attack with great gallantry upon the centre, held by the Maine, Indiana and Michigan regiments. General Williams then ordered up the remaining regiments from the right and left to their support, and in this way the battle was fought. The enemy's forces consisted of two Louisiana regiments (the 4th and 30th), two

Mississippi, the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th Kentucky, two Tennessee, one Alabama regiment, and thirteen guns, and a large guerrilla force. Their attacking force numbered fully six thousand men. Our actual force engaged was not over two thousand men.*

The main incidents of the engagement are thus related by a correspondent:—

"The enemy, evidently well maneuvered, and in vastly superior numbers, concentrated its fire on our centre, the Indiana regiment, which regiment nobly contested every inch of ground, until, with the 14th Maine, they were forced beyond their camps a distance of a hundred rods. This brought the enemy into not only these, but that of the 7th Vermont, which were taken possession of with yells, and instantly plundered and burnt. In this repulse our troops lost one piece of Everett's battery. The 6th Michigan and its artillery now opened on the Indiana camp, occupied by the enemy. In the meantime the Indianians rallied, and, after a severe and brilliant contest, retook their camp and the piece of artillery. General Williams, who had been on the field from the commencement of the action, everywhere in the thickest of the fight, headed the charge of the 6th Michigan and 21st Indiana, remarking that he relied upon them to save the day. He saw the enemy retreat, and at that instant fell from his horse, shot through the breast. As he was being carried off he noticed some troops in the rear, when he raised his arm, and, though dying, said: 'Follow the example of those troops fighting in front, and the day is ours.'

"The enemy, after being repulsed at the Indiana camp, gallantly charged on the 6th Michigan, killing all the horses of one piece of the 4th battery, which the Michiganders defended at the point of the bayonet, they fighting the enemy within ten or fifteen feet of each other. The piece was finally drawn off by hand, by one company of the Michigan regiment, who grounded arms to accomplish the work, their comrades guarding these temporarily abandoned weapons until their owners returned, which feats were greeted with cheers. As the piece of artillery was being drawn off, the enemy attempted to scale a high picket fence to flank our troops. This movement was for some time contested by Company I, of the 6th Michigan, who deployed along the fence, and in so doing, actually put their muskets through the openings in the pickets, and fired through, the enemy returning the fire in the same way. This murderous and close conflict was carried on until the enemy, a Kentucky regiment, tore off the pickets and made the fire so warm, the company had to fall back on the regiment, which in turn drove back the Kentuckians.

"In little less than an hour after the centre was engaged, a force of the enemy was discovered approaching the right, which was held by Company A and F, 6th Michigan, and two pieces of artillery, Company B being deployed as skirmishers to prevent a flank movement of the enemy. As the enemy approached they were mistaken for our own troops, and consequently reserved their fire until they were within fifty paces, when they were discovered to be two regiments, afterwards known to be the 4th and 6th Louisiana. At this moment the action became fearful, the enemy opened a murderous fire, and charged upon the pieces. One gun the enemy captured, the other was dragged away. Our small force of infantry was obliged to fall back to a ditch, and small piece of timber, where they rallied, and opened in return a most destructive fire, killing every man that attempted to carry off the piece they had captured. A color-bearer of the 4th Louisiana rushed out and called on his men to rally to the flag, when he was killed; no less than four color-bearers were killed in succession while attempting to raise the rebel standard. At the critical moment, Company B, 6th Michigan, employed as skirmishers, then rallied and with a tremendous yell reinforced their comrades in the ditch. At this moment the enemy were falling literally like leaves, and becoming panic-stricken, the whole line suddenly retreated, abandoning their flag, the piece of artillery, and a number of prisoners.

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* Lieutenant Weitzel, Chief Engineer of the Department of the Gulf, to General Butler. Baton Rouge, August 7, 1862.

"During these conflicts the other arms of the service were not idle. Mims' battery, supported by the 30th Massachusetts, was charged no less than three successive times, and each time the enemy was repulsed with great slaughter, the canister and grape actually making great lanes in the ranks of the enemy. The battle had now raged from four to nine o'clock. In this five hours of fearful work, our men fought with the hot burning sun in their faces, giving the enemy an immense advantage. The artillery of the rebels, some fifteen pieces, did very little damage; it was badly wrought, was never in good position, and the shot, with few exceptions, was solid; not more than two or three men were killed by the artillery. Colonel Dudley commanded the right wing, where much of the hardest fighting was done, and took entire command after General Williams fell, which was about seven o'clock. The fall of the commanding general created, of course, some little confusion in his immediate vicinity, but Colonel Dudley rode to the spot and shouted out, 'Boys, keep a stiff upper lip, the day will soon be ours.' As soon as the enemy were repulsed, Colonel Dudley drew in his lines, so as to give the gunboats a chance to assist in the engagement, which movement was done in a splendid manner. While the general action was going on, Lieutenant Craig, 6th Michigan, and Mr. Davis, of the Keneo, United States gunboat No. 3, were on the tower of the State House to signalize the gunboats. The Keneo threw two shells, but it was found that our lines were so far out that it endangered our own men. The Essex and Sumter, during the action, however, very efficiently shelled the woods, where it was supposed the enemy was forming to turn our left. After the lines were drawn in, the gunboats Nos. 3 and 8 shelled the woods in front, which ended any possible advance of the enemy."* Owing to the general ill state of health of the Union troops, and the exhaustion of the combatants from fatigue and heat of the day, it was impossible to follow up the enemy in pursuit. As evidence of the fortunes of the day, a flag of truce was sent in from General Breckenridge requesting permission to bury the dead of his forces within the Union lines. In a dispatch to General Van Dorn, General Breckenridge, claiming that he had driven the Union troops to cover of the gunboats, states that being unable to take the arsenal with his diminished, exhausted force, and his troops "almost perishing for water," he was compelled to retire into the interior.

An important sequel to this spirited action was the destruction the following day of the celebrated Arkansas, the circumstances of which are thus related in a dispatch to the Navy Department by Commodore Farragut, who upon hearing of the rebel attack hastened with a detachment of his fleet to the scene of action: "It is," says he, writing from his flag-ship at Baton Rouge, on the 7th, "one of the happiest moments of my life that I am enabled to inform the department of the destruction of the ram Arkansas, not because I held this iron-clad in such terror, but because the community did. * * As soon as the enemy was repulsed Commodore Porter with the gunboats went up stream after the ram Arkansas, which was lying about five miles above, apparently afraid to take her share in the conflict. According to the preconcerted plan, as he came within gunshot he opened on her, and probably soon disabled some of her machinery or steering apparatus, for she became unmanageable, continuing, however, to fire her guns at the Essex. Commander Porter says he took advantage of her presenting a weak point towards him and loaded with incendiary shells. After his first discharge of this projectile a gush of fire came out of her side, and from that moment it was discovered that she was on fire, which he continued his exertions to prevent from being extinguished. They backed her ashore and made a line fast, which soon burnt, and she swung off into the river, where she continued to burn until she blew up with a tremendous explosion, thus ending the career of the last iron-clad ram of the Mississippi. There were many persons on the banks of the river witnessing the fight, in which they anticipated a triumph for Secessia; but on the return of the Essex not a soul was to be seen. I will leave a sufficient force of gunboats here to support the army, and will return, to-morrow, to New Orleans and depart immediately for Ship Island, with a light heart that I have left no bugbear to torment the communities of the Mississippi in my absence." Commander W. D. Porter's dispatch to Admiral Farragut was thus worded: "Sir: This morning at eight, I steamed up the river; and at ten A. M., attacked the rebel ram Arkansas, and blew her up. There is not a fragment of her left." He says the Arkansas had a crew of one hundred and eighty men, and mounted ten guns, six 8-inch and four 50-pound rifles. The gunboat Essex, commanded by him, mounted seven guns, and had only forty men on duty at the time of going into action. The Arkansas, in this affair, was commanded by Lieutenant H. K. Stevens. She was prevented, it appears, from making the threatened attack upon the town by the breaking of one of her engines, and, as she was coming down, on the approach of the Essex the other gave way, and she was run ashore, being perfectly unmanageable. Admiral Farragut—he had now received this title—was told by prisoners from the ram that she had been set on fire when the Essex came up.*

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* Special Correspondence *N. Y. Times.* Baton Rouge, August 7, 1862.

The entire loss on the Union side in the engagement at Baton Rouge was eighty-one killed, two hundred and fifty-seven wounded, and thirty-one missing. The general results of the battle were thus summed up in a spirited order of General Butler, addressed to the Soldiers of the Army of the Gulf:—"Your successes have heretofore been substantially bloodless. Taking and holding the most important strategic and commercial positions with the aid of the gallant navy, by the wisdom of your combinations and the moral power of your arms, it has been left for the last few days to baptize you in blood. The Spanish conqueror of Mexico won imperishable renown by landing in that country and burning his transport ships, to cut off all hope of retreat. You, more wise and economical, but with equal providence against retreat, sent yours home. Organized to operate on the seacoast, you advanced your outposts to Baton Rouge, the capital of the state of Louisiana, more than two hundred and fifty miles into the interior. Attacked there by a division of our rebel enemies under command of a major-general recreant to loyal Kentucky, whom some would have honored before his apostacy, of doubly superior numbers, you have repulsed in the open field his myrmidons, who took advantage of your sickness, from the malaria of the marshes of Vicksburg, to make a cowardly attack. The brigade at Baton Rouge has routed the enemy. He has lost three brigadier-generals, killed, wounded and prisoners, many colonels and field officers. He has more than a thousand killed and wounded. You have captured three pieces of artillery, six caissons, two stand of colors, and a large number of prisoners. You have buried his dead on the field of battle, and are caring for his wounded. You have convinced him that you are never so sick as not to fight your enemy if he desires the contest. You have shown him that if he cannot take an outpost after weeks of preparation, what would be his fate with the main body. If your general should say he was proud of you, it would only be to praise himself; but he will say he is proud to be one of you. In this battle the Northeast and the Northwest mingled their blood on the field, as they had long ago joined their hearts, in support of the Union. Michigan stood by Maine, Massachusetts supported Indiana, Wisconsin aided Vermont, while Connecticut, represented by the sons of the ever-green shamrock, fought as our fathers did at Boyne Waters. While we mourn the loss of many brave comrades, we who were absent envy the privilege of dying upon the battlefield for our country under the starry folds of her victorious flag. The colors and guidons of the several corps engaged in the contest will have inscribed on them—Baton Rouge. To complete the victory, the iron-clad steamer Arkansas, the last naval hope of the rebellion, hardly awaited the gallant attack of the Essex, but followed the example of her sisters, the Merrimac, the Manassas, the Mississippi, and the Louisiana, by her own destruction."

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* Admiral Farragut to the Secretary of the Navy. New Orleans, August 10, 1862.

General Butler also issued an order announcing the death of General Williams, in which, after alluding to the events of his military career, he proceeded: "His life was that of a soldier devoted to his country's service. His country mourns in sympathy with his wife and children, now that country's care and precious charge. We, his companions in arms, who had learned to love him, weep the true friend, the gallant gentleman, the brave soldier, the accomplished officer, the pure patriot, and victorious hero, and the devoted Christian. All and more went out when Williams died. By a singular felicity the manner of his death illustrated each of these generous qualities. The chivalric American gentleman, he gave up the vantage of the cover of the houses of the city—forming his lines in the open field—lest the women and children of his enemies should be hurt in the fight! A good general, he had made his dispositions, and prepared for battle at the break of day, when he met the foe! A brave soldier, he received the death-shot leading his men! A patriot hero, he was fighting the battle of his country, and died as went up the cheer of victory! A Christian, he sleeps in the hope of the Blessed Redeemer! His virtues we cannot exceed—his example we may emulate—and mourning his death, we pray 'may our last end be like his.' The customary tribute of mourning will be worn by the officers in the department."

For his "great service and distinguished bravery, particularly in the destruction of the iron-clad steam ram Arkansas," Commander Porter of the Essex was raised to the rank of Commodore. Subsequently to the affair of the Arkansas, at the end of August, he made a memorable reconnoissance up the Mississippi with the special view of ascertaining the existence of certain reported rebel batteries at Port Hudson, a railway terminus on the left bank of the river and the next important station above Baton Rouge—a place which, in the campaigns of the ensuing year, was to acquire a distinguished reputation by its resistance to the Union arms. On first ascending the river he passed the spot without opposition, proceeding on to Bayou Sara, where he burned the buildings in the lower part of the town in consequence of a guerrilla attack upon his men. Returning to Port Hudson he discovered certain earthworks in progress, which he proceeded to destroy, exploding the heavy 10-inch gun of the Essex in the operation. Visiting Bayou Sara again, he was compelled, by the guerrillas who took shelter in them, to burn the remaining buildings. Following in pursuit of a rebel gunboat, which he had heard was at Natchez conveying transports with supplies from Red river, he found that the vessel in question had run for protection to the batteries at Vicksburg, whither he proceeded. At Natchez a boat's crew was sent ashore from the Essex to procure ice for the sick on board, when they were wantonly attacked by over two hundred armed citizens, wounding the officer in command, and killing one, and wounding five seamen. For this unprovoked injury, Commodore Porter immediately opened fire on the lower town, and burnt a number of houses from which he had been attacked. After an hour's bombardment, the mayor unconditionally surrendered the city. During this fire one of the 9-inch Dahlgrens of the Essex exploded. At Vicksburg Commodore Porter found the defences carried three miles further down the river than during the siege in July, and was consequently kept at a respectful distance. Returning to New Orleans for supplies, he was met off Port Hudson on the morning of the 7th of September by a vigorous fire from siege guns, which the enemy had mounted at that place. "As near as I could judge," says Commodore Porter, "they had in position from thirty-five to forty guns, of 120-pounders rifled, 10-inch smooth, 9-inch and 8-inch calibre, in three batteries, commanding the river to the extent of five miles. A 68-pound, a 32-pound, and also a 10-inch rifle ball lodged in the Essex, but without material damage. We were under fire an hour and three-quarters, during which time our guns were well and incessantly worked, and I have reason to believe the enemy suffered heavily and the works were certainly in part destroyed. A land force (he presciently adds) will be necessary to complete the destruction of this fort, which, if allowed to be again restored, would seriously interrupt the free navigation of the Mississippi."*

On his arrival at New Orleans, Commodore Porter took leave, in a farewell address, of the crew of the gunboat which he had made a memorable companion, in action as well as in name, to the vessel which had gained his father such distinguished laurels. "Men of the Essex," said he, "we have now been associated together on board this vessel very near one year, and during that period you have been successfully engaged with the enemy in six hard-fought battles. Your first achievement was with four of the craven rebel gun-boats, of vastly superior force, in Lucas Bend, all of which were disabled and driven below the batteries at Columbus. Your next achievement was at Fort Henry, where you led the way, and by your prowess and valor caused the surrender of that stronghold in the short space of one hour and ten minutes. At the time the Essex attacked Fort Henry she could scarcely be called an iron-clad boat; the ports were large and unprotected, and the boilers exposed, and although fourteen were wounded to death, and twenty-four wounded by steam and scalding waters, you were ready at your guns for action before the surrender of the fort. This battle was one of the most important of the war, for up to that time our forces could scarcely say that they had gained a victory. You, by your valor, turned the tide of defeat, and gave confidence to the country. For a short period the ship was under external repairs, and a large portion of this crew participated in the victories of Donelson, Columbus, Island No. 10, Fort Pillow and Memphis. When your old and tried ship became fully equipped, you joined her at Cairo, and with your old and tried associates, entered on a new field of operations. Vicksburg felt your prowess, and while your country lasts you will be gratefully remembered for your daring and courage at that time. The crowning effort of your courage is yet to be related. For months the rebels had been building with great care a gunboat and ram up the Yazoo river; this vessel, when finished, successfully encountered and cut up three of the fleet, passed in safety two powerful fleets, and took shelter under the batteries of Vicksburg. Here she stood the fire of a large fleet and escaped unhurt. The Essex ran past this heavy fort and attacked her. This, too, she stood without much injury. You were next battling away at the enemy before Baton Rouge. On the 6th of August you fought this noted Arkansas, and after an action of half an hour destroyed this formidable vessel, for which act you have received, through the honorable the Secretary of the Navy, the thanks of the country and the department. I have now to speak of one more of your feats of courage, and chronicle again your valor; it is the attack on and successful passing a battery of thirty-five guns at Port Hudson. Having now detailed your gallant conduct, it becomes my painful task to bid you the painful word, good-by, and I sincerely hope you may prove the old iron-clad Essex as good a ship under your present commander as you did under the old."

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* Commodore Porter to Secretary Welles. September 9, 1862.

A correspondence between General Phelps, whose Ship Island Proclamation we introduced to the reader at the beginning of this chapter, and General Butler, must not be passed over in a chronicle of the affairs of the department. After the first occupation of New Orleans, General Phelps was stationed a few miles above the city at Carrolton, where, carrying out his views on the subject of negro emancipation, he promptly organized three hundred Africans into five companies, and called on General Butler to arm and equip them. General Phelps saw the opportunity of supplying the needs of the war in men as General Butler had discovered the means of furnishing money from the property of the rebels. "I would recommend," he wrote to General Butler on the 30th of July, "that the cadet graduates of the present year should be sent to South Carolina and this point to organize and discipline our African levies, and that the more promising non-commissioned officers and privates of the army be appointed as company officers to command them. Prompt and energetic efforts in this direction would probably accomplish more towards a speedy termination of the war, and an early restoration of peace and amity, than any other course which could be adopted." To this General Butler, without entering upon the leading question on the policy involved, in which he did not probably even at this time differ greatly from his associate, replied, enjoining General Phelps to employ the contrabands in and about his camp in cutting down the trees to the lake and forming abatis, for which he would supply, not swords and guns, but axes. He restricted, in fact, the employment of the negroes to the mechanical labor of the camp. This did not satisfy General Phelps, who replied, that "while he was willing to prepare African regiments for the defence of the government against its assailants, he was not willing to become the mere slave driver proposed, having no qualifications in that way. He was, therefore, under the necessity of tendering the resignation of his commission as an officer of the army of the United States, and respectfully requested a leave of absence until it was accepted. While I am writing," he added, "at half-past eight o'clock P. M., a colored man is brought in by one of the pickets, who has just been wounded in the side by a charge of shot which, he says, was fired at him by one of a party of three hare-hunters or guerrillas, a mile or more from our line of sentinels. As it is some distance from the camp to the lake, the party of wood-choppers which you have directed will probably need a considerable force to guard them against similar attacks." General Butler upon this replied, on the 2d of August, that by the act of Congress, as he understood it, the President of the United States alone had the authority to employ Africans in arms as a part of the military forces of the United States, and that he had not as yet indicated his intention to do so. He would, however, send General Phelps' application to the President, but in the meantime he must desist from the formation of military negro organizations. General Phelps insisting upon resigning, General Butler combated his views of the employment of the negro, urging the wood cutting as a military necessity, renewed his orders to that effect, and peremptorily refused to receive the resignation. General Phelps, who was a few months in advance of the Administration on this question, urging the matter on grounds of principle and the inexpediency of his employment under the circumstances, the War Department conceded his request, when he left the service the following month and retired to his home in Vermont. Before he left New Orleans, however, General Butler was himself led to the employment of colored soldiers, which, with characteristic address, he justified to the people by a precedent of the rebel Governor Moore. Learning that this officer had organized several regiments of free colored people in the interests of the Confederacy, he determined "to resuscitate that regiment of Louisiana militia," issued his order to that effect, and in a week had a thousand men reasonably drilled and well disciplined, "better disciplined," he said, "than any other regiment I had there, because the blacks had always been taught to do as they were told." There were no slaves in the regiment. General Butler had found out—he was always finding something out—that British and French subjects, according to the laws of their own countries, could not rightfully hold slaves abroad. He therefore required foreigners to register themselves, and when Englishmen and Frenchmen claimed negroes as slaves he reminded them of the law of the land to which they professed allegiance. The slaves were thus made free, and as freemen were enlisted. When the army advanced into the western portion of Louisiana, numerous slaves were made free in accordance with the act of Congress, and additional material was thus furnished for the new colored regiments. In giving his testimony on this subject, subsequently, before the Committee of Congress on the War, at Washington, General Butler was asked if, in his opinion, the best interests of the service required the use of black regiments. His answer was noticeable for its common sense. "I have no doubt upon that subject," said he, "any more than I have that the best interests of the service require that we should look for aid wherever we can get it. The black regiments will be efficient just in proportion to their intelligence, like white regiments; and, while the more intelligent white men make the best soldiers, the next class in intelligence, the next best, etc., when with the black man you strike the same degree of intelligence, the black men will make as good soldiers as the white."

An expedition to the Lafourche district to the southwest of New Orleans, a wealthy region with an interior line of communication, by bayous and canals from the Gulf to the Mississippi, closed the military history of General Butler's administration of his department. It was composed of the Reserve Brigade, the 8th New Hampshire, 12th and 13th Connecticut, 75th New York, and 1st

Louisiana regiments—the whole under command of General Godfry Weitzel, a West Point officer, who had accompanied General Butler to New Orleans as a member of his staff, and while discharging various military duties in the government of the city, had been promoted to a brigadiership. Landing with his force at Donaldsonville, on the right bank of the river, about seventy miles above New Orleans, he took up his line of march on Sunday the 26th of October, down the Bayou Lafourche on the easterly side to Napoleonville, where he bivouaced in line of battle. "I started on Monday morning again," says this officer in his official report, which illustrates the novel military situation of the expedition, "at six o'clock, but feeling that the enemy was in some force on the right bank, I threw over the whole of the 8th New Hampshire and Perkins' cavalry by means of my floating bridge, and in this order moved down the bayou. At eleven o'clock, when I was about two miles above Labadieville, I received the report that the enemy was in force about one mile ahead, on the left bank, and that they had six pieces of artillery, I immediately ordered four pieces of Carruth's battery up (two pieces were with the rear guard, and Thompson's was already ahead) and formed the 13th Connecticut and 75th New York in line of battle to support Thompson. These two regiments formed splendidly, and moved at once forward to the attack, through a dense canefield. I moved on with them, and after emerging from the canefield I received the report, which was that the enemy was in position on the right bank also, and that he had four pieces of artillery on that side. At the same time I received the report that the enemy's cavalry was in rear of my rear guard. I immediately swung my bridge across the bayou, ordered eight companies of the 12th Connecticut over to support the 8th New Hampshire, leaving two companies of this regiment, one section of Carruth's battery, and Williamson's cavalry to guard the rear. I immediately ordered, also, that a road be cut up the steep bank on both sides of the bayou for the passage of artillery and my train. I found soon that the enemy on the left bank, after delivering only the fire of its advanced guard, which killed one of my cavalry and wounded another, and killed two horses, had disappeared for some unaccountable reason. Fearing some ruse, I immediately ordered the 13th Connecticut across the bayou to support the 8th New Hampshire and the 12th Connecticut, Thompson's battery to play upon the enemy's artillery on the right bank, which was firing splendidly upon our forces and my bridge; ordered Carruth to cross over with his two advanced sections, and the 75th New York, to support Thompson and guard the head of the bridge and the front of the train.

"I then crossed over, ordered the 8th New Hampshire to form line of battle across the road, the 12th Connecticut to form on its right, and ordered these forward to attack at once. They had scarcely commenced moving when the 13th Connecticut arrived at a double-quick from across the bayou. I immediately ordered this in reserve. Subsequently, as the centre guides of the 8th New Hampshire and the 12th Connecticut moved in different lines of direction, they became sufficiently separated to allow me to throw the 13th Connecticut on the line between the two. I ordered this regiment forward in line of battle. The line thus formed advanced steadily at my command forward. In a very short time the enemy's battery retreated, and also the infantry support. The fight did not last long. I found that the enemy had four pieces of artillery in the road. It was Connor's battery, Company A, Wither's light artillery, commanded by Captain J. Ratston (who was wounded and is now a paroled prisoner). This battery was supported by the remnants of the 18th Louisiana and the Crescent City regiments, numbering together about five hundred men. They were lying down in a ditch on the lower side of a plantation road in the edge of woods at Georgia Landing, and immediately on the left of the battery. I ordered skirmishers at once in the woods to secure prisoners. Carruth arrived about this time, and I sent him with one section and Perkin's cavalry in pursuit. They pursued about four miles, Carruth firing upon the retreating forces on both sides of the bayou. I have since learned that Simms' battery of six pieces, supported by Colonel Clark's (the 33d) regiment of Louisiana volunteers, was in front on the left bank. I lost eighteen killed and seventy-four wounded. Lieutenant Francis, of the 12th Connecticut, was taken prisoner before the fight. We have buried five of the enemy, and have seventeen wounded in our hospital, but I have proof that their loss was greater. I took one hundred and sixty-six of the enemy prisoners the day of battle, and forty-two of them since—total two hundred and eight; I released them all on parole. The commanding officer of the enemy, Colonel J. P. McPheeters, was killed. I delivered his body to some of his brother officers, who were prisoners, and he was decently buried near the battlefield, the Chaplain of the 8th New Hampshire officiating. One of the pieces of the enemy's artillery broke down in the retreat. We secured it, and have it now in our possession."* After this General Weitzel met with no opposition, the enemy retreating to the westward to Berwick Bay, which they presently left, evacuating Brashear City on the approach of the gunboats, which had been sent from New Orleans, and been detained on the way by a storm of unusual severity. The whole district was thus restored to the authority of the Union.

The remaining events of the war in the South-west in the year 1862 are comprised in the operations on the coast of Texas. They are thus summed up in the Annual Report in December of the Secretary of the Navy: "About the middle of September, acting volunteer Lieutenant J. W. Kittredge, commanding the United States bark Arthur, was sent with his own vessel and the steamer Sachem by Rear Admiral Farragut to take possession of Corpus Christi and adjacent waters. He succeeded well, made several captures, and compelled the enemy to burn several vessels. Subsequently, however, acting Lieutenant Kittredge, while on shore, was with his boat's crew surprised and captured. A little later, acting Master Francis Crocker, commanding the steamer Kensington, with that vessel and the schooners Rachel Seaman and Henry Janes, captured the defences of Sabine City and took possession thereof. On the 4th of October, Commander W. B. Renshaw, of the United States steamer Westfield, with that vessel, the Harriet Lane, Owasco, and Clifton, captured the defences of the harbor and city of Galveston, there having been only a feeble resistance."

General Butler remained in command of the Department of the Gulf till the arrival of his successor, General Banks, in December, when he retired with the following stirring farewell address to his army, in which he recapitulated the more important incidents of his career:—"Soldiers of the Army of the Gulf—Relieved from further duties in this department by direction of the President, under date of November 9, 1862, I take leave of you by this final order, it being impossible to visit your scattered outposts, covering hundreds of miles of the frontier of a larger territory than some of the kingdoms of Europe. I greet you, my brave comrades, and say farewell! This word, endeared as you are by a community of privations, hardships, dangers, victories, successes, military and civil, is the only sorrowful thought I have. You have deserved well of your country. Without a murmur you sustained an encampment on a sand-bar, so desolate that banishment to it, with every care and comfort possible, has been the most dreaded punishment inflicted upon your bitterest and most insulting enemies. You had so little transportation, that but a handful could advance to compel submission by the Queen City of the Rebellion, while others waded breast-deep in the marshes which surround St. Philip, and forced the surrender of a fort deemed impregnable to land attack by the most skillful engineers of your country and her enemy. At your occupation, order, law, quiet, and peace sprang to this city, filled with the bravos of all nations, where for a score of years, during the profoundest peace, human life was scarcely safe at noonday. By your discipline you illustrated the best traits of the American soldier, and enchained the admiration of those that came to scoff. Landing with a military chest containing but seventy-five dollars, from the hoards of a rebel government you have given to your country's treasury nearly $500,000, and so supplied yourselves with the needs of your service that your expedition has cost your Government less by four-fifths than any other. You have fed the starving poor, the wives and children of your enemies, so converting enemies into friends, that they have sent their representatives to Congress by a vote greater than your entire numbers, from districts in which, when you entered, you were tauntingly told that there was 'no one to raise your flag.' By your practical philanthropy you have won the confidence of the 'oppressed race' and the slave. Hailing you as deliverers, they are ready to aid you as willing servants, faithful laborers, or, using the tactics taught them by your enemies, to fight with you in the field. By steady attention to the laws of health, you have stayed the pestilence, and, humble instruments in the hands of God, you have demonstrated the necessity that His creatures should obey His laws, and reaping His blessing in this most unhealthy climate, you have preserved your ranks fuller than those of any other battalions of the same length of service. You have met double numbers of the enemy, and defeated him in the open field; but I need not further enlarge upon this topic. You were sent here to do that. I commend you to your commander. You are worthy of his love. Farewell, my comrades! again farewell!"

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* General Weitzel to A. A. G. Strong. Bayou Lafourche, La., October 29, 1862.

On his arrival at the North, at the beginning of January 1863, General Butler was enthusiastically received; nor, judging from the spirit displayed in his ovations in the various cities, was his equanimity disturbed by the revengeful Philippic leveled against him by President Jefferson Davis in his extraordinary retaliatory proclamation of December 23d, in which General Butler's military acts at New Orleans were denounced, he was described as "a felon deserving of capital punishment, no longer to be considered or treated simply as a public enemy of the Confederate States of America, but as an outlaw and common enemy of mankind," and it was ordered "that in the event of his capture, the officer in command of the capturing force do cause him to be immediately executed by hanging," and, moreover, "that no commissioned officer of the United States, taken captive, shall be released on parole, before exchange, until the said Butler shall have met with due punishment for his crimes."

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH—GENERAL MITCHEL—MILITARY AFFAIRS, APRIL—OCTOBER, 1862.

Major-General David Hunter succeeded General Sherman in command of the Department of the South, comprising the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, on the 31st of March. He was accompanied by General Benham, who, since the pursuit of Floyd in Western Virginia, had not been employed in active operations in the field, and to whom now was assigned the command of the district embracing the extreme northern part of Florida, South Carolina, and Georgia, with his headquarters at Port Royal. This was called the Northern District. Two others were formed, the Southern and Western Districts; the former under command of Brigadier-General J. M. Brannan, including the eastern and southern portions of Florida; the latter the western region, with headquarters at Fort Pickens, under command of Brigadier-General L. G. Arnold. The first prominent event in the department, the capture of Fort Pulaski, in the concluding operations attending which, and the final surrender, both Generals Hunter and Benham bore a part, we have already minutely described, with the attendant naval operations on the coast of Florida.* The next stirring incident in the department, the notable order of General Hunter, of May 9th, respecting slavery, has also been noticed in connection with the national movements on that subject in Congress, and the course of President Lincoln.† That order which was preceded by a proclamation of martial law throughout his department, declared the absolute emancipation of slaves in the States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, was thought by the President far too radical and sweeping to issue from the local commander of a department, and was accordingly pronounced void. Within the more limited jurisdiction within the lines of his army, however, the policy of General Hunter with regard to slavery was not interfered with. There he availed himself of every means to elevate the condition of the colored population and make them available for the support of the army in the cultivation of the fields and in preparation for military service in the field. The former, as we have seen, had been already provided for under the administration of General Sherman, and the labors of the superintendent, Mr. Pierce.* The latter, General Hunter, foreseeing its importance as an element in the further conduct of the struggle in which the nation was forced, gave particular attention to. In advance of general public opinion in the North on the subject, he held that the negro, properly instructed, would form a most available fighting man, and he accordingly early lent his efforts in the department to make him such. Free papers or deeds of emancipation were issued by him in accordance with the act of Congress liberating slaves of rebels, in the following terms:—"It having been proven to the entire satisfaction of the general commanding the Department of the South, that the bearer, named —— ——, heretofore held in involuntary servitude, has been directly employed to aid and assist those in rebellion against the United States of America: Now, be it known to all that, agreeably to the laws, I declare the said person free and forever absolved from all claims to his services. Both he and his wife and his children have full right to go north, south, east, or west, as they may decide." Accompanying these guarantees of freedom came an appeal to the negroes to enlist in military service.. An incident which occurred in May, a few days after the issue of the order, was undoubtedly calculated to stimulate his resolution in the matter. This was the daring and courageous adventure of a party of the colored population of Charleston in escaping from that city and bringing out from under the batteries of the forts and delivering to the Union blockading squadron a rebel gunboat which was employed in military service in the bay. This was the Planter, a high-pressure side-wheel steamer, armed with one 32-pounder and one 24-pound howitzer, and beside this armament, having on board at the time of the conveyance, four large guns, which she was engaged in transporting to Fort Ripley, then in process of construction in the harbor. The leader in this spoliation of the enemy was a negro born in Charleston, named Robert Small, who had been serving for some six weeks on board the vessel as a pilot. It is said that he first conceived the idea of carrying off the vessel from a joke of one of his companions. "He immediately," writes a correspondent, who narrates the circumstances from his own lips, "cautioned the crew against alluding to the matter in any way on board the boat, but asked them, if they wanted to talk it up in sober earnestness, to meet at his house, where they would devise and determine upon a plan to place themselves under the protection of the Stars and Stripes instead of the stars and bars. Various plans were proposed; but finally the whole arrangement of the escape was left to the discretion and sagacity of Robert, his companions promising to obey him and be ready at a moment's notice to accompany him. For three days he kept the provisions of the party secreted in the hold, awaiting an opportunity to slip away. At length, on Monday evening, the white officers of the vessel went on shore to spend the night, intending to start on the following morning for Fort Ripley and to be absent from the city for some days. The families of the contrabands were notified and came stealthily on board. At about three o'clock the fires were lit under the boilers, and the vessel steamed quietly away down the harbor. The tide was against her, and Fort Sumter was not reached till broad daylight. However, the boat passed directly under its walls, giving the usual signal—two long pulls and a jerk at the whistle cord—as she passed the sentinel. Once out of range of the rebel guns, the white flag was raised, and the Planter steamed directly for the blockading steamer Augusta. Captain Parrott, of the latter vessel, as you may imagine, received them cordially, heard their report, placed acting Master Watson, of his ship, in charge of the Planter and sent the confederate gunboat and crew forward to Commodore Dupont. The families of the crew have been sent to Beaufort, where General Stevens will make suitable provision for them. The crew will be taken care of by Commodore Dupont."* There were eight contrabands on board the vessel beside five colored women and three children.

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* Ante chapter lxii.

† Ante chapter lxxi.

* Ante p. 118.

In reporting the affair to Secretary Welles, flag-officer Dupont remarked: "The bringing out this steamer, under all the circumstances, would have done credit to any one," and especially commends the intelligence of the chief performer. "This man, Robert Small," says he, "is superior to any who have yet come into the lines, intelligent as many of them have been. His information has been most interesting, and portions of it of the utmost importance. The steamer is quite a valuable acquisition to the squadron by her good machinery and very light draught. I shall continue to employ Robert as a pilot on board the Planter for the inland waters, with which he appears to be very familiar. I do not know whether, in the views of the government, the vessel will be considered a prize, but if so, I respectfully submit to the department the claims of this man Robert and his associates." In accordance with this suggestion a bill was introduced into the Senate at Washington, on the 19th of May, and promptly passed in that body and the House of Representatives, ordering the Planter with all the property on board of her at the time of her delivery to be appraised, and one half of the sum thus awarded to be equitably apportioned between Small and his associates. To secure to the parties the benefit of this grant the Secretary of the Navy was authorized to invest the sums thus awarded to the several individuals, in United States securities, the interest to be paid semi-annually until such time as he might deem it expedient to pay the principal sum.* Small continued to be employed as a pilot, and rendered much service in the subsequent naval operations in and about Charleston.

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* Hilton Head Correspondence *New York Herald*, May 14, 1862.

A deed like this could only have been prompted by that love of freedom which is the natural instinct of all men, and the example of Robert Small doubtless had its effect upon his colored brethren at Port Royal, to whom General Hunter was now appealing to enlist to serve their country, and protect themselves from the risk of further bondage. Various feelings were of course excited by the attempt to arm the negro, and it met with much prejudice and opposition on the spot as well as among the conservative classes at the North. The subject of course excited the attention of Congress, angry speeches were made by border state conservative members, and a resolution was passed in the House of Representatives, inquiring of the Secretary of War for information on the matter. The Secretary responded that he had no official information, and transmitted the resolution to General Hunter to answer for himself. The general accordingly replied to Secretary Stanton on the 23d of June, in the following report, which was laid before the House: "Sir—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from the Adjutant-General of the Army, dated June 13, 1862, requesting me to furnish you with the information necessary to answer certain resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives June 9, 1862, on motion of the Hon. Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, their substance being to inquire: 1. Whether I had organized, or was organizing, a regiment of fugitive slaves in this department; 2. Whether any authority had been given me from the War Department for such organization; and, 3. Whether I had been furnished by order of the War Department with clothing, uniforms, arms, equipments, etc., for such a force. Only having received the letter concerning these inquiries at a late hour on Saturday night, I urge forward my answer in time for the steamer sailing to-day (Monday), this haste preventing me from entering as minutely as I could wish upon many points of detail, such as the paramount importance of the subject calls for. But in view of the near termination of the present session of Congress, and the wide spread interest which must have been awakened by Mr. Wickliffe's resolution, I prefer sending even this imperfect answer to waiting the period necessary for the collection of fuller and more comprehensive data.

"To the first question, therefore, I reply that no regiment of fugitive slaves has been or is being organized in this department. There is, however, a fine regiment of persons whose late masters are 'fugitive rebels'—men who everywhere fly before the appearance of the national flag, leaving their servants behind them to shift as best they can for themselves. So far, indeed, are the loyal persons composing this regiment from seeking to avoid the presence of their late owners, that they are now one and all working with remarkable industry to place themselves in a position to join in full and effective pursuit of their fugacious and traitorous proprietors. To the second question I have the honor to answer that the instructions given to Brigadier-General T. W. Sherman by the Hon. Simon Cameron, late Secretary of War, and turned over to me by succession for my guidance, do distinctly authorize me to employ all loyal persons offering their service in defence of the Union, and for the suppression of this rebellion, in any manner I might see fit, or that the circumstances might call for. There is no restriction as to the character or color of the persons to be employed, or the nature of the employment, whether civil or military, in which their services should be used. I conclude, therefore, that I have been authorized to enlist fugitive slaves as soldiers, could any such be found in the department. No such characters, however, have yet appeared within view of our most advanced pickets, the loyal slaves everywhere remaining on their plantations to welcome us, aid us, and supply us with good labor and information. It is the masters who have in every instance been the fugitives, running away from loyal slaves as well as loyal soldiers, and whom we have only partially been able to see, chiefly with their heads over ramparts, or rifle in hand dodging behind trees in the extreme distance. In the absence of any fugitive-master law, the deserted slaves would be wholly without remedy, had not their crime of treason given the right to pursue, capture, and bring back these persons, of whose protection they have been thus suddenly bereft.

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* Act for the Benefit of Robert Small and others, approved May 30, 1862.

"To the third interrogation it is my painful duty to reply that I have never received any specific authority for issues of uniforms, arms, equipments, etc., to the troops in question, my general instructions from Mr. Cameron to employ them in any manner I might find necessary, and the military exigencies of the department and the country, being my only, and in my judgment, sufficient justification. Neither have I had any specific authority for supplying those persons with shovels, spades and pick-axes when employing them as laborers, nor with boats and oars when using them as lighter-men; but these are not points indicated in Mr. Wicliffe's resolution. To me it seemed that liberty to employ them in any particular capacity implied with it liberty also to supply them with the necessary tools; and, acting upon this faith, I have clothed, equipped, and armed the only loyal regiment yet raised in South Carolina. I must say, in vindication of my own conduct, that, had it not been for the many other diversified and imperative claims on my time and attention, a much more satisfactory result might have been looked for; and that in place of only one, as at present, at least five or six well-drilled, brave and thoroughly acclimated regiments should by this time have been added to the loyal forces of the Union. The experiment of arming the blacks, so far as I have made it, has been a complete and even marvelous success. They are sober, docile, attentive and enthusiastic, displaying great natural capacities for acquiring the duties of the soldier. They are eager, beyond all things, to take the field and be led into action; and it is the unanimous opinion of the officers who have had charge of them, that in the peculiarities of the climate and country they will prove invaluable auxiliaries, fully equal to the similar regiments so long and successfully used by the British authorities in the West India islands. In conclusion, I would say it is my hope, there appearing no possibility of other reinforcements, owing to the exigencies of the campaign in the Peninsula, to have organized by the end of next fall, and to be able to present the government from forty-eight thousand to fifty thousand of these hardy and devoted soldiers. Trusting that this letter may form part of your answer to Mr. Wickliffe's resolution, I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your obedient servant, D. HUNTER, Major-General Commanding."

General Hunter's 1st South Carolina regiment, as the new organization was called, though commenced with every fair prospect of success, was suffered to languish for want of necessary support from the proper officials. Clothing and supplies were detained, and no authority to pay the men being given, after being kept together for four months the regiment was disbanded—in due time to be revived, and, with others in the department, to perform efficient service. Public opinion, or rather the policy of the government, advanced slowly towards measures which, in a few months—as the war was prolonged—came to be accepted as a matter of course. It was generally perceived that the necessities of the war would require the employment of the negro. Much was written in favor of the matter. The annals of the War of the Revolution, and of the War of 1812, were ransacked for examples, and satisfactory precedents were readily found in the emancipation of slaves who fought in the battle of Rhode Island in 1778, and in the New Orleans campaign of General Jackson. The physical capacity of the negro was duly estimated, and calculations were made of his probable courage in the field. Practical commanders were eager for his services. General Phelps was drilling him at New Orleans as General Butler did afterwards; General Lane, in Kansas, was calling for a force, which presently proved its value in contests with the guerrillas of that region. General Lewis Wallace, in a speech at a war meeting in Cincinnati, at the end of July, demonstrated the economical fitness of turning the negro to account with a musket in his hand, and urged his employment as a relief to our overtasked armies. General Turchin, in August, at Huntsville, Alabama, advocated the same policy. The colored men of Cleveland offered their services a second time to General Todd in Ohio, in August, and were for the time refused. Governor Sprague, of Rhode Island, had no scruples in the matter, and Governor Andrew, on the new call for 300,000 militia, ordered the colored population of Massachusetts to be included in the enrollment. Though Congress before its adjournment had authorized the President to receive "persons of African descent for any military or naval service for which they may be found competent," there was, nevertheless, an undefined impression of hostility to their employment; there were doubts of the military availability of the negro mingled with social prejudices, especially with a portion of the soldiers in the service, and a general disinclination, while any hope of peace remained, to precipitate a step which, though it might promote the certainties, would at the same time increase the horrors of war.

Military movements in the Southern department were limited by the smallness of the force at General Hunter's command mostly to defensive operations. An attempt was made, however, in June in the direction of Charleston. Gradual approaches in this quarter along the coast had been made by various naval reconnoissances, and by the occupation of Edisto Island under General Sherman's command. In May, circumstances appeared favorable for an attack upon Charleston. The information brought by the pilot Small, of the state of the fortifications, the troops, and means of defence in and around the harbor, encouraged the attempt. The confederate force under General Pemberton was believed not to be large, and an approach to the city seemed practicable from below by the Stono river. Accordingly, on the 20th of May, several gunboats were sent by flag-officer Dupont to that river, at whose appearance in the harbor, the rebel works on Cole's and Battery islands were destroyed and abandoned by the enemy. Occupation was taken of the inlet by the squadron, and preparations rapidly made by General Benham, in command of the northern department at Hilton Head, under the direction of General Hunter, to lodge a force on James Island with a view of gaining possession of its supposed inadequately manned batteries, and, in case these were successfully overcome, pushing to the Ashby river, where Charleston might be assailed out of reach of the powerful forts in the harbor. An attempt by an expedition from Beaufort, under Colonel Christ, of the 50th Pennsylvania volunteers, on the 29th, to destroy the enemy's line of communication by the Charleston and Savannah railroad at Pocataligo, in which, from the difficulties of the approach and the prompt supports brought up by the confederates, nothing was accomplished beyond trying the courage and power of endurance of the assailants, was undertaken as a part of the general movement which occupied most of the troops in the department. It was intended that the main expedition should arrive at Stono Island immediately after, and efforts were made to bring the disposable regiments together at that place by the morning of the 3d of June, when Generals Hunter and Benham with a part of the troops under General Stevens arrived; but owing to a number of steamboats having been withdrawn from the department for the service of the army of the Potomac, there was a deficiency of the means of transportation by water, and a portion of the force, under General Wright and Colonel Williams, was compelled to march from Edisto across John's Island, to be ferried thence to the place of rendezvous. Owing to severe storms and inadequate means of crossing the river, a week was occupied by these troops on the way, a delay which gave ample time to the enemy to bring up reinforcements and prepare for the attack on the works in the interior of the island. General Stevens meanwhile had some skirmishing with the enemy and captured a battery of iron cannonades, losing, however, about twenty prisoners. The troops of Generals Wright and Williams were landed on the 9th. "On the 10th," to pursue the narrative in the words of a correspondent, "it was found that the rebels were erecting a fort at a place called Secessionville, from which they could reach and command General Wright's and part of General Stevens' camps, and could even reach the gunboats in the Stono. A reconnoissance in force of several thousand men was therefore ordered for the early morning of the 11th, for the purpose of ascertaining the enemy's strength and position, and by a rush, if possible, of taking their fort and guns. On the afternoon of the 10th, however, the rebels attacked our lines near the camp of General Wright, and after a sharp skirmish were repulsed, with a loss of some two hundred killed and wounded, as admitted by themselves, including one colonel—our loss being only four killed and about a dozen wounded. Upon the representations of General Wright that his men were too exhausted to take part in the reconnoissance of the next day, it was countermanded for the time; and at General Stevens' suggestion, a battery of Parrot and James guns was commenced in advance of his camps, with the intent of trying to reduce the fort or silence its guns. General Hunter, who had waited at the Stono until this time, to hear the result of the reconnoissance, and who was cognizant of the battery project, left on the morning of the 12th, leaving orders, fully acquiesced in by General Benham, that 'no advance should be made on Charleston, nor any attack on Fort Johnson, unless reinforced or ordered from headquarters, but that the camps should be made secure and intrenched.' These camps, of course, could not be made secure so long as the fire from this fort of the enemy reached and commanded them, and here the provision of the order contemplated what was intended by the reconnoissance ordered for the 11th, and the battery begun on that day. On the 14th it was found that one battery produced no impression upon the rebel fort, and it was therefore deemed necessary and within his discretion to reduce it by actual assault if possible. Deserters from the enemy's lines gave us information, since fully confirmed, that the rebel force in garrison of the fort amounted to only two battalions of four hundred men each; that they had six guns mounted and that seven more were on the wharf awaiting use, while the whole force of the enemy on the island was only fourteen regiments and two battalions, being about twelve thousand men, all of whom we ought to have been able to whip in a fair fight. General Benham, therefore, determined to carry out the project of the first reconnoissance, except that he reduced the area and increased the number of men. General Stevens was to advance with four thousand men with guns loaded but not capped, and Rockwell's battery of four pieces, at the earliest dawn, to be in position before the enemy could distinctly see them, and to make a rush upon the rebel works, while General Wright and Colonel Williams, with three thousand more, with Hamilton's and Ransom's batteries, were to move up at right angles ready to support him if necessary. Our troops were put in motion at four A. M., on the 16th, during a slight shower. General Stevens' column moved swiftly and enthusiastically against the enemy's right, accompanied by Rockwell's battery. General Stevens, with his usual intrepidity, pushed vigorously on, capturing the enemy's pickets, and charging up to the guns of the forts, some of his men actually getting inside. In accomplishing this our troops were obliged to charge through a narrow pass, flanked by earthworks and pits, and through a ditch in front of the fort, itself protected by abattis, etc.

"The Michigan 8th, New York 79th, and Connecticut 7th, comprised the advance, and there is, as usual, some dispute as to the precedence; but it is generally conceded that the gallant but unfortunate Michigan 8th were the first in the melée. Charging up to the guns under a most deadly fire, they were swept down like grain before the sickle, Colonel Fenton leading them in person, with heroic bravery, and the men fighting like heroes, as they are, and have ever shown themselves to be. All their valor and heroism were, however, made of no avail, by the failure of the other troops to get up in time to support them. Here was the great cause of the defeat, for repulse and defeat it was. The storming party, instead of being precipitated upon the enemy's works in a body, came up straggling and divided. The 7th Connecticut, coming up after the 8th with decimated ranks, was obliged to fall back; and the 79th, in turn, after repeating the tragedy of bloody heroism, being obliged to give way before the 7th Connecticut could come to their aid. A brief explanation of the nature of the approach will explain the cause of this. About half a mile from the fort, in the direct line in which the attack was necessarily made, was a transverse hedge, with only a narrow opening through which our men could pass, not more than half a dozen at a time, causing great delay, and forcing the soldiers to charge in a broken and extended line, and this, too, under a deadly fire from the fort, and a heavy and withering cross-fire of rifles from sharpshooters on each flank. The consequence of this was that when the brave remnant of the heroic 8th found themselves upon the enemy's works, on looking around, they discovered the 79th just getting through the hedge, and the same thing occurred successively with all the regiments. Success, under these circumstances, was, of course, impossible, and all that display of courage and valor, and all that sacrifice of precious blood and noble life was rendered utterly abortive. During this onset the New York 79th, led by the gallant Colonel Morrison, charged with the utmost impetuosity and daring; Colonel M. actually mounted the parapet and emptying the barrels of his revolver in the faces of the rebel gunners, and only retreating when wounded in the head, and left almost alone in the midst of the foe. Lastly, the 7th Connecticut made a brave but vain effort, single-handed, to maintain the unequal contest, and were in turn obliged to fall back, with severe loss.

"General Stevens, supported by Adjutant-General Stevens, his son, made every possible exertion to retrieve the broken fortunes of the day, but was obliged to fall back, which he did, bringing off his troops in good order. The right wing, consisting of the 100th Pennsylvania and 28th Massachusetts, also under command of General Stevens, participated in the fight, and on the left General Williams led his column against the enemy, and although he did not reach the enemy's works, suffered heavy loss, especially the 3d New Hampshire and 3d Rhode Island. A galling fire from sharpshooters in the woods did severe execution upon this wing of the attack. General Benham, who commanded in person, displayed great courage and zeal, as did also his staff and those of the different generals. Captains Ely and Hawks, of General Benham's staff, and Captain J. J. Elwell, chief quartermaster of the expedition, and volunteer aid-de-camp to General Benham, were particularly noticeable for energy, courage and activity. The latter (Captain Elwell), by his promptness, intrepidity and efficiency, particularly distinguished himself, showing himself to be in the field what he is well-known to be in his department, a thorough and competent officer. But I must hasten to the close of this bloody and disastrous day. While General Benham seemed to hesitate whether to risk more loss of life in a second onset upon the enemy's works, the gunboats, to add to the disasters of the day, commenced throwing shells right into our own ranks, owing, doubtless, to misconception regarding their position, the precise situation of the contending parties being concealed from them by the woods, one shell even bursting in the immediate vicinity of the commanding general and his staff. This was followed by an order for the forces to be withdrawn upon the original picket lines, and thus closed one of the most deplorable engagements of the war." The estimated Union loss in this engagement was about seven hundred in killed, wounded and missing; that of the enemy, according to a Charleston correspondent, writing to the *Richmond Dispatch*, was forty-eight killed and one hundred and six wounded. Colonel Lamar, of the South Carolina volunteer artillery, in command of the work upon which the assault was made, was wounded by a minié ball in the beginning of the action.

When news of this engagement was brought to General Hunter at Hilton Head, considering the attack made by General Benham an act of disobedience to his orders, he summarily relieved him of his command and ordered him to report to the War Department at Washington. The explanation of General Benham was, that the movement which he had directed was quite within the scope of General Hunter's order to maintain possession of his camp, which could only be done by silencing the work of the enemy which endangered it. General Benham thus again relieved of command in the field, after an interval was restored to active service in the corps of Engineers, to which he had been originally attached.

The forces on James Island presently returned to their headquarters at Hilton Head, previously to which General Stevens issued the following order, commending the valor of his troops in the engagement:

"The brigadier-general commanding the 2d division, in communicating to his command the thanks of the commanding general, for the good conduct of the troops in the action of the 16th inst., desires to express his own profound sense of their valor, conduct and heroism. I. Men of the 2d division! You displayed in the attack on the fortified position of the enemy at Secessionville, on the 16th inst., the highest qualities of veteran troops. You formed in silence and secrecy in the darkness of the night. You moved forward in perfect order at the earliest dawn, and surprised and captured the enemy's pickets. You were ordered not to fire, but to push forward and use the bayonet. You obeyed the order. You formed in line of battle under a terrible and murderous fire of grape, canister and musketry. You pushed to the ditch and abattis of the work from right to left. Parties from the leading regiments of your two brigades, the 8th Michigan and the 79th Highlanders, mounted and were shot down on the parapet, officers and men. Those two regiments especially covered themselves with glory, and their fearful casualties show the hot work in which you were engaged. Two-fifths of the 8th Michigan and nearly one-quarter of the 79th Highlanders were struck down either killed or wounded; and nearly all the remaining regiments—100th Pennsylvania, 7th Connecticut, 46th New York, and 28th Massachusetts—had a large number of casualties. II. Notwithstanding these fearful losses you were not discouraged. Some of you were temporarily withdrawn from the murderous fire of the enemy. You retired in order of battle, and you returned to the attack in order of battle. Some held, throughout the action, the advanced position at the abattis and ditch of the work. This position was held by you unflinchingly and confidently. And at this very hedge the light battery of Rockwell threw its effective fire upon the enemy. III. In obedience to orders from superior authority you all finally returned in good order and in line of battle, and the enemy did not venture to interrupt you. IV. Men of the 2d division! You covered yourselves with glory on that gory field. Your intrepid and able brigade commanders, Leasure and Fenton, in the hottest of the thick fight; your regimental commanders, like the heroic Morrison, who, shot through the head on the parapet, again led his men to the assault, eager to avenge his wounds; at all points rallying and cheering on their men, and officers and men alike gave signal proof of their devotion to duty and their country. In congratulating his comrades on their heroic valor and constancy on that terrible field, the commanding general of the division has not words to express his and your grief at the sacrifices that have been made. Our best and truest men now sleep the sleep that knows no waking. Their dead bodies lay on the enemy's parapet. Church, Pratt, Cottrel, Guild, Morrow, Horton, Hitchcock, and many other gallant and noble men we shall see no more. Honor, therefore, all honor to you, men of the 2d division. You have shown what you will do when you shall have the proper opportunity. You did not seize the fort, because it was simply impossible, and known now to be impossible by the reconnoissance referred to in the orders of thanks of the commanding general."

The next important event in the affairs of the Department of the South was the arrival of General Mitchel, toward the end of September, as the successor of General Hunter, who, at his own request, was relieved of the command. General Stevens had also returned to the North, on his way to his last campaign with the Army of the Potomac. General Mitchel, immediately on his arrival, sought to infuse the patriotic enthusiasm of his character into every province of his command. The condition of the negro race, in the absence of any adequate force for immediate extended operations, particularly engaged his attention. Immediately upon his arrival at Port Royal, General Mitchel reviewed General Brannan's troops at Beaufort, and a day or two after addressed the garrison at Pulaski, with his accustomed earnestness of speech. "I am here," he said, "to say that we have an immense work to perform. I am just from the North, where, having conversed and associated with the thinking men of the country, I am satisfied that the work before us is the most stupendous, the most arduous that has ever been attempted; and it is a work in which we can never be successful unless we enter upon it with a firm determination never to succumb. I believe that we are fighting the battle of human liberty, not for this country alone, but for the whole world. If we permit the iron heel of the southern aristocracy to crush us, I undertake to say before you all, that the last hope of humanity will die out forever. * * * I was told that I should receive instructions here. I find that they permit me to do pretty much as I please; and I shall endeavor to do the best I can. I assure you of this; that I will omit no opportunity of giving you active employment. * * * Your fortunes are, to a certain extent, in my keeping. Rest assured that day and night I shall think of you; day and night I shall care for you, and your interests shall be in my thoughts." Such was the spirit in which General Mitchel entered upon his work.

An opportunity also presently arose at the dedication of a new church erected by General Hunter's order, for the colored population, to inform that class of the people of his views of their duties and prospects. After urging upon them the necessity of respecting the marriage relation, to which slavery had been so unfriendly, and of organizing themselves into families, he held up before them the blessings of liberty which would result to them from the war if they were true to themselves. Announcing the provision which was making by the superintendent for their agricultural labors, he sought to awaken in them a love of order, neatness, and even elegance. "A gang of fifty men are building your houses at the rate of six a day. These houses are to make you more comfortable. You are to have a patch of ground which you can call your own, to raise your own garden truck, and you may work for the government for good wages. And you women must make your houses shine; you must plaster them and whitewash them, and gradually get furniture in your cabins, and a cooking stove. I have arranged in such a way that you will get your clothing cheaper and better than before, and you are to have a school for your children. And you must have flowers in your gardens and blossoms before your doors." This was new language to be addessed to the field hands of South Carolina. It was the calculation of General Mitchel that an industrious family of three persons might save from one hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars, with which they might secure their own homes and "begin the world for themselves." Such was his solution of the industrial problem of the South. With a fair chance it would peacefully solve itself. Writing to Secretary Chase, the next day, of this address at the church, he said :—"I have spoken to the *élite* of Boston, the solid and the scientific and the literary men of that learned city ; I have spoken to the fashionable crowds of New York in the Academy of Music ; I have spoken to the rich and proud citizens of New Orleans ; I have spoken to multitudes in almost every State in the Union, but I do not think I ever addressed any audience whose presence touched me more deeply than the sable multitude to whom I endeavored to utter words of encouragement and hope yesterday. And, my dear governor, they are encouraged, and they do hope ; and I feel that it is possible to convert the officers and soldiers from their unjust and ungenerous prejudices, and to make them the firm, fast, sympathizing friends of those unfortunate blacks. Already I find a very great change, and some of my thinking officers, who were most gloomy and most despondent when I first arrived, are now full of cheerful hope."*

True to his promise, of keeping his troops in activity, though unable from the fewness of his command of attempting any movement of magnitude, General Mitchel presently set on foot several expeditions, the most important of which was designed to destroy the bridges on the Charleston and Savannah railroad in the vicinity of Pocotaligo and Coosawhatchie. The movement was made by a combined land and naval force, which left Hilton Head on the night of the 21st of October. The troops, under the command of General Brannan, who had recently led an expedition to the St. John's river, attacked the fortification on St. John's Bluff, and ascending the river to Jacksonville, again temporarily occupied that town, consisted of detachments of the New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania regiments, from General Brannan's 1st and General Terry's 2d brigades of the 10th Army Corps, assigned to the department. They were landed at Mackay's Point, at the confluence of Broad and Pocotaligo rivers, on the morning of the 22d, and immediately proceeded towards the village of Pocotaligo, eleven miles distant. "The line of march," writes a correspondent who participated in the fight, "was taken up soon after ten, the section of Lieutenant Henry's battery being at the head of the column, with skirmishers of the 47th Pennsylvania regiment. Advancing slowly over an admirable road for seven miles, we failed, during the march, of encountering the enemy, who had prudently recoiled from a meeting until it should take place beyond range of our gunboats, although the nature of the ground over which we passed afforded many excellent positions for defence. The road alternated through dense woods, and through marshes, only passable over a narrow causeway, save at one or two points. Choosing a position at the opposite end of this causeway, the enemy opened a furious fire of shell and canister on our advancing column, which was promptly met by the battery under Lieutenant Henry. Immediately the order was given by General Brannon for his brigade to form line of battle, the centre resting on the causeway. After a brisk fire of both musketry and artillery the rebels retired to the dense woods in their rear, tearing up the causeway-bridge, which delayed the advance of our artillery until it could be repaired. Meanwhile, the 1st brigade pressed on to the woods, which they penetrated, driving the enemy before them, and closely followed by the 2d brigade, under General Terry, who came up with a cheer, and were quickly in the engagement. Here the fight, it may be said, fairly commenced—the enemy's sharpshooters picking off our men rapidly. The artillery fire from our side was not slackened while the bridge was being repaired, and it was not long before the batteries went forward to the work in support of the infantry. This action began between twelve and one, and lasted about an nour, ending in the retreat of the rebels to another position at Frampton's plantation, which lies two miles beyond. The enemy were closely followed, and after a fight more hotly contested than the first, our troops were again victorious, the second time driving the rebels from their well-chosen position, and two miles beyond, which brought them up to Pocotaligo bridge (not the railroad bridge), over which they crossed, taking shelter behind earthworks on the farthest side. To this point our troops nearly approached, but found farther progress impossible, as the bridge had been cut by the enemy on his retreat. This fact we construe into a clear acknowledgment of his defeat. Although these events are thus briefly noted, it required upward of five hours of impetuous and gallant fighting to accomplish them. At no one time was the entire field of combat in view from a given point, and I therefore find it impossible to speak in detail of the operations of my own regiment. Both brigades participated in the action, and both Generals Brannan and Terry were constantly under fire, leading and directing the movements of their men, awakening enthusiasm by their personal bravery and the skillful manner in which they maneuvered their commands. Frequently, while the fight was progressing, we heard the whistles of the railroad trains, notifying us of reinforcements for the rebels, both from Charleston and Savannah, and even if we had had facilities for crossing the river, it would have been unwise to have made the attempt in view of these circumstances. General Brannan therefore ordered a retreat, which was conducted in a most orderly manner; the regiments retiring in successive lines, carrying off their dead and wounded. and leaving no arms or ammunition on the field. Of the exact force of the rebels, of course, we know nothing, although General Brannan was of the opinion that it equaled our own. Certainly their artillery exceeded ours by four or five pieces, and this we have from the seven prisoners taken, one of whom, William Judd, belonged to Company B, 2d South Carolina cavalry, whose horse was also captured. The prisoners informed us that General Beauregard commanded in person.

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* Letter of General Mitchel to Secretary Chase. Port Royal. October 13, 1862.

"While these events were taking place between the main forces on either side, Colonel Barton, of the 48th New York, with three hundred of his own men and fifty of the 3d Rhode Island Regiment, under command of Captain J. H. Gould, went up the Coosawhatchie river, convoyed by the Patroon, to within two miles of the town of the same name. Landing this force here, a march was made to the village through which runs the railroad. Arrived there, they commenced tearing up the rails, but had scarcely engaged in the work when a long train of cars came from the direction of Savannah, filled with troops. This train was fired into by our party, killing the engineer and a number of others. Several soldiers jumped from the cars while they were in motion, and were wounded. One was taken prisoner — thirty muskets were captured, and colors of the Whippy Swamp Guards taken from the color-bearer, who was killed by our fire. The work of tearing up the rails was not accomplished in time to prevent the onward progress of the train, and our men afterward completed the job — also cutting the telegraph, and bringing away a portion of the wire with them. Colonel Barton next attempted to reach the railroad bridge, for the purpose of firing it, but was unable, as it was protected by a battery of three guns. Fearing that his retreat might be cut off by the enemy's cavalry, he gave the order to retire to the steamboat, which was done successfully. His men had nearly all embarked when the cavalry boldly came directly under the guns of the Planter and Patroon, and fired upon both steamers. A few round of canister dispersed them, and the only damage which they inflicted was the serious wounding of Lieutenant J. B. Blanding, of the 3d Rhode Island artillery."* The Union loss in these unprofitable engagements was thirty-two killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded.† The enemy left fifteen or twenty of their dead on the field, from which it was inferred that their loss was severe. Two caissons filled with ammunition were captured from them at an opportune moment when the powder of the assailants was nearly exhausted.

The climate, meanwhile, was telling on the health of the troops of the department. The sick list in several of the regiments was increasing to an alarming degree. As the month wore on several undoubted cases of yellow fever occurred at Port Royal. Captain J. C. Williams, an aid on General Mitchel's staff, Captain L. A. Warfield, chief commissary of subsistence, and Colonel N. W. Brown, of the 3d Rhode Island artillery, fell victims to the disease, and General Mitchel, sickening, was removed to Beaufort, where he died on the 30th of October. General Brannan, who succeeded to the command as the senior officer in the department, in a general order, recorded the energy of his administration, and the Christian principle which inspired it. "Brief as his career in the Department of the South, yet had he already won the esteem and regard of all by his energy and activity, in directing the movements of the corps against the adjoining rebels, and the firmness and tempered justice with which he conducted the administrative duties of the department. He died with the calm fortitude of a believing Christian, and while we lament the death of a gallant soldier and a kind friend, let us endeavor to emulate the virtues and soldierly qualities of our late commander."

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* Port Royal Correspondence *New York Times*, October 24, 1862.

† General Halleck's Report, December, 1862.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

REBEL INVASIONS OF KENTUCKY, JULY—OCTOBER, 1862.

WHEN General Halleck, after the enemy had been driven from Corinth, and Memphis had been restored to the Union, in the beginning of July, was called to the position of General-in-Chief at Washington, the military commands of the Department of the Mississippi were thus distributed: The main body of the army, under command of Major-General Buell, was to the east of Corinth, between Huntsville and Stevenson, on the northern border of Alabama, moving toward Chattanooga the key of eastern Tennessee and the great line of Confederate railway communication with the Southwest. West of the Tennessee river, on the confines of Tennessee and Mississippi, Major-General Grant held the line from Memphis to Iuka, protecting the railways from Columbus south. Major-General Curtis was in command of a force at Helena, Arkansas, and Brigadier-General Schofield of the troops in southwestern Missouri. "These several armies," says General Halleck, "spread along a line of some six hundred miles, from the western borders of Arkansas to Cumberland Gap, and occupying a strip of country more than one hundred and fifty miles in width, from which the enemy's forces had recently been expelled, were rapidly decreasing in strength from the large numbers of soldiers sent home on account of real or pretended disability. On the other hand, the enemy's armies were greatly increased by an arbitrary and rigidly enforced conscription. With their superiority in numbers and discipline they boldly determined to reoccupy Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and, if possible, to invade the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, while our attention was distracted by the invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and an extended Indian insurrection on the western frontiers."

In this comprehensive scheme of rebel aggression much reliance was evidently placed upon the aid which would be given to the regular invading force by a system of partisan or guerrilla warfare, which had been already set on foot in the department, with no little success, by a redoubtable leader in this branch of the service, John Morgan of Kentucky. A thriving planter at the outbreak of the rebellion, he gave the whole strength of an energetic and determined nature to its service. Thoroughly acquainted with the temper and resources of the people, familiar with the roads and communications of the country, a popular leader of the desperate and disaffected, we find him throughout the war ever recruiting his desultory bands of cavalry, and constantly on the aggressive ; at one time attacking a railway train, plundering the mails and property *in transitu* and imprisoning the passengers, or destroying the rails and cars ; at another, falling upon a supply train or an isolated detachment of the Union forces, tarrying in the prosperous regions of eastern and middle Kentucky—sure at no long interval to furnish a paragraph to the newspapers of some fresh daring act of outrage and depredation. Often attacked in turn, where Union troops were at hand, and intercepted in his movements, when the members of his command at times were severely dealt with, he constantly manages, by his knowledge of the region and the friendly aid of sympathizers, by his presence of mind and activity, to bring off his shattered forces, who disperse to meet again on some early occasion to inflict new injury and create fresh terror and alarm. Bold and unscrupulous, he was the foremost of the partisan leaders, the Ashbys, Jenkinses, and others, who promptly sprang up, the natural and inevitable offspring of the rebellion.

The months of July and August were marked by the efforts of the guerrilla parties of the confederates along the borders of Tennessee and Kentucky, and even in the heart of the latter state. Raids and assaults were the order of the day. At daybreak on the morning of Sunday, 13th of July, an unexpected attack was made upon the Union brigade, under command of General Thomas T. Crittenden, in charge of Murfreesboro, by a cavalry force over three thousand in number, of Texan, Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee troops, led by Brigadier-General N. B. Forrest, a rival of Morgan in these flying expeditions. The Union effective force at the place was only about eight hundred. The attack was made with great vigor by about eight hundred Texans and Georgians upon a detachment of the 9th Michigan volunteers, about two hundred in number, stationed three-fourths of a mile east of the town. Overpowered by the superior force, the men fell back to the main camp, when they maintained an action of twenty minutes with the enemy, inflicting heavy injury on their pursuers. The Michigan regiment in this part of the affair lost one officer and twelve men killed, and three officers and seventy-five men wounded, among whom was its colonel, William W. Duffield. The enemy now closing in, the whole force, including the 3d Minnesota regiment, and a squadron of Kentucky cavalry, after some ineffective fighting was compelled to surrender.* On receipt of the intelligence of the capture, General Buell, in command of the Army of the Ohio, issued an order, commenting with great severity upon the remissness of the Union command in being surprised and not making more effectual resistance. The prisoners, including General Crittenden, were carried to Chattanooga, whence the expedition had been sent forth, and a large quantity of ammunition and stores was brought away or destroyed. The news of this capture created no little excitement at Nashville, where an attack was feared, and an active enlistment in the home guard took place. The citizens, however, were speedily renerved by news of the retirement of the enemy, though the vicinity continued to be much harrassed by guerrillas.

Simultaneously with this surprise of Murfreesboro' came a fresh raid into Kentucky of the guerrilla leader Colonel Morgan. Crossing into Kentucky from Knoxville with about nine hundred men, he issued, on the 10th of July, at Glasgow, a proclamation to the inhabitants, in which allusion was made to the defeats before Richmond, which had doubtless given a strong impulse to his undertaking. "Kentuckians," said he, "I am once more among you. Confiding in your patriotism and strong attachment to our Southern cause, I have, at the head of my gallant band, raised once more our Confederate flag, so long trampled upon by the Northern tyrants, but never yet disgraced. Let every true patriot respond to my appeal. Rise and arm. Fight against the despoiler! Fight for your families! your homes! for those you love best! for your conscience! and for the free exercise of your political rights, never again to be placed in jeopardy by the Hessian invader. Let the stirring sense of the late Richmond fight constantly be before you. Our brave army there and everywhere is victorious. McClellan and his foreign hordes are groveling in the dust. Our independence is an achieved fact. We have bought it with privation and suffering, and sealed the contract with the seal of blood. Be not timorous, but rise, one and all, for the good cause, to clear out dear Kentucky's soil of its detested invaders. Kentuckians! fellow-countrymen! you know you can rely upon me." Relying upon the sympathy and aid of a portion of the inhabitants to increase his numbers and support his forces, Morgan pushed rapidly forward to the centre of the state, took possession of Lebanon, where he freely helped himself to supplies from the abundant government commissary stores and the property of the townspeople, and but for the effective loyal organization might have made a successful demonstration upon Frankfort or Lexington. Hovering about these cities, and destroying the railway communication with Cincinnati, on the 17th of July, at the head of a motley force of some two thousand Kentuckians, Tennesseeans, Georgians, Mississippians, Texans and South Carolinians, with two pieces of artillery, he fell upon a body of about three hundred and forty men at Cynthiana, in Harrison county—volunteers and home guards, for the most part poorly armed and undisciplined, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Landrum. The Union pickets had hardly been driven in before the enemy commenced shelling the town. Colonel Landrum disposed his little force to the best advantage, placing a number of his men at the bridge over the Licking river and his single artillery piece, a brass 12-pounder, under Captain Glass, of Cincinnati, in the public square, commanding the different approaches. The enemy came in by every road, street and by-path; the force at the bridge was dislodged and one of Morgan's cavalry charges made into the town. "At this time," says Lieutenant-Colonel Landrum, in his spirited account of this gallant affair, "I rallied a part of my forces at the railroad depot, at which point our boys gave them a warm reception, emptying several saddles. I then again went for the purpose of rallying the artillery squad, so as to place it on the hill near the residence of M. L. Broadwell, from which position we could have commanded the town, and several roads leading to it, but was unable to find either men or gun, the streets in every direction being in possession of the rebels. My men were exhausted and out of ammunition, but I rallied them, and at the depot distributed it to them. The firing at the time having nearly ceased, I rode along the railroad to Rankin's Hotel to ascertain what position the enemy was taking, and from what direction they were coming in heaviest force. Here I met an officer of the rebel band, aid to Colonel Morgan (a son of the late Beverly L. Clark), who demanded my surrender. I replied, 'I never surrender,' and instantly discharged three shots at him, two of which took effect in his breast. He fell from his horse, and I thought him dead, but he is still living, and will probably recover, notwithstanding two balls passed through his body. Captain Rogers also discharged a shot at him which took effect. I then rallied part of my force, about forty in number, and determined to make a charge upon the enemy at the Licking bridge, and take their battery, which had been brought to that point and was being used with fatal effect upon my little band of patriot heroes. The force, sustaining their artillery, outnumbered ours more than ten to one, and were all the while under cover of houses, etc. Besides this, a force of the rebels, at least three hundred strong, were pouring an incessant and deadly fire upon my little band from the rear, about a hundred and twenty-five yards distant. It was here that Jacob Carver, Company E, 18th Kentucky, fell, severely wounded, as brave a man as ever pulled trigger—and I received a slight wound in the ankle. It was here, too, that the lamented Thomas Ware, United States Commissioner for this county, one of the oldest citizens of Cynthiana, was instantly killed, nobly and bravely doing his duty as a patriot. Here, too, was killed Jesse Current, young Thomas Rankins, Captain Lafe Wilson, young Hartburn of Cincinnati, and others; besides many, including F. L. St. Thomas, John Scott, Captain McClintock, John McClintock, Thomas Barry of Cincinnati, and Thomas J. Vimont, who fell severely wounded. In consequence of the terrific storm of balls, and as but few of my men were left, among whom were Wm. W. Trimble and J. S. Frizell, who was also wounded, of this place, others not remembered, I ordered a retreat. In the mean time Major William O. Smith had command of the 7th Kentucky cavalry, and was posted north of the town to hold the Claysville road, and prevent the enemy from gaining the streets from that direction, where he made a gallant resistance near the Episcopal church, until overpowered by superior numbers, and forced to fall back toward the Reform church, and thence to the Court-house, where he and his command were compelled to surrender. At this time more than three-fourths of my men were killed, wounded and prisoners, and I determined to cut my way through the enemy and escape with the remainder, if possible. I rallied together from twenty to twenty-five of my men at the depot, and started in a southeast direction through Redmon's pasture, where we met a body of the enemy who had crossed from the Millersburg road. They were secreted behind fences, trees, and hay-cocks. We at once engaged them, and soon routed them. Upon turning round I discovered that the enemy had pursued us from the town, and were on our rear, not more than forty paces distant. I ordered my handful of men to cross the hillside, and fight them from behind the fences, which they did, and held them in check until nearly surrounded by a body of cavalry, at least ten times their number. I then ordered my men to retreat beyond a fence in a southeasterly direction, to avoid a cavalry charge. Here a part of the men became exhausted, some falling by the way-side to await their fate, their ammunition all expended, when I informed the little Spartan band we could do no more; to save themselves, and I would do likewise, if possible, and bade them good-by."*

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* Colonel Duffield to Colonel J. B. Fry, A. A. G., July 23, 1862.

The capture of Cynthiana caused some excitement at Cincinnati, about sixty miles distant, for the safety of the approaches to that city and the line of the Kentucky Central railway. Lieutenant-Colonel Sydney Burbank, of the 13th United States Infantry, stationed at Newport barracks, by order of the War Department, took military command of the city, and companies of thirty day volunteers were organized and officered for service. Martial law was proclaimed at Covington, and a military guard set by the provost marshal for its protection. General Boyle, in command of the military district of Kentucky, with his headquarters at Louisville, used every exertion in sending troops into the field for the protection of the state.

Meanwhile a force of mounted infantry hastily gathered at Lexington and its vicinity, set out under command of General Green Clay Smith, and coming up with Colonel Morgan's cavalry near Paris, defeated them, retaking the cannon and horses captured at Cynthiana, with a considerable portion of the stolen property. Morgan, now pursued by General Smith, who was reinforced by fresh troops, returned to Tennessee, reaching Lexington on the 28th, with nearly twelve hundred men, having been absent twenty-four days, during which time, he boasted, that he had travelled over a thousand miles, captured seventeen towns, destroyed the government supplies and arms in them, dispersed about fifteen hundred home guards, and paroled nearly twelve hundred regular troops. He lost in killed, wounded and missing of the number that he carried into Kentucky about ninety.*

In another part of Kentucky, on the Ohio, Henderson was occupied by a guerrilla force under Colonel A. K. Johnson, who, on the 17th of July, issued a proclamation, from that place, to the people of Kentucky, in which he sought to excite an enthusiasm for the confederate cause. "It has gone forth to the world," said he, "that you are a subjugated people—that the iron heel of despotism has destroyed all spirit of resistance and crushed out the last spark of patriotism. This idea has gone through the North, and they look upon you with contempt, and send their hirelings to rule over you. It has crossed the Atlantic, and the eyes of Europe have been looking at the position of Kentucky with wonder and astonishment. Down in the sunny South, amongst those who ought to be your brothers, you have become a by-word and a scoff. The Kentucky army have turned their anxious eyes to their native state, and at each new outrage would listen for the tocsin of war; but they have listened and hoped against hope until the last ray has expired. The Confederate Cabinet and Congress have looked for some movement indicating a desire for freedom; but they looked in vain and think Kentucky lost. But there is one man who has never despaired. That man is John C. Breckinridge, the hero, the statesman and the patriot. With the same never-despairing love that a mother bears to her offspring does he regard Kentucky—with the same anxious care has he watched her. He has asked his government and the world to suspend public opinion until his state should have one more opportunity to redeem her character; and now, citizens of Kentucky, this opportunity has presented itself, and for the sake of your former fame and glory—for your country—for your liberties, which ought to be dearer to you than life itself—come to the field. Rally to your country's call. Rise in your majesty, and drive from your midst this monster of oppression. Then prepare now to meet the enemy; send the young men to the field; let them retrieve the character of this once proud and noble state. Circulate through the country that the Confederate government does not war against the citizens of the country. Can you, with the example set by the people of the South, tamely submit? They have, with heroic devotion, applied the torch to their property, and, with unparalleled unanimity, have they battled for their country. Will you not risk as much as they to achieve your freedom and independence?" The depredations of the guerrillas, however, in the town and on the opposite bank of the Ohio, in the plunder of a hospital at Newburg, in Indiana, were not calculated to ingratiate the new government with the people, who speedily compelled these lawless assailants to retire from the scene of their outrages. Russelville, the capital of Logan county, southwest of Bowling Green, was also, on the 29th of July, occupied by a band of guerrillas, who overpowered the home guard. The same day, in another quarter, the citizens of Mount Sterling, the capital of Montgomery county, east of Lexington, made a vigorous defence, under Provost Marshal Evans, against a body of rebel assailants from Boone county, led by Colonel Bullett, who were again beaten on their retreat by Major Brocht, provost marshal of Lexington, with a detachment of the 18th Kentucky regiment, which had been in pursuit of them.

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* Lieutenant-Colonel Landrum to Captain John Boyle, A. A. G. - Louisville, July 24, 1862.

* Colonel J. H. Morgan to Major-General E. Kirby Smith, July 30, 1862. *Moore's Rebellion Record*, v. 50.

Aggressions like these, in addition to the requisitions upon the national army, demanded action from the state authorities. Governor Magoffin accordingly, on the 28th of July, issued a proclamation summoning the general assembly to meet at Frankfort on the 14th of August, "to take into consideration the interests of the commonwealth, as the same may be involved or connected with the present distracted state of our country." From this document it appears that owing to a conflict between the military board, formerly created by the legislature, and the Governor, the militia still remained unorganized. "A civil conflict," said Magoffin, "is impending over us. I am without a soldier or a dollar to protect the lives, property and liberties of the people, or to enforce the laws. Daily appeals are being made to me, as the governor of the state, to protect our citizens from marauding bands, and in the peaceful enjoyment of their property and rights under the constitution. I am left without the power and means to afford relief, and I am consequently left no alternative but to appeal to you, their representatives, in the hope that it will not be in vain. Any attempt on my part to organize a force for that purpose will certainly but precipitate the evil, and I therefore not unwillingly convene the general assembly, that they may determine themselves the extent of the authority to be granted by them, and, looking to the policy adopted in the state, and to the late action of Congress and the President touching slavery, provide for the safety of our institutions and the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth." The Assembly was met by Governor Magoffin with a further recital of the necessities of the state, coupled with a recommendation of the old peace resolutions of Senator Crittenden in the closing Congress of President Buchanan's administration. Shortly after the Governor resigned his office and the Secretary of State, James F. Robinson, was placed by the Assembly in his stead.

The guerrilla movements in the state were at the end of August renewed in a successful attack upon an Indiana regiment stationed at Bowling Green, simultaneously with a formidable advance of a division of the rebel army under General E. Kirby Smith, from his headquarters at Knoxville in east Tennessee. After a difficult march, General Smith entered the fertile, blue-grass grazing region of Kentucky, and on the 29th of August appeared before Richmond, the capital of Madison county, forty-eight miles southeast of Frankfort, where Brigadier-General Manson was in command of an ill-provided, undisciplined force, chiefly of newly raised Indiana and Ohio regiments, of about 6,500 men. The confederate veteran force, as reported by General Manson, consisted of about 12,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry and fifteen pieces of artillery. On the approach of the enemy, General Manson went forward with several Indiana regiments, artillery, and a party of cavalry, to meet them, and choosing an advantageous position, repulsed their cavalry advance. The next day, the 30th, the conflict was resumed, a line of battle was formed in the vicinity of Rogersville, a few miles south of Richmond, where General Manson with his Indiana regiments, and General Cruft with his brigade of Ohio and Kentucky troops, were attacked, outflanked, and driven back by the enemy to a new position, from which they were again compelled to retreat in confusion. It was now afternoon, and Major-General Nelson, the division commander, hearing of the engagement, had arrived on the field from Lexington. A third effort was now made to withstand the enemy at the cemetery in the vicinity of Richmond, with no better fortune than the others. Thoroughly routed, the demoralized Union troops pursued their way toward Lexington to be again defeated by the enemy, who had cut off their retreat. General Manson, who was taken prisoner, in his report estimates his losses approximately at two hundred killed, seven hundred wounded, and two thousand prisoners. Nine pieces of artillery fell to the enemy. General Nelson, who with the rough energy of his nature, attempted to stem the tide of the unequal conflict, was wounded in the engagement, but made good his escape. In a dispatch to Adjutant-General Cooper, at the Confederate capital, General Smith thus announced his victory :—"It is my great pleasure to announce to you that God has thrice blessed our arms to-day. After a forced march, almost day and night, for three days, over a mountain wilderness, destitute alike of food and water, I found the enemy drawn up in force to oppose us, at a point eight miles from this place. With less than half my force I attacked and carried a very strong position at Mount Zion Church, after a very hard fight of two hours; again, a still better position at White's Farm, in half an hour; and, finally, in this town, just before sunset, our indomitable troops deliberately walked (they were too tired to run) up to a magnificent position manned by ten thousand of the enemy, many of them perfectly fresh, and carried it in fifteen minutes. It is impossible for me now to give you the exact results of these glorious battles. Our loss is comparatively small; that of the enemy, many hundred killed and wounded, and several thousand prisoners. We have captured artillery, small arms and wagons. Indeed, every thing indicates the almost entire annihilation of this force of the enemy. In the first two battles they were commanded by General Manson; the last by General Nelson."

This success of the enemy compelled the legislature at Frankfort to seek safety in flight. On the receipt of news of the disaster, on Sunday the 31st, the day after the engagement, a session was held in the evening, when it was at once determined to adjourn to Louisville, whither the public archives and the specie of the banks were carried in the night. A proclamation by Governor Robinson, dated this Sunday at Frankfort, in an urgent appeal, called the people of the state to arms. "A crisis," said he, "has arisen in the history of the commonwealth which demands of every loyal citizen of Kentucky prompt and efficient action. The state has been invaded by an insolent foe, her honor insulted, her peace disturbed and her integrity imperiled. The small but gallant army raised upon the emergency of the occasion for her defence, under the brave and chivalric Nelson, has met with a temporary reverse, and the enemy is advancing for the accomplishment of his purpose—the subjugation of the state. He must be met and driven from our border, and it is in your power to do so. I, therefore, as Governor of the commonwealth, deem it my duty to call upon every loyal citizen of Kentucky to rally to the defence of the state: not a moment is to be lost. I appeal to you as Kentuckians, as worthy sons of those who rescued the dark and bloody ground from savage barbarity, by the memories of the past of your history, and for the future of your fame, if you are but true to yourselves, to rise in the majesty of your strength and drive the insolent invader of your soil from your midst. Now is the time for Kentuckians to defend themselves. Each man must constitute himself a soldier, arm himself as best he can, and meet the foe at every step of his advance. The day and the hour, the safety of your homes and firesides, patriotism and duty, alike demand that you rush to the rescue. I call upon the people, then, to rise up as one man, and strike a blow for the defence of their native land, their property, and their homes. Rally to the standard, whereever it may be nearest, place yourselves under the commanders, obey orders, trust to your own right arm and the God of battle, and the foe will be driven back, discomfited and annihilated. To arms! To arms! and never lay them down till the Stars and Stripes float in triumph throughout Kentucky."

On the other hand, General Kirby Smith, who now advanced without opposition to the occupation of Lexington and Frankfort, issued *his* proclamation to the same people of Kentucky, in which he set forth his invasion as a test of the sympathy of the population with the rebellion. "Let no one," said he, "make you believe we come as invaders to coerce your will, or to exercise control over your soil. Far from it. The principle we maintain is, that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. I shall enforce the strictest discipline, in order that the property of citizens and non-combatants may be protected. I shall be compelled to procure subsistence for my troops among you, and this shall be paid for. Kentuckians: We come not as invaders, but liberators. We invoke the spirit of your resolutions of 1798. We come to arouse you from the lethargy which enshrouds your free thought, and forebodes the political death of your state. We come to test the truth of what we believe to be a foul aspersion, that Kentuckians willingly join the attempt to subjugate us and deprive us of our property, our liberty, and our dearest rights. We come to strike off the chains which are riveted upon you. We call upon you to unite your arms, and join with us in hurling back from our fair and sunny plains the Northern hordes who would deprive us of our liberty that they may enjoy our substance. Are we deceived? Can you treat us as enemies? Our hearts answer, No!"

Though the people of the state, sound at heart, were by no means disposed to appreciate these kind offers of liberation by a band of invaders, yet the latter had now possession of the capital and a central position threatening both Louisville and Cincinnati, where, if not resisted, and that immediately, they would dictate their own terms. At Louisville, the citizens, at the call of the mayor, enrolled themselves for home guards, martial law was declared in the county, and the legislature coöperated with the military authorities in measures for the defence of the state. Such was the feeling of insecurity, however, in the city, that cotton brokers removed their stock, and many persons their valuables, across the river to Indiana for safety. At Cincinnati, where the danger appeared more pressing, the most vigorous measures were taken for defence. Here Major-General Lewis Wallace proved the man for the crisis. Having recently been engaged in forwarding enlistments in Indiana, on the first news of Kirby Smith's invasion of Kentucky he had offered his services to Governor Morton of Indiana, and, without standing on his high rank, promptly took command of a regiment at New Albany, and reported himself with it to General Boyle, in command at Louisville. He was presently placed at the head of the troops gathering at Lexington, and proceeded with characteristic energy to organize a force for the relief of General Morgan, who, holding the pass of Cumberland Gap, was now, by the guerrilla movements of the enemy, cut off from his supplies. In the midst of these preparations he was superseded by General Nelson, and retired to Cincinnati, where the news of the unfortunate battle of Richmond found him. General Wright, in command of the department, on the instant ordered him to Lexington, and he had proceeded as far as Paris when he was recalled to take command of Cincinnati and the adjacent towns, Covington and Newport, on the opposite side of the river. On the evening of the 1st of September he was again in Cincinnati, and, without losing a moment, began the work of defence against the approach of the enemy. Within half an hour after his arrival he sent to the papers a proclamation announcing his course. "It is but fair to inform the citizens," were the words of this document, "that an active, daring, and powerful enemy threatens them with every consequence of war; yet the cities must be defended, and their inhabitants must assist in the preparation. Patriotism, duty, honor, self-preservation, call them to the labor, and it must be performed equally by all classes. First. All business must be suspended at nine o'clock to-day. Every business-house must be closed. Second. Under the direction of the Mayor, the citizens must, within an hour after the suspension of business (ten o'clock A. M.), assemble in convenient public places ready for orders. As soon as possible they will then be assigned to their work. This labor ought to be that of love, and the undersigned trusts and believes it will be so. Anyhow, it must be done. The willing shall be properly credited, the unwilling promptly visited. The principle adopted is, citizens for the labor, soldiers for the battle. Third. The ferry-boats will cease plying the river after four o'clock A. M., until further orders. Martial law is hereby proclaimed in the three cities,—but until they can be relieved by the military, the injunctions of this proclamation will be executed by the police."

This was taking time by the forelock. When this was issued the enemy had not advanced beyond Lexington, though General Wright had withdrawn the troops from Frankfort towards Louisville. It was a matter of doubt what would be the next movement of the confederates. General Wallace believed that they were aiming at Cincinnati, and instantaneously acted on his belief, in placing his district under martial law. Novel as the proceeding was to the citizens, they cheerfully accepted the situation and seconded the spirit of their commander. "The ten days ensuing," says an eyewitness of these scenes, an officer on the staff of General Wallace, "will be forever memorable in the annals of the city of Cincinnati. The cheerful alacrity with which the people rose *en masse* to swell the ranks and crowd into the trenches, was a sight worth seeing, and being seen, could not readily be forgotten. Here were the representatives of all nations and classes. The sturdy German, the lithe and gay-hearted Irishman, went shoulder to shoulder in defence of their adopted country. The man of money, the man of law, the merchant, the artist, and the artisan swelled the lines, hastening to the scene of action, armed either with musket, pick or spade. Added to these was seen Dickson's long and dusky brigade of colored men, cheerfully wending their way to labor on the fortifications, evidently holding it their especial right to put whatever impediments they could in the northward path of those whom they considered their own peculiar foe. But the pleasantest and most picturesque sight of those remarkable days was the almost endless stream of sturdy men who rushed to the rescue from the rural districts of the state. These were known as the 'Squirrel-Hunters.' They came in files numbering thousands upon thousands, in all kinds of costumes, and armed with all kinds of fire-arms, but chiefly the deadly rifle, which they knew so well how to use. Old men, middle-aged men, young men, and often mere boys, like the 'minute-men' of the old Revolution, they left the plough in the furrow, the flail on the half-threshed sheaves, the unfinished iron upon the anvil,—in short, dropped all their peculiar avocations, and with their leathern pouches full of bullets and their ox-horns full of powder, poured into the city by every highway and byway in such numbers that it seemed as if the whole state of Ohio were peopled only with hunters, and that the spirit of Daniel Boone stood upon the hills opposite the town beckoning them into Kentucky. The pontoon bridge, which had been begun and completed between sundown and sundown, groaned day and night with the perpetual stream of life all setting southward. In three days there were ten miles of intrenchments lining the hills, making a semicircle from the river above the city to the banks of the river below; and these were thickly manned from end to end, and made terrible to the astonished enemy by black and frowning cannon."*

On the 7th, General Wallace was relieved from duty at Cincinnati, but retained command of the forces at Covington and Newport. On the 10th it was thought that a battle was imminent. The advance of the enemy under General Heath was reported about five miles from Covington, and the pickets of the two lines were engaged. Business was again suspended in Cincinnati. Governor Tod at the request of General Wright summoned all armed men that could be raised in northern Ohio to repair immediately to the city. Thousands of laborers were ordered to the trenches; the rifle pits were filled and the fortifications manned with an army of sharpshooters ready to salute the invaders should they approach the works. There was skirmishing the next day, and on the following the enemy, advised of the means of resistance, and fearing an attack from another quarter, withdrew. On their departure General Wallace issued an address to the citizens of Cincinnati, Covington and Newport, the army which he had extemporized. "For the present, at least," said he, "the enemy has fallen back, and your cities are safe. It is the time for acknowledgments. I beg leave to make you mine. When I assumed command, there was nothing to defend you with, except a few half-finished works and some dismounted guns; yet I was confident. The energies of a great city are boundless; they have only to be aroused, united and directed. You were appealed to. The answer will never be forgotten. Paris may have seen something like it in her revolutionary days, but the cities of America never did. Be proud that you have given them an example so splendid. The most commercial of people, you submitted to a total suspension of business, and without a murmur adopted my principle, 'Citizens for labor, soldiers for battle.' In coming times, strangers viewing the works on the hills of Newport and Covington will ask, 'Who built these intrenchments?' You can answer, 'We built them.' If they ask who guarded them; You can reply, 'We helped in thousands.' If they inquire the result, your answer will be, 'The enemy came and looked at them, and stole away in the night.' You have won much honor. Keep your organizations ready to win more. Hereafter, be always prepared to defend yourselves."

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* "The Siege of Cincinnati." An interesting narrative in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1863.

Cincinnati was no sooner relieved from the presence of the forces of Kirby Smith than the state was called to confront a more serious danger, in the invasion by the main army of the confederates in Tennessee. After the retreat of the enemy from Corinth to Tupelo, in Mississippi, while General Buell, who had been left by General Halleck in command of the army of the Ohio, was with painful effort extending his lines eastward along the Memphis and Charleston Rail Road, to Huntsville, in Alabama, where he established his headquarters, General Bragg anticipating a further movement in this direction of the Union General, transferred a portion of the rebel army to Chattanooga, thus outflanking him, and with Eastern Tennessee already in possession, had an open route in the rear of Nashville to Kentucky. The guerrilla warfare opened on his communications, in the destruction of railway bridges and other interruptions of travel, with the successful dash of Forrest upon Murfreesboro', now compelled General Buell to abandon his line of defence in Northern Alabama and withdraw his divisions under Nelson, Wood, McCook, Crittenden and Thomas from their several stations to Murfreesboro' and the line of the Nashville and Chattanooga railway. It was in one of the movements consequent upon this change of position that Brigadier-General Robert L. McCook, who had gained so distinguished a reputation by his bravery in Western Virginia and Mill Spring was cruelly murdered on the march by a party of guerrillas. The circumstances are thus related in a dispatch dated Camp near Dechard, Tennessee, by Colonel F. Vanderveer, in command of a regiment, the 35th Ohio, of his brigade: "It becomes," he writes, "my melancholy duty to report that, while a portion of the 3d Brigade, composing the 9th Ohio volunteers, the 2d Minnesota volunteers, and the 35th Ohio volunteers, under the command of Brigadier-General Robert L. McCook, were on their march from Athens, Alabama, to this point, at a point near the southern line of Tennessee, General McCook, who was sick, and riding in an open carriage upon his bed, about three miles in advance of the troops, accompanied by Captain Hunter Brooke of his staff, and Major Boynton, of the 35th Ohio, together with nine members of his escort, was suddenly attacked by a band of mounted guerrillas, numbering between one and two hundred men, about noon on the fourth instant. Major Boynton, with one of the escort, and a citizen as a guide, mounted upon the horse of another, had been sent a half-mile to the rear; and three members of the escort, including the sergeant, a like distance to the front, in search of suitable camping-grounds for the brigade, thus leaving but four of the escort with General McCook—one of whom was dismounted, and Captain Brooke, who was unarmed and in a carriage attending upon the General when the attack began. The General succeeded in turning his carriage, but not until the guerrillas were within range, and firing. He was soon overtaken and surrounded, although his horses were running at the top of their speed. In reply to the oft-repeated cry of 'Stop! Stop!' the General arose in his bed and exclaimed: 'Don't shoot, the horses are unmanageable; we will stop soon as possible.' Notwithstanding this surrender, those riding within a few feet, by the side of the carriage, fired, one ball passing through his hat, and one inflicting a mortal wound in the abdomen, which produced death about twenty-four hours after, at noon of August 6th. The alarm having reached the column, it was hurried up at double-quick, and almost immediately encountered the advance of the band; but a few shots from the head of the 35th scattered them instantly. General McCook was found in a house near where he was shot, whither he had been carried by Captain Brooke and the driver of the carriage. Of those in advance, Captain Brooke, two members of the escort, and two teamsters of the 9th Ohio, were captured, and one member of the 9th Ohio band was wounded by a sabre-cut on the head. General McCook's wagons were fired, but not greatly damaged. The three horses attached to this team, and the mules of one other brigade team were taken. The condition of General McCook could not but have been known to the attacking party, as he was on his bed divested of all outer clothing, except a hat used as a shade, and the curtains of the carriage being raised on all sides. There are good reasons for supposing that the attack was planned solely for General McCook's capture or murder. Infuriated by this cowardly assassination, many of the soldiers of the brigade spread themselves over the country before any measures could be taken to check them, and burned nearly all the property of rebels in the vicinity, and shot a rebel lieutenant who was on furlough, and supposed to be connected with the gang."

In a general order, General Thomas, the head of the division, paid a personal and official tribute to the fallen soldier, who had done so much by his courage and spirit in the early days of the rebellion to assure the fortunes of his country. "He was affable in his manners and a courteous gentleman. A brave officer and congenial friend is lost to this division, and the country has been deprived of a General who was firm and devoted to its interests."

On the 5th of August Fort Donelson, garrisoned by four companies under Major Hart, of the 71st Ohio volunteers, was attacked by the rebel forces of Colonels Woodward and Johnson, numbering eight hundred men, who were repulsed with considerable loss. Clarksville on the 19th, held by Colonel R. Mason with the remainder of the 71st Ohio, capitulated to General Woodward without a struggle. In another direction to the northeast of Nashville the guerrilla Colonel Morgan on the 12th entered Gallatin capturing Colonel Boone and four companies of the 8th Kentucky Union regiment. The place was immediately retaken, but the vicinity a few days after, on the 21st, became the scene of another surrender to the seemingly invincible Morgan and his men, when General R. W. Johnson in command of a brigade of Indiana and Kentucky troops making the attack, his forces wavered and broke, and being rallied to resist pursuit by the enemy, a second time fled. All who did not cross the Cumberland in flight, much to the mortification of their General, were compelled to surrender. The Union loss in this affair was thirty killed, fifty wounded and seventy-five taken prisoners. Morgan reported a loss of five killed, eighteen wounded and two missing.

The movement of the army of the Ohio was now in a northerly direction parallel with the advance of General Bragg through middle Tennessee toward Kentucky. Bragg leaving Chattanooga followed up the valley of the Sequatchie to Pikeville, thence to Sparta threatening Buell's army for the protection of Murfreesboro' and Nashville at McMinnville and pursuing his route by Carthage, entered Kentucky the first week in September about the time the advance of his army under Kirby Smith, as we have seen, had gained possession of Frankfort. At Glasgow, on the 18th of September, like his predecessors Morgan and Smith, he issued an address to the people of the state, making a similar appeal, in the most inviting phraseology to the inhabitants. "We come," said he, "not as conquerors or despoilers but to restore liberty and guaranty the sanctity of homes and altars. Believing that the heart of Kentucky is with us in our great struggle for Constitutional Freedom, we have transferred from our own soil to yours, not a band of marauders, but a powerful and well disciplined army. Your gallant Buckner leads the van. Marshall is on the right, while Breckinridge, dear to us as to you, is advancing with Kentucky's valiant sons, to receive the honor and applause due to their heroism. The strong hands which in part have sent Shiloh down to history, and the nerved arms which have kept at bay from our own homes the boastful army of the enemy, are here to assist, to sustain, to liberate you. Will you remain indifferent to our call, or will you not rather vindicate the fair fame of your once free and envied state? We believe that you will, and that the memory of your gallant dead who fell at Shiloh, their faces turned homeward, will rouse you to a manly effort for yourselves and posterity. Kentuckians! We have come with joyous hopes. Let us not depart in sorrow, as we shall if we find you wedded in your choice to your present lot. If you prefer Federal rule, show it by your frowns, and we shall return whence we came. If you choose rather to come within the folds of our brotherhood, then cheer us with the smiles of your women, and lend your willing hands to secure you in your heritage of liberty. Women of Kentucky! Your persecutions and heroic bearing have reached our ear. Banish henceforth, forever, from your minds the fear of loathsome prisons or insulting visitations. Let your enthusiasm have free rein. Buckle on the armor of your kindred, your husbands, sons, and brothers, and scoff with shame him who would prove recreant in his duty to you, his country, and his God."

On Sunday, the 14th of September, there was a sharp engagement between the advance of Buckner's division of Bragg's army and the brigade of Colonel J. T. Wilder, about two thousand men in all, stationed at Munfordville on Green river An attack was made on the pickets on the south side of the river at daylight, the main works were then assailed, when the enemy, Mississippi and Alabama regiments, were repulsed with considerable slaughter. The rebel General Chalmers reciting his superior force and their disposition on both sides of the river, and announcing the army of General Bragg to be but a short distance in the rear, demanded an unconditional surrender, which Colonel Wilder refused. Colonel Dunham coming on the field with a reinforcement of about four hundred Indiana troops, took command as senior officer the next day which was devoted to working upon the entrenchments. Additional reinforcements came up in the evening, and the following day, Tuesday, the fight was resumed and continued with various skirmishing till late in the afternoon, when on the demand of General Bragg in consideration of the vastly superior force which he claimed, twenty-five thousand men and sixty pieces of artillery besides cavalry, the garrison surrendered. On Wednesday, the 17th, at six o'clock in the morning, the entire force, now about four thousand, marched out of the works with the honors of war, drums beating and colors flying, being allowed by the terms of surrender their side-arms and all private property and four days' rations. They were immediately paroled and departed for the Ohio.*

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* Reports of Colonels Wilder and Dunham. *Rebellion Record*, v. p. 449–453.

Bragg now advanced to Bardstown, where, on the 26th, we find him issuing a memorable proclamation to the people of the Northwest. After a brief preamble declaring that the Confederate government was waging war solely for self-defence, it declared "that among the pretexts urged for the continuance of the war, is the assertion that the Confederate government desires to deprive the United States of the free navigation of the western rivers, although the truth is that the Confederate Congress, by public act prior to the commencement of the war, enacted that 'the peaceful navigation of the Mississippi river is hereby declared free to the citizens of any of the states upon its borders or upon the borders of its tributaries,' a declaration to which our government has always been and is still ready to adhere. From these declarations, people of the Northwest, it is made manifest that by the invasion of our territories by land and from sea, we have been unwillingly forced into a war for self-defence, and to vindicate a great principle once dear to all Americans, to wit: that no people can be rightly governed except by their own consent. We desire peace now. We desire to see a stop put to a useless and cruel effusion of blood, and that waste of national wealth rapidly leading to, and sure to end in, national bankruptcy. We are therefore now, as ever, ready to treat with the United States, or any one or more of them, upon terms of mutual justice and liberality. And at this juncture, when our arms have been successful on many hard-fought fields, when our people have exhibited a constancy, a fortitude, and a courage worthy of the boon of self-government, we restrict ourselves to the same moderate demands that we made at the darkest period of our reverses—the demand that the people of the United States cease to war upon us, and permit us in peace to pursue our path to happiness, while they in peace pursue theirs. We are, however, debarred from the renewal of former proposals for peace, because the relentless spirit that actuates the government at Washington leaves us no reason to expect that they would be received with the respect naturally due by nations in their intercourse, whether in peace or war. It is under these circumstances that we are driven to protect our own country by transferring the seat of war to that of an enemy who pursues us with an implacable and apparently aimless hostility. If the war must continue, its theatre must be changed, and with it the policy that has heretofore kept us on the defensive on our own soil. So far it is only *our* fields that have been laid waste, *our* people killed, *our* homes made desolate and our frontiers ravaged by rapine and murder. The sacred right of self-defence demands that henceforth some of the consequences of the war shall fall upon those who persist in their refusal to make peace. With the people of the Northwest rests the power to put an end to the invasion of their home; for, if unable to prevail upon the government of the United States to conclude a general peace, their own state governments, in the exercise of their sovereignty, can secure immunity from the desolating effects of warfare on their soil, by a separate treaty of peace, which our government will be ready to conclude on the most just and liberal basis. The responsibility, then rests with you, the people of the Northwest, of continuing an unjust and aggressive warfare upon the people of the Confederate States. And in the name of reason and humanity, I call upon you to pause and reflect what cause of quarrel so bloody have you against these states, and what are you to gain by it? Nature has set her seal upon these states, and marked them out to be your friends and allies. She has bound them to you by all the ties of geographical contiguity and conformation, and the great mutual interests of commerce and productions. When the passions of this unnatural war shall have subsided, and reason resumes her sway, a community of interest will force a commercial and social coalition between the great grain and stock growing states of the Northwest and the cotton, tobacco and sugar regions of the South. The Mississippi river is a grand artery of their mutual national lives which men cannot sever, and which never ought to have been suffered to be disturbed by the antagonisms, the cupidity and the bigotry of New England and the East. It is from the East that have come the germs of this bloody and most unnatural strife. It is from the meddlesome, grasping and fanatical disposition of the same people who have imposed upon you and us alike those tariffs, internal improvement, and fishing bounty laws, whereby we have been taxed for their aggrandizement. It is from the East that will come the tax-gatherer to collect from you the mighty debt which is being amassed mountain high for the purpose of ruining your best customers and natural friends. When this war ends, the same antagonism of interest, policy and feeling which have been pressed upon us by the East and forced us from a political union, where we had ceased to find safety for our interests or respect for our rights, will bear down upon you and separate you from a people whose traditional policy it is to live by their wits upon the labor of their neighbors. Meantime, you are used by them to fight the battle of emancipation—a battle which, if successful, destroys our prosperity and with it your best markets to buy and sell. Our mutual dependence is the work of the Creator. With our peculiar productions, convertible into gold, we should, in a state of peace, draw from you largely the products of your labor. In us of the South you would find rich and willing customers ; in the East you must confront rivals in productions and trade, and the tax-gatherer in all the forms of partial legislation. You are blindly following abolitionism to this end, whilst they are nicely calculating the gain of obtaining your trade on terms that would impoverish your country. You say you are fighting for the free navigation of the Mississippi. It is yours freely, and has always been without striking a blow. You say you are fighting to maintain the Union. That Union is a thing of the past. A union of consent was the only union ever worth a drop of blood. When force came to be substituted for consent, the casket was broken and the constitutional jewel of your patriotic adoration was forever gone. I come then to you with the olive branch of peace, and offer it to your acceptance, in the name of the memories of the past and the ties of the present and future. With you remains the responsibility and the option of continuing a cruel and wasting war, which can only end after still greater sacrifices in such treaty of peace as we now offer ; or of preserving the blessings of peace by the simple abandonment of the design of subjugating a people over whom no right of dominion has been conferred on you by God or man." Such were the terms,—a mingled appeal to self-interest, prejudices, and even to fear,—with which General Bragg approached the men of the Northwest. It did not appear, however, that his arguments had much force in engaging the sturdy patriots beyond the Ohio in any new admiration of the Confederacy. Indifferent, alike to his threats and persuasions, they needed no admission from a foreign power of their right to navigate the Mississippi. That, they felt, was in their own hands, and they were determined to assert it in their own way. In the meantime the invasion of Kentucky was to be repelled.

While such was the situation of affairs in the central part of the state and on the Ohio, the isolated outpost of the Union General Morgan, at Cumberland Gap, was cut off from its usual sources of supply and its communications by Bragg's army of invasion. Though environed by the enemy, it had bravely held its own during the two months since the date of its occupation by General Morgan, who, on more than one occasion, on the 14th of July, at Wallace Cross Roads, and on the first week of August, in the vicinity of Tazelville, in reconnoitering and foraging expeditions, had shown the spirit of his command. In the latter affair the brigade of Colonel DeCourcey, Ohio and Kentucky troops, had successfully encountered the Georgia and Tennessee regiments of General Stevenson's division. "The enemy," says General Morgan in his dispatch to Governor Andrew Johnson, "outnumbered DeCourcey four to one. They lost two hundred and twenty-five, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, of the 11th Tennessee, was taken prisoner. We captured two hundred wagonloads of forage, one thousand two hundred pounds of tobacco, and thirty horses and mules. We lost three killed, fifteen wounded, and fifty prisoners. Two companies of the 16th Ohio were surrounded by the rebel regiments but two-thirds of them cut their way through."

It was the intention of General Morgan to hold the position at Cumberland Gap at all hazards, but the fear of famine and of being finally compelled to surrender, determined him, while he had opportunity, to make good his retreat. Accordingly, on the 17th of September, he issued his order for the evacuation. The military buildings and all the stores that could not readily be carried away were burnt. Four heavy siege pieces, too heavy for transportation, were rendered useless. As the forced marches before the departing regiments, in face of the enemy, forbade the necessary care of the sick on the journey, they were left, with the necessary medical attendance and an abundant store of provisions. The escape of the brigade along a wild mountain track of two hundred and fifty miles, through the counties of eastern Kentucky, by way of Manchester, Hazel Green, West Liberty, and Grayson, to the Ohio at Greenupsburg, where they arrived on the 3d of October, was one of the most perilous adventures of the war, beset as the force was by the enemy, the divisions of Marshall and Smith, on whose flank they were moving. The troops suffered much from want of water, the dry season having exhausted the pools on which the country depended, or left but a scanty stagnant supply. The dust was at times intolerable. The force also felt the want of suitable provisions, when their rations were spent and they were obliged to depend upon chance aid from the inhabitants, or the crops growing in the fields. The men made graters by punching holes in their tin plates and thus "gritting" the corn which was too old for roasting and too new for grinding. In this way they obtained material for a palatable cake. The cannon were dragged the whole distance by oxen and mules. In this way ten thousand men with twenty-eight pieces of artillery and four hundred wagons marched in safety to the Ohio.

Their arrival at Greenupsburg was celebrated in a general order from their commander:—"Comrades: At midnight ou the 17th of September, with the army of Stevenson three miles in your rear, with Bragg on your left, Marshall on your right flank and Kirby Smith in your front, you marched from Cumberland Gap, mid the roar of exploding mines and magazines, and lighted by the conflagration of the storehouses of the commissary and quartermaster. Since then you have marched two hundred and nineteen miles, overcome difficulties as great as ever obstructed the march of an army, and with your field and siege guns have reached the Ohio river. The rapidity of your marches, in the face of an active foe, over ridges regarded impassable, and through defiles which a hundred men ought to hold against a thousand, will hereafter be regarded with astonishment and wonder. Although on the retreat you constantly acted on the offensive, so hotly did you press the enemy sent to retard your march, that on three successive days you surprised the hungry rebels at their supper, and fed upon the hurried meals which they had prepared. With an effective force of less than eight thousand men you had maneuvered against an army eighteen thousand strong, and captured Cumberland Gap without the loss of a man. By your labor you rendered it impregnable, and an enemy four times your strength dare not attack you. When Kentucky was invaded you sent two regiments to aid in driving out the invader, and such was your confidence in your strength, that while threatened by a superior force you sent out five expeditions, captured three hundred prisoners and killed and wounded one hundred and seventy of your foes. At length, when it became evident that your services were needed in the field, you marched boldly from your stronghold, hurling defiance at the foe. One and all, you are entitled to the thanks of your countrymen; and I pray you to accept the assurance of my profound gratitude. In my official report your services and your sufferings will be properly noticed. Although you have done well, let it be your determination to do better, and always remember that discipline is the life-blood of an army. Soldiers! as a friend and brother, I hail and greet you."

To return to the movements of the main armies of Bragg and Buell. The latter, leaving Nashville in charge of General Negley, had followed the invading army closely on its route into Kentucky, reoccupied Mumfordsville on the route, and, while Bragg was making his way toward Frankfort, marched by the main road into Louisville, where the advance arrived on the 25th of September. General Buell found in and around the city a considerable force of raw troops hastily collected from Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, under the command of Major-General Nelson, who had recovered from his wound at the battle of Richmond. A few days only after General Buell's arrival this officer was slain in a personal rencontre by Brigadier-General Jefferson C. Davis, who after the battle of Pea Ridge, in which he commanded a division, had been engaged in the army of General Halleck before Corinth, and had recently arrived in Louisville and been employed in the organization of the militia. The following account of the circumstances of General Nelson's death was published in the telegraphic dispatches, the day of the event, to the Associated Press: "About a week ago Nelson placed Davis in command of the home guard forces of the city. At night Davis reported to Nelson the number of men working on the intrenchments and enrolled for service. Nelson cursed him for not having more. Davis replied that he was a general officer, and demanded the treatment of a gentleman. Nelson in an insulting manner ordered him to report at Cincinnati, and told him he would order the provost-marshal to eject him from the city. This morning, Governor Morton, of Indiana, and General Nelson were standing near the desk in the Galt House, when General Davis approached, and requested Governor Morton to witness a conversation between himself and General Nelson. He demanded of Nelson an apology for the rude treatment he had received last week. Nelson, being a little deaf, asked him to speak louder. Davis again demanded an apology. Nelson denounced him and slapped him on the face. Davis stepped back, clenched his fist, and again demanded an apology. Nelson again slapped him in the face, and again denounced him as a coward. Davis turned away, procured a pistol from a friend, and followed Nelson, who was going up stairs. Davis told Nelson to defend himself, immediately thereon firing. The ball penetrated his left breast, and General Nelson died in about twenty minutes." The coarse and violent conduct of General Nelson was generally thought, by its excessive provocation, to palliate the attack by General Davis, who, after a short detention under arrest, was ordered to duty in Kentucky.

A guerrilla attack upon the town of Augusta, on the Kentucky bank of the Ohio about forty miles above Cincinnati, illustrates the character of the civil war in the state, and the sufferings brought, at this time, upon the inhabitants by the rebel aggressors. At noon, on the 27th of September, this quiet place, with about 1,500 inhabitants, was suddenly startled by the announcement of the approach of a band of some four or five hundred mounted guerrillas under a leader named Bazil Duke. There were in the town about a hundred home guards and militia, under command of Colonel J. T. Bradford, and there were several gunboats at hand in the river. With these resources, Colonel Bradford resolved upon a defence. The rebel cavalry having captured the pickets and appeared with a piece of artillery upon the hill immediately back of the place, there was barely time to order shell to be thrown from the gunboat Belfast, and to station the little militia band among the brick houses of the town. The women and children, unable to get away, were to take refuge in the cellars. A shell from the Belfast took effect upon a party of the enemy and caused them to change the position of their gun. Fire was returned from the hill with little or no effect beyond causing the timorous withdrawal of the gunboats, leaving the town exposed to the assault of a body of men five times as numerous as its defenders. Then, in the words of Judge Joseph Doniphan, in his report of the affair to General Wright, "came a shout from the rebels, and they were upon us. From every window our true and trusty boys were firing, and for one half-hour the leaden hail was doing its work of death; rebel after rebel was made to bite the dust, while our boys, thus secreted, were fighting for their homes and firesides. But what a scene now followed! The houses in which our forces were posted were set on fire, the cannon of the enemy was planted in our streets, and, disregarding the women and children, they were firing shell into the houses. Yet, true to their work, the little band of Union men fought on until it was madness to try to hold out longer. Colonel Bradford ordered a surrender. As soon as this was done, then commenced the pillage and plunder—every rebel acting for himself. Stores were broken open and rifled of what was wanted by the rebels. This, however, was soon over, the rebel bugle was soon sounded, and the enemy retired from our town in good order, though in haste.

"The fighting was desperate, and although our loss is small, yet gallant and brave men have gone from us forever. Our killed and wounded amount to twelve or fifteen, while that of the enemy number between seventy-five and one hundred—among them some eight or ten officers. We had no means of ascertaining the names of all the rebels killed and wounded; but among the number mortally wounded is a son of George D. Prentice, of Louisville. Captain W. Rogers, of Harrison county, was killed, and a Lieutenant Wilson. The rebels left some of their killed and wounded in our hands, all of whom have been properly cared for. They took our horses, buggies, wagons, and all means of transportation to carry off their dead and wounded." Such were the scenes enacted by confederate fury on "the dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky, and such the peace and prosperity brought by the invaders!

There was much confusion at Louisville incident to the gathering of the new troops, the arrival of Buell's army, the death of General Nelson, and the conflicts of authority between new and old officers, suddenly brought together, and of the armies of Ohio and Kentucky. There was much distrust, too, expressed by the governors of the northwestern states, and others, in regard to the efficiency of General Buell, who was, in consequence, by order of General Halleck, at the last moment, unexpectedly superseded by General George H. Thomas. On the remonstrance, however, of General Thomas himself, seconded by Generals Crittenden, Rousseau, and others, General Buell was immediately restored to his command. Kentucky was withdrawn from General Wright's department of Ohio, and the army of General Buell was organized in three corps, under the command respectively of Generals Alexander McDowell, McCook, Thomas L. Crittenden, and Charles C. Gilbert. General Thomas was second in command of the whole. Affairs having been thus adjusted, on the 1st of October General Buell left Louisville with an army of about 100,000 men in pursuit of the forces of General Bragg. The military events which followed, including the battle of Chaplin's Hills, or Perryville, are thus related in the account of the campaign by General Buell:

"The army marched in five columns. The left moved toward Frankfort, to hold in check the forces of the enemy, which still remained at or near that place; the other column, marching by different routes, finally fell, respectively, into the roads leading from Shepherdsville, Mount Washington, Fairfield, and Bloomfield, to Bardstown, where the main force of the enemy, under General Bragg, was known to be; these roads converge upon Bardstown at an angle of about fifteen degrees from each other. Skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry and artillery marked the movement from each column from within a few miles of Louisville. It was more stubborn and formidable near Bardstown; but the rear of the enemy's infantry retired from that place eight hours before our arrival, when his rear guard of cavalry and artillery retreated after a sharp engagement with my cavalry. The pursuit and skirmishing with the enemy's rear guard continued toward Springfield. The information which I received indicated that the enemy would concentrate his forces at Danville. The 1st Corps, under Major-General McCook, was therefore ordered to march from Bloomfield on Harrodsburg; while the 2d Corps, under Major-General Crittenden, moved on the Lebanon and Danville road, which passes four miles to the south of Perryville, with a branch to the latter place; and the 3d Corps on the direct road to Perryville. My headquarters moved with the 3d (or centre) Corps. Major-General Thomas, second in command, accompanied the 2d (or right) Corps. After leaving Bardstown, I learned that the force of Kirby Smith had crossed to the west side of the Kentucky river, near Salvisa, and that the enemy was moving to concentrate either at Harrodsburg or Perryville. General McCook's route was therefore changed from Harrodsburg to Perryville. The centre corps arrived on the afternoon of the 7th, and was drawn up in order of battle about three miles from Perryville, where the enemy appeared to be in force. The advanced guard, under Captain Gay, consisting of cavalry and artillery, supported toward evening by two regiments of infantry, pressed successfully upon the enemy's rear guard to within two miles of the town, meeting a somewhat stubborn opposition.

"The whole army had for three days or more suffered from a scarcity of water, the last day, particularly, the troops and animals suffered exceedingly for the want of it, and from hot weather, and dusty roads. In the bed of Doctor's creek, a tributary of Chaplin river, about two and a half miles from Perryville, some pools of water were discovered, of which the enemy showed a determination to prevent us gaining possession. The 36th brigade, under command of Colonel Daniel McCook, from General Sheridan's division, was ordered forward, to seize and hold a commanding position which covered these pools: it executed the order that night, and a supply of bad water was secured for the troops. On discovering that the enemy was concentrating for battle at Perryville, I sent orders on the night of the 7th to General McCook and General Crittenden to march at three o'clock the following morning, so as to take position respectively, as early as possible, on the right and left of the centre corps, the commanders themselves to report in person for orders on their arrival, my intention being to make the attack that day if possible. The orders did not reach General McCook until half-past two o'clock, and he marched at five. The 2d corps failing to find water at the place where it was expected to encamp on the night of the 7th, had to move off the road for that purpose, and consequently was some six miles or more further off than it would otherwise have been. The orders did not reach it in time, and these two causes delayed its arrival several hours. Still it was far enough advanced to have been pressed into the action on the 8th, if the necessity for it had been known early enough.

"The engagement which terminated at night the previous day, was renewed early on the morning of the 8th by an attempt of the enemy to drive the brigade of Colonel McCook from the position taken to cover the water in Doctor's creek; the design had been discovered, and the divisions of Generals Mitchell and Sheridan were moved into position to defeat it, and hold the ground until the army was prepared to attack in force. A spirited attack was made on Colonel McCook's position, and was handsomely repulsed. Between ten and eleven o'clock the left corps arrived on the Maxville road. General McCook was instructed to get it promptly into position, on the left of the centre corps, and to make a reconnoissance to his front and left. The reconnoissance had been continued by Captain Gay toward his front and right, and sharp firing with artillery was then going on. I had somewhat expected an attack early in the morning on Gilbert's corps, while it was isolated, but as it did not take place, no formidable attack was apprehended after the arrival of the left corps. The disposition of the troops was made, mainly, with a view to a combined attack on the enemy's position at daylight the following morning, as the time required to get all the troops into position, after the unexpected delay, would probably make it too late to attack that day. The cannonading, which commenced with the partial engagement in the centre, followed by the reconnoissance of the cavalry under Captain Gay, extended toward the left, and became brisker as the day advanced, but was not supposed to proceed from any serious engagement, as no report to that effect was received. At four o'clock, however, Major-General McCook's aide-de-camp arrived, and reported to me 'that the General was sustaining a severe attack, which he would not be able to withstand unless reinforced; that his flanks were already giving way.' He added, to my astonishment, 'that the left corps had actually been engaged in a severe battle for several hours, perhaps, since twelve o'clock.' It was so difficult to credit the latter, that I thought there must even be some misapprehension in regard to the former. I sent word to him that I should rely on his being able to hold his ground, though I should probably send him reinforcements. I at once sent orders for two brigades from the centre corps—Schoepff's division—to move promptly to reinforce the left. Orders were also sent to General Crittenden to move a division in, to strengthen the centre, and to move with the rest of his corps energetically against the enemy's left flank. The distance from one flank of the army to the other was not, perhaps, less than six miles, and before the orders could be delivered, and the right corps make the attack, night came on and terminated the engagement.

"The roads going from Maxville and Springfield enter Perryville at an angle of about fifteen degrees with each other. The road from Lebanon runs nearly parallel to the Springfield road to within five miles of Perryville, and these forks, the left hand fork going to Perryville, and the right continuing straight on to Danville, leaving Perryville four miles to the north. There is also a direct road from Perryville to Danville. Perryville, Danville, and Harrodsburg occupy the vertices of an equilateral triangle, and are ten miles apart. Salt river rises midway between Perryville and Danville, and runs northward two miles west of Harrodsburg. Chaplin Fork rises near and passes through Perryville, bending in its course so as to run obliquely away from the Maxville and Perryville road, on which the left corps advanced. Doctor's creek, running north, crosses the Perryville and Springfield road at right angles, about two and a half miles west of Perryville, and empties into Chaplin Fork about three miles from town. The ground bordering the Chaplin is hilly, with alternate patches of timber and cleared land. The hills, though in some places steep, are generally practicable for infantry and cavalry, and in many places for artillery. The ground afforded the enemy great advantages for attacking a force on the Maxville road, taken in the act of forming, as was the case in the battle of the 8th. General McCook's line ran nearly parallel with Chaplin Fork, the right resting on the road, and the left to the north of it. Two of General Rousseau's brigades, the 17th, under Colonel Lyttle, and the 4th, under Colonel Harris, were on the right; then the 33d brigade, under General Terrill, of Jackson's division; then on the extreme left, and to the rear of Terrill, the 28th brigade, under Colonel Starkweather, of Rousseau's division. The other brigade of Jackson's division, under Colonel Webster, was at first in rear of Rousseau's two right brigades, and in the course of the battle was brought into action on the right of Rousseau. General Gilbert's corps was on the right of Rousseau, but the space between them was somewhat too great—first Sheridan's division, then Mitchell's, and Schoepff's in reserve opposite the left of the corps. The fight commenced early in the day, as has been described, with a feeble attack on the centre corps; then, later, the attack fell with severity and pertinacity on Rousseau's right brigades; then, somewhat later, on Terrill's brigade, and on Rousseau's 3d brigade on the extreme left. It was successful against Terrill's brigade, composed of new regiments. The gallant commander of the division, General J. S. Jackson, was killed almost instantly. The heroic young Brigadier Terrill lost his life in endeavoring to rally his troops, and ten pieces of his artillery were left on the ground; two of them were carried off by the enemy next morning; the rest were recovered. The main weight of the battle thus fell upon the 3d division, under General Rousseau. No troops could have met it with more heroism. The left brigade, compelled at first to fall back somewhat, at length maintained its ground, and repulsed the attack at that point. Taking advantage of the opening between Gilbert's left and Rousseau's right, the enemy pressed his attack at that point with an overwhelming force. Rousseau's right was being turned, and was forced to fall back, which it did in excellent order, until reinforced by Gooding's and Steadman's brigades from Gilbert's corps, when the enemy was repulsed. That result was also promoted by the fire which the artillery of

Sheridan's division poured into the enemy's left flank. Simultaneously with the heaviest attack on Rousseau's division, the enemy made a strong attack on Sheridan's right. Sheridan was reinforced from Mitchell's division by Colonel Carlin's brigade, which charged the enemy with intrepidity and drove him through the town to his position beyond, capturing in the town two caissons and fifteen wagons loaded with ammunition, and the guard that was with them, consisting of three officers and one hundred and thirty-eight men. This occurred about nightfall, which terminated the battle. The corps of General Crittenden closed in, and Wagner's brigade of Wood's division became engaged, and did good service on the right of Mitchell's division, but, knowing nothing of the severity of the fight in the extreme left, the rest of the corps did not get into action.

"No doubt was entertained that the enemy would endeavor to hold his position. Accordingly, orders were sent to the commanders of corps to be prepared to attack at daylight in the morning. They received instructions in person, at headquarters that night, except General Crittenden, for whom instructions were given to Major-General Thomas, second in command. General McCook supposed, from indications in his front, that the enemy would throw a formidable force against his corps, in pursuance of the original attempt to turn our left. He represented also that his corps was very much crippled, the new division of General Jackson having in fact almost entirely disappeared as a body. He was instructed to move in during the night, and close the opening between his right and General Gilbert's left. His orders for the following day were to hold his position, taking advantage of any opportunity that the events of the day might present. The corps of Generals Crittenden and Gilbert were to move forward at six o'clock, and attack the enemy's front and left flank. The advance the following morning, in pursuance of these orders, discovered that the enemy's main body had retired during the night, but without any indications of haste or disorder, except that his dead, and many of his wounded were left upon the field. The reconnoissance during the day showed that his whole force had fallen back on Harrodsburg, where the indications seemed to be that he would make a stand.

"It will be impossible to form any correct judgment of the operations from this time, particularly without considering the condition of the two armies, and the probable intention of the enemy. The rebel army has been driven from the borders of Kentucky without a decisive battle. It is spoken of as if it were a comparatively insignificant force, and pursued by an overwhelming one, which had nothing to do but to send out patrols, and gather in the fragments of a routed and disorganized army. The very reverse was the case. The rebel force which invaded Kentucky, at the lowest estimates, has been rated at from 55,000 to 65,000 men. It was composed of veteran troops, well armed, and thoroughly inured to hardship. Every circumstance of its march, and the concurrent testimony of all who came within reach of its lines, attest that it was under perfect discipline. It had entered Kentucky with the avowed purpose of holding the state; its commanders declared that to be their intention to the last; intercepted communications disclosing their plans, and the disappointment experienced by the Southern Press at the result, show that to have been their purpose. The enterprise certainly seemed desperate, but it was entered into deliberately; was conducted by the best talent in the rebel service, and there was nothing to indicate that it would be abandoned lightly. Some maneuvering for advantages, and one decisive battle, were to be expected before Kentucky could be rid of her invaders. Everything goes to show that the final retreat of the enemy was suddenly determined on, and that it was not at the time to be calculated on as a matter of course. Any movement on my part solely in anticipation of it would only have turned the enemy in a different direction, and any presumptuous attempt to capture a superior force by detachments would, according to all probabilities, have been more likely to result in defeat than in success.

"The effective force which advanced on Perryville, on the 7th, and 8th, under my command, was about 58,000 infantry, artillery and cavalry. Of these, about 22,000 were raw troops, with very little instruction or none at all. The reports show an actual loss of upward of 4,000 killed, wounded and missing in the battle, which would leave the effective force about 54,000 after it.* I did not hesitate, therefore, after crossing Chaplin river, and finding the enemy had fallen back, to await the arrival of General Sill's division, which had marched to Frankfort, and had been ordered to join via Lawrenceburg and Chaplintown, when it was ascertained that Kirby Smith's force had marched to form a junction with Bragg. That division on the march from Louisville encountered a strong outpost of the enemy on the Frankfort road, about twelve miles out, and skirmishing was kept up until its arrival at Frankfort. It was followed closely by the division of General Dumont which remained at Frankfort. In marching from Frankfort to join the main body, Sill's division was attacked near Lawrenceburg by a portion of Kirby Smith's force, which it drove off, and then continued its march, arriving at Perryville on the evening of the 11th. Pending its arrival, the army took position, with its right four miles from Danville, its centre on the Perryville and Harrodsburg pike, and the left near Dicksville, on the road converging on Harrodsburg. On the 11th, three brigades from Crittenden's and Gilbert's corps with Gay's and Colonel McCook's cavalry brigades were sent out to reconnoiter the enemy's position. He was found in some force two miles south of Harrodsburg, in the morning; but retired during the day, and his rear guard was driven out in the evening with the loss of some stores, and about 1,200 prisoners, mostly sick and wounded. It was probable he would retire his whole force to Camp Dick Robinson, though it was not certainly ascertained what portion of it had crossed Dick's river. To compel him at once to take one side or the other, and either give battle on this side, or be prevented from recrossing to attack our communications, when a move was made to turn his position—the left corps moved on the 12th to Harrodsburg (General Sill's division having arrived the night before); the right corps moving forward and retiring near and to the left of Danville, and the centre midway on the Danville and Harrodsburg road, while a strong reconnoissance was sent forward to the crossing of Dick's river. The enemy was found to have crossed with his whole force.

"The ground between the Kentucky river and Dick's river, as a military position, is rendered almost impregnable on the north and west by the rocky cliffs which border those streams, and which are only passable at a few points, easily defended. Such is the character of Dick's river from its mouth to where the Danville and Lexington road crosses it, a distance of about twelve miles. It could only be reached by turning it to the south, while the passes to the west, by which our line of communication would be exposed, were suitably guarded. The army was moving with that view, when I learned, on the evening of the 13th, at Danville, that the enemy was retiring from his position toward the south. Pursuit was immediately ordered for the purpose of overtaking or intercepting him, if he should attempt to pass toward Somerset. General Wood's division marched at twelve o'clock that night and engaged the enemy's cavalry and artillery at Stanford at daylight the next morning. The remainder of General Crittenden's corps and General McCook's corps followed on that road, and General Gilbert's marched on the Lancaster road. The enemy kept the road toward Cumberland Gap, opposing with cavalry and artillery the advance of both of the pursuing columns, which, however, progressed steadily. At Crab Orchard the character of the country suddenly changes. It becomes rough and barren, affording scarcely more than enough corn for its sparse population; and the road passes through defiles where a small force can resist with great effect a large one—where, in fact, the use of a large force is impracticable. The little forage the country afforded was consumed by the enemy in his retreat, rendering it impossible to subsist any considerable number of animals. The corps of Generals Gilbert and McCook were therefore halted at Crab Orchard, while that of General Crittenden, with General W. S. Smith's division in advance, continued the pursuit with judgment and energy as far as London on the direct road, and on the branch road to Manchester. The road was cleared of the trees felled across it by the enemy, and his rear guard attacked successfully at several points. Some prisoners were taken and about three hundred head of cattle, and other property, to no very great amount, captured. It was not expedient to continue the pursuit beyond London; partly, because it was impracticable in a manner to afford any material advantage; partly, because without advantage, it took the troops out of the way, when they were likely to be required elsewhere. They were, therefore, promptly turned upon other routes towards Tennessee. A portion were to be at Bowling Green, and the rest at Glasgow on the 31st ult, and thence continue their march by certain routes. In that position I relinquished the command of the army on the 30th to Major-General Rosecrans, in obedience to instructions from the General-in-Chief."

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* The exact number was 916 killed, 2,943 wounded, and 489 missing.

Brigadier-General James S. Jackson, who fell at the battle of Perryville, in the Union ranks, leading his command, was born in Kentucky, a lawyer by profession, and at the outbreak of the rebellion was a member of Congress from his native state. Having raised a regiment and served in the Mexican war, he now offered his military experience to the government for the suppression of the rebellion, resigned his seat in Congress and took command of a regiment of Kentucky cavalry. Brigadier-General William K. Terrill was a native of Virginia, a graduate of West Point of 1853 in the 3d artillery. He was at one time assistant professor of mathematics at the military academy. At the opening of the war he was captain in the 5th artillery. He was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers for his meritorious conduct at Shiloh. Colonel Curran Pope of the 15th Kentucky regiment, wounded in this engagement, died of his injuries the following month. He was of an eminent family in Kentucky, a graduate of West Point of 1834, and leaving the army, had been employed as an engineer when the war recalled him to the service of his country.

Such was the pursuit of the forces of General Bragg through a region in which he had fondly hoped to establish a permanent settlement for the Confederacy. He had even gone so far, while in possession of Frankfort, as to inaugurate a new governor, Richard Howes, a representative of the confederate interest, and, a more troublesome exercise of authority, had threatened a conscription for the confederate army. These dreams of empire were necessarily, for the time at least, abandoned when he was driven from the state, but the government of Jefferson Davis continued to claim Kentucky as a member of the confederacy. A more practical advantage was the large number of cattle and quantity of provisions which the army of invasion carried away with it, or sent before it, for the replenishment of the impoverished Southern commissariat.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN TENNESSEE.—BATTLES AT IUKA AND CORINTH—SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER, 1862.

WHILE General Buell was holding the line of Northern Alabama, covering middle Tennessee and the communications with Nashville, General Grant was in charge of the Department of Western Tennessee, including the region between the Tennessee river and the Mississippi, with its lines of railway running due south from Columbus, Kentucky, and east and west on the northern border of Mississippi from Memphis to Corinth, and thence to Tuscumbia in Alabama. The withdrawal of a considerable portion of his troops to Louisville for the defence of Kentucky, against the invasion of Bragg, induced the enemy to appear in force and threaten his several lines of communication. A demonstration of this kind was made by a large body of cavalry under the rebel General Armstrong, on the 30th of August, against the Union post at Bolivar in Tennessee, with the view of severing the railway at that point. Colonel Crocker, of the Iowa volunteers, commanding the district, sent Colonel Leggett with a portion of his brigade, several companies of Illinois cavalry and a section of artillery to meet the enemy, who was at first supposed to be in no great number. Colonel Leggett with a small party of Ohio troops of his command came up with them, about five miles from Bolivar, when he found that he had thousands instead of hundreds to deal with. His troops at hand were brought up, and a skirmishing fight maintained till reinforcements arrived in the afternoon, when by the excellent dispositions of Colonel Leggett, and "the determined persistent courage" of his men the enemy was effectually repulsed. Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey Hogg, of the 2d Illinois cavalry, fell while gallantly leading a charge. "A braver, truer man," says Colonel Leggett, "never lifted his arm in defence of his country." The Union loss in this contest was five killed, eighteen wounded and sixty-four missing. Colonel Leggett states his force engaged in the action at less than nine hundred, against over 6,000 of the enemy. The loss of the enemy was not known. The next day General Armstrong's force moving northerly toward Jackson, attacked a detachment of Illinois volunteers on the railway at Medon, but reinforcements arriving the enemy was repulsed at that place, and retiring, on the road to Denmark, were again met at Britton's Lane, on the 1st of September, by Colonel Dennis, with two regiments of Illinois troops, a section of two pieces of gunboat artillery, and two companies of cavalry, and after a contest of four hours were defeated, leaving one hundred and seventy-nine dead and wounded on the field. The Union loss was five killed, seventy-eight wounded and ninety-two prisoners and missing.

General Rosecrans, who after his signal services in Virginia, had succeeded General Pope in his command in General

Grant's army, was now at the head of the division known as the Army of the Mississippi, with his headquarters at Corinth, where in September he was called upon to resist the advance of a large Confederate force led by the Missouri general, Sterling Price. It was the object of the latter in this movement to break the line of communication between Grant and Buell, and crossing the Tennessee river, operate on the flank of Buell's army in concert with the advance of Bragg to Kentucky. Iuka, a small town on the Memphis and Charleston railroad, celebrated for its chalybeate spring, twenty miles southeast of Corinth, was the first point of attack. Since the evacuation of Corinth it had been occupied by the Union troops, and at the present time, on the approach of the rebel army, was held by Colonel Murphy, of the 8th Wisconsin, with a small force waiting the removal of the military property to Corinth. Before this was accomplished the town was taken by a body of the enemy's cavalry, the garrison put to flight, and a considerable quantity of stores captured. General Price now occupied the place in force, and it became necessary to meet his army in the field. General Grant resolved to dislodge him from his position at Iuka. A double attack was determined upon. "It was decided upon that a column of eighteen thousand men, under Generals Grant and Ord, should move *via* Burnsville and attack Price, while General Rosecrans would move with part of his corps *via* Jacinto, and attack the enemy on the flank, while the balance of his column would move on the Fulton road, and cut off his (Price's) retreat in case he should attempt it. With this understanding, on the morning of the 18th inst., our army was on the move. Generals Stanley's and Hamilton's divisions, under General Rosecrans, amid a drenching rain left 'Clear Creek,' and after a fatiguing march bivouaced that night at this place. At early dawn, on the morning of the 19th, we were again on the march, and at about ten o'clock the advance of General Hamilton's division encountered the pickets of the enemy at 'Barnett's Corners,' with whom a sharp skirmish took place, resulting in their being driven six miles toward Iuka, with a small loss in killed and prisoners. At this juncture the whole of the column had arrived at 'Barnett's,' and according to the programme, General Rosecrans was waiting for the sound of Grant's artillery, to warn him that it was time to move forward, but after waiting over two hours, he was much chagrined at receiving a dispatch from Grant (who was then only seven miles from Iuka) to the effect that he (Grant) was waiting for General Rosecrans to open the battle. Without further ado, our column accordingly moved forward until within two miles of Iuka, when the enemy were discovered posted on a broad ridge commanding the country for some distance around. As soon as our skirmishers advanced in sight, the rebels opened a severe fire of musketry upon them, when they awaited the arrival of General Hamilton's division, which soon came up on the 'double-quick,' and formed in line. They were also received by a hot fire of artillery and musketry, when the 11th Ohio battery, which had by this time got into position, opened out on the rebels. In a few moments the engagement became general, and lasted for two hours, when darkness precluded the possibility of any further advantage accruing to either side. The night was therefore spent in burying our dead and caring for the wounded, while our men lay on their arms on the battlefield, waiting for the dawn of a new day to continue the work of death."* In the morning Iuka was found evacuated by the enemy, who were in full retreat, and who were pursued several miles by the cavalry of Hamilton and Stanley. In this battle the enemy left on the field two hundred and fifty-five dead, about seven hundred wounded; three hundred and sixty-one prisoners were taken, with 1,600 stand of arms, and a large quantity of stores. The Confederate General Henry Little was killed, and General Whitfield wounded. General Little, a native of Mississippi, was a graduate of West Point, of 1839. He had served with distinction in the war with Mexico, and previously to joining the Confederates, at the outbreak of the rebellion, was a captain of infantry in command in New Mexico. The Union loss was one hundred and eight killed, six hundred and eleven wounded, and seventeen missing.* A general order issued by Major-General Rosecrans, on the 27th, celebrates the conduct of his command in this spirited engagement. "Brothers in arms: You may well be proud of the battle of Iuka. On the 18th you concentrated at Jacinto; on the 19th you marched twenty miles, driving in the rebel outposts for the last eight; reached the front of Price's army advantageously posted in unknown woods, and opened the action by four P. M. On a narrow front, intersected by ravines and covered with dense undergrowth, with a single battery, Hamilton's division went into action against the combined rebel hosts. On that unequal ground, which permitted the enemy to outnumber them three to one, they fought a glorious battle, mowing down the rebel hordes until, night closing in, they rested on their arms on the battle-ground, from which the enemy retired during the night, leaving us masters of the field. The General Commanding bears cheerful testimony to the fiery alacrity with which the troops of Stanley's division moved up, cheering, to support, when called for, the 3d division, and took their places to give them an opportunity to replenish their ammunition; and to the magnificent fighting of the 11th Missouri, under the gallant Mower. To all the regiments who participated in the fight, he presents congratulations on their bravery and good conduct. He deems it an especial duty to signalize the 48th Indiana, which, posted on the left, held its ground until the brave Eddy fell, and a whole brigade of Texans came in through a ravine on the little band, and even then they only yielded a hundred yards until relieved. The 16th Iowa, amid the roar of battle, the rush of wounded artillery-horses, the charge of a rebel brigade and a storm of grape, canister, and musketry, stood like a rock, holding the centre, while the glorious 5th Iowa, under the brave and distinguished Matthias, sustained by Boomer with part of his noble little 26th Missouri, bore the thrice-repeated charges and cross-fires of the rebel left and centre, with a valor and determination seldom equaled, never excelled by the most veteran soldiery. The 10th Iowa, under Colonel Perczel, deserves honorable mention for covering our left flank from the assault of the Texan Legion. Sands' 11th Ohio battery, under Lieutenant Sears, was served with unequaled bravery, under circumstances of danger and exposure such as rarely, perhaps never, have fallen to the lot of a single battery during the war. The 39th Ohio and 47th Illinois, who went into position at the close of the fight, and held it during the night, deserve honorable mention for the spirit they displayed in the performance of their duty. The General Commanding regrets that he must mention the conduct of the 17th Iowa, whose disgraceful stampeding forms a melancholy exception to the general good courage of the troops. He doubts not that there are a good many officers and men in that regiment whose cheeks burn with shame and indignation at the part the regiment acted, and he looks to them and to all its members on the first opportunity, by conspicuous gallantry, to wipe out the stain on their fair fame. To the brave and gallant Hamilton, who formed and maintained his division under the galling fire from the rebel front, having his horse shot under him in the action—to the veteran and heroic Sullivan, young in years but old in fight; Colonel Sanborn, commanding the leading brigade in his maiden battle; Brigadier-General D. S. Stanley, indefatigable soldier, ably aiding the advance division; to their staff-officers as well as to the regiments which have been mentioned in this order, the General Commanding tenders individually his heartfelt thanks and congratulations. Their gallantry and good conduct commands his respect, and has added a page to the claims they have on the gratitude of a great people now struggling to maintain national freedom and integrity, against an unhallowed war in favor of caste and despotism. To Colonel Miezner, Chief of the cavalry division, and to the officers and men of his command, the General Commanding here publicly tenders his acknowledgments. For courage, efficiency, and for incessant and successful combats, he does not believe they have any superiors. In our advance on Iuka, and during the action, they ably performed their duty. Colonel Hatch fought and whipped the rebels at Peyton's Mills on the 19th, pursued the retreating rebel column on the 20th, harassed their rear, and captured a large number of arms. During the action five privates of the 3d Michigan cavalry, beyond our extreme right, opened fire, captured a rebel stand of colors, a captain and lieutenant, sent in the colors that night, alone held their prisoners during the night and brought them in next morning. The unexpected accident which alone prevented us from cutting off the retreat and capturing Price and his army, only shows how much success depends on Him in whose hands are the accidents as well as the laws of life. Brave companions in arms! Be always prepared for action, firm, united, and disciplined. The day of peace from the hands of God, will soon dawn, when we shall return to our happy homes, thanking Him who gives both courage and victory."

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* Jacinto, Mississippi, Correspondence of the Cincinnati Commercial. September 22, 1862.

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* General Halleck's Report. Washington, December, 1862.

On the 20th, from his headquarters at Corinth, General Grant issued the following congratulatory order: "The General Commanding takes pleasure in congratulating the two wings of the army, commanded respectively by Major-General Ord and Major-General Rosecrans, upon the energy, alacrity, and bravery displayed by them on the 19th and 20th inst., in their movement against the enemy at Iuka. Although the enemy was in numbers reputed far greater than their own, nothing was evinced by the troops but a burning desire to meet him, whatever his numbers, and however strong his position. With such a disposition as was manifested by the troops on this occasion, their commanders need never fear defeat against anything but overwhelming numbers. While it was the fortune of the command of General Rosecrans, on the evening of the 19th inst., to engage the enemy in a most spirited fight for more than two hours, driving him, with great loss, from his position, and winning for themselves fresh laurels, the command of General Ord is entitled to equal credit for their efforts in trying to reach the enemy, and in diverting his attention. And, while congratulating the noble living, it is meet to offer our condolence to the friends of the heroic dead, who offered their lives as a sacrifice in defence of constitutional liberty, and in their fall rendered memorable the field of Iuka."

Repulsed at Iuka, the enemy passed the remainder of the month in gathering their forces for a determined onset upon Corinth, where General Rosecrans continued in command, diligently fortifying, and eagerly on the look out for their arrival. Price, it was understood, had marched to the vicinity of Ripley, a town in Mississippi to the southwest of Corinth, midway between Holley Springs and Jacinto, where he was joined by

General Van Dorn, with all the available troops in North Mississippi, whence the joint force proceeded northerly, struck the line of the Memphis and Charleston railroad in Tennessee, in the rear of Corinth, at Pocahontas. There they menaced alike Grant at his headquarters at Jackson, and Rosecrans at Corinth. "Rumors," says the latter, "that the attack was to take the direction of Jackson or Bolivar, via Bethel, were so rife, and the fortifications of Corinth were so well known to the rebels, that I had hopes that they would undertake to mask me, and, passing north, give me an opportunity to beat the masking force, and cut off their retreat." Such, however, was not the intention of the enemy. The intermediate country to the northwest of Corinth, in the present dry season, gave them the opportunity of moving in that quarter, and they accordingly advanced from that direction by way of Chewalla. The Union commander was prepared for them. 'The eyes of the army'—as General Rosecrans sharply styles cavalry—" (we cite the interesting narrative of the able war correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial*) "were open and the General was apprised of their approach. General Davies' division and other troops were sent out the Chewalla road to meet the rebels, with instructions to resist strongly enough to draw them under the defences of Corinth. The rebels skirmished with us on Tuesday, 30th September, Wednesday, and Thursday, and appeared in great force on Friday, October 3d. Our troops were then rather rudely pushed back. We were, in fact, getting the worst of it, and severely. Stanley's division meantime was sent out to support the advance, and our forces in Corinth were prepared for the encounter. By night our whole force was driven in, with General Oglesby wounded, General Hackelman killed, and many others lost; and the enemy, flushed with apparent success, enveloped our front and laid upon their arms, within a mile of town. Our own officers went on perfecting preparations for the conflict. Captain W. B. Gau, of General Rosecrans's staff, took charge of his corps of negro (slave) Sappers and Miners, and constructed two revetted redoubts during the night. The Yates Sharp-shooters of Illinois, and the Burgess Sharpshooters, rolled up a mass of logs and made a passable breastwork in front of Bolivar road. General Rosecrans and his staff were on the field all night making preparations to receive the enemy, and nothing was neglected that seemed necessary to insure victory.

"The features of the field of battle are necessary to a correct view of it. On the north and east side of the town there is alternate hill and swampy ground, generally heavy timbered, but now and then a field on the left of the railroad. Our army faced north. Fronting our right centre there is a heavy thicketed swamp, almost impassable for masses of infantry. On the left centre the ground is quite hilly; on the right, where our right wing was posted, it was rolling, but fell off in front into heavily-timbered ground — swampy in rainy weather. The Chewalla road enters the town on the left, the Bolivar road about the right centre. Excepting in the right centre, Corinth was approachable in unbroken line of battle from that side. Our new line of fortifications consisted of four revetted redoubts, covering the whole front of Corinth and protecting the flanks. The fort on the extreme right was strengthened by Beauregard's old works. Fort Richardson, a new five-gun battery, constructed during Friday night, was at the left of Hamilton's division, which held the extreme right, and was in direct range of the debouch into town of the Bolivar road, the former redoubt flanking that road; Fort Williams, mounted with 20-pound Parrotts, commanded the hills over which the Chewalla road described its course into town; Fort Robinette, on a high, narrow ridge, which, with Fort Williams, enfiladed both the Chewalla and Bolivar roads. Another fort on the extreme left, near the Corinth Seminary, protected our left and strengthened the centre. The several forts in the rear were also so located that they played a conspicuous part in the battle, their pieces being reversed and turned to the centre at a critical period. The gallant Hamilton's division was assigned the post of honor on the extreme right, his right resting near Beauregard's old works, and at Fort No. 1, stretching from the south side of the famous Purdy road, his left resting behind Fort Richardson. General Davies' division joined him on the left and in consecutive order, six companies of the Yates' Illinois Sharpshooters, Burke's Western (Mo.) Sharpshooters, Stanley's division, consisting of two brigades, and McKean's division, with McArthur's brigade on the extreme left. The cavalry, under command of Colonel Mizner, was posted on the right and left wings, and in the rear, and competent forces were held as reserves and to protect the rear. The front line was carefully covered by crests of undulations on the town-plat, and the various batteries, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lathrop, Chief of Artillery, were generally covered by fortifications, one of them being protected by an apron of hay and cotton-bales. Friday night the non-combatants of Corinth were uneasy. Some of the troops were not altogether comfortable. The fact that the enemy had driven our forces back into the town was not reassuring. But it was remarked that General Rosecrans was in magnificent humor. It is said that he encouraged the lads by quoting Barkis, assuring them that 'things is workin'.' It might be so, but non-combatants couldn't see it. They were told that the rebel line of battle was formed within one thousand yards of our line. Thus it was apparent they could shell the town. Civilians, you know, have a lively horror of shells. It is assumed that there was not much sleep in Corinth that night. Before daybreak the Ohio brigade (Stanley's division), commanded by Colonel Fuller, which rested its left on Fort Robinette, heard the enemy placing a battery on the hill in front, not over two hundred yards from Fort Robinette. General Rosecrans, it is reported, said: 'Let 'em plant it.' Before a streak of dawn, Saturday morning, they opened furiously upon Corinth. 'They saw our breakfast-fires,' said a soldier, 'and got range upon us.' Shell flew about, exploding over the houses, in houses, and in the streets. Our own batteries did not reply for an hour or more. At sunrise non-combatants were ordered to the rear. Sutlers, storekeepers, employees of departments, teamsters, negroes and all, retired precipitately; but they were behind the troops, and their example was not contagious. Meantime the sharpshooters of both armies had worked into the swamp thicket in front of the town, and were fighting sharply. Captain Williams (U. S. A.) had opened, at daylight, his 30-pounder Parrotts in Fort Williams, on the battery which the enemy had so slyly posted in darkness, and in about three minutes it was silenced. This was why General Rosecrans said: 'Let 'em plant it.' The enemy dragged off two pieces, but were unable to take the other.. Part of the 63d Ohio, and a squad of the 1st United States artillery, went out and got the deserted gun, and brought it within our lines. Skirmishing had also opened at various points in front as soon as it was light, and it was constantly thickening into the magnitude of battle. Now and then there were brief intervals of quiet, but swiftly followed by furious volleys. The main lines of the enemy were still invisible. It was known, however, that they were forming upon the roads in the forests, and their debouch was anxiously awaited. Shells on both sides were doing their work. The enemy had opened batteries from several points, and our guns directed their shots on the line of fire. A shell whistled over the town and crashed through the Tishomingo hotel, tearing to pieces a poor wounded soldier, who was striving to go to the rear. Another perforated a grocery, and scattered the stores; others exploded in the streets, and frightened fugitives into a panic, while our own fierce missiles ripped up the forests.

"It was perhaps half-past nine o'clock when the bitter tragedy began to develop in earnest. A prodigious mass, with gleaming bayonets, suddenly loomed out dark and threatening on the east of the railroad, moving sternly up the Bolivar road in column by divisions. Directly it opened out in the shape of a monstrous wedge, and drove forward impetuously toward the heart of Corinth. It was a splendid target for our batteries, and it was soon perforated. Hideous gaps were rent in it, but those massive lines were closed almost as soon as they were torn open. At this period the skillful management of General Rosecrans began to develop. It was discovered that the enemy had been enticed to attack precisely at the point where the artillery could sweep them with direct, cross and enfilading fire. He had prepared for such an occasion. Our shell swept through the mass with awful effect, but the brave rebels pressed onward inflexibly. Directly the wedge opened and spread out magnificently, right and left, like great wings, seeming to swoop over the whole field before them. But there was a fearful march in front. A broad turfy glacis, sloping upward at an angle of thirty degrees to a crest fringed with determined, disciplined soldiers, and clad with terrible batteries, frowned upon them. There were a few obstructions—fallen timber—which disordered their lines a little. But every break was instantly welded. Our whole line opened fire, but the enemy, seemingly insensible to fear, or infuriated by passion, bent their necks downward and marched steadily to death, with their faces averted like men striving to protect themselves against a driving storm of hail. The Yates and Burgess sharpshooters, lying snugly behind their rude breastworks, poured in a destructive fire, but it seemed no more effectual than if they had been firing potato-balls, excepting that somebody was killed. The enemy still pressed onward undismayed. At last they reached the crest of the hill in front and to the right of Fort Richardson, and General Davies' division gave way. It begun to fall back in disorder. General Rosecrans, who had been watching the conflict with eagle eye, and who is described as having expressed his delight at the trap into which General Price was blindly plunging, discovered the break and dashed to the front, inflamed with indignation. He rallied the men by his splendid example in the thickest of the fight. Before the line was demoralized he succeeded in restoring it, and the men, brave when bravely led, fought again. But it had yielded much space, and the loss of Fort Richardson was certain. Price's right moved swiftly to the headquarters of General Rosecrans, took possession of it, and posted themselves under cover of the portico of the house, and behind its corners, whence they opened fire upon our troops on the opposite side of the public square. Seven rebels were killed within the little enclosure in front of the General's cottage. The structure is a sort of sieve now—bullets have punctured it so well. But the desperadoes got no further into town.

"Battle was raging about Fort Richardson. Gallant Richardson, for whom it was named, fought his battery well. Had his supports fought as his artillerymen did, the record would have been different. The rebels gained the crest of the hill, swarmed around the little redoubt, and were swept away from it as a breath will dissipate smoke. Again they swarmed like infuriated tigers. At last a desperate dash with a yell. Richardson goes down to rise no more. His supports are not at hand. The foe shouts triumphantly and seizes the guns. The horses are fifty yards down the hill toward Corinth. A score of rebels seize them. The 56th Illinois suddenly rises from cover in the ravine. One terrible volley, and there are sixteen dead artillery horses, a dozen dead rebels. Illinois shouts, charges up the hill, across the plateau into the battery. The rebels fly out through embrasures and around the wings. The 56th yells again and pursues. The rebels do not stop. Hamilton's veterans, meantime, have been working quietly—no lung-work, but gun-work enough. A steady stream of fire tore the rebel ranks to pieces. When Davies broke it was necessary for all to fall back. General Rosecrans thought it well enough to get Price in deeply. A rebel soldier says Van Dorn sat on his horse grimly and saw it all. 'That's Rosecrans' trick,' said he, 'he's got Price where he must suffer.' Maybe, this is one of the apocrypha of battle. A rebel soldier says it's truth. But Hamilton's division receded under orders—at backward step, slowly, grimly, face to the foe, and firing. But when the 56th Illinois charged, this was changed. Davies' misfortune had been remedied. The whole line advanced. The rebel host was broken. A destroying Nemesis pursued them. Arms were flung away wildly. They ran to the woods. They fled into the forests. A shout of triumph and a gleaming line of steel followed them. 'They' report that such a shout was never before heard in Corinth. Price's once 'invincible' now invisible legions were broken, demoralized, fugitive, and remorselessly pursued down the hill, into the swamps, through the thickets, into the forests. Newly disturbed earth shows where they fell and how very often.

"General Van Dorn's attack was to have been simultaneous with that of Price. The generals had arranged to carry Corinth by one grand assault. In their reconnoissance Friday evening they found no fort where Fort Richardson was, and they overlooked Fort Robinette. Ugly obstacles. When they drove their wedge toward Corinth, one flange on the Bolivar road, the other on a branch of the Chewalla, they intended both wings should extend together. Topographical and artificial obstructions interrupted Van Dorn. He was obliged to sweep over a rugged ravine, through dense thickets, up hill over a heavy abattis with his left; it was necessary for his centre to dip down hill under the fire of Fort Williams, Captain Gau's siege-guns in the rear of the town, and under heavy musketry, while his right had to girdle a ridge and move over almost insurmountable abattis under a point-blank fire of both Fort Williams and Fort Robinette, supported by a splendid division of veteran troops. The latter fort had 10-pounder Parrots, three of them—the former 30-pounder Parrotts, which devour men. It was a task to be accomplished, or a terrible failure to be recorded. Price had comparatively plain sailing, and lost no time. Van Dorn was seven or eight minutes behind time. During that precious seven minutes Price was overwhelmed, and Van Dorn was left with a feat of desperation to be accomplished. He tried it audaciously. His men obeyed magnificently. Evidently he relied chiefly on Texas and Mississippi, for the troops of those States were in front. The wings were sorely distressed in the entanglement on either side. Two girdles of bristling steel glistened on the waist of the ridge. Two brigades, one supporting the front at close distance, moved up solidly toward the face of the fort. The Parrots of both redoubts were pouring shot and shell, and grape and canister into them from the moment of command—'forward—charge!' shouted clearly from the brave Colonel Rogers (acting Brigadier), of Texas. They tell me it was a noble exhibition of desperate daring. At every discharge great gaps were cut through their ranks. No faltering, but the ranks were closed and they moved steadily to the front, bending their heads to the storm. Dozens were slaughtered while thrusting themselves through the rugged timber, but no man wavered. Onward, onward, steadly and unyielding as fate, their General in front. At last they reach the ditch. It is an awful moment. They pause to take breath for a surge—a fatal pause. Texas Rogers, with the rebel flag in his left, revolver in his right, advanced firing, leaped the ditch, scaled the parapet, waved his banner aloft and tumbled headlong into the ditch. A patriot's bullet had killed him in the moment of triumph. Five Texans who followed pitched forward through the embrasures like logs, and fell into the fort.

"But we anticipate. Remember that the two redoubts are on the same ridge, Fort Williams commanding Fort Robinette, which is in front. Had the rebels taken the latter the guns of the former would have destroyed them. They were separated by a space not exceeding one hundred and fifty yards. The Ohio brigade, commanded by Colonel Fuller, was formed behind the ridge, on the right of the redoubts. The left of the 63d Ohio resting on Fort Robinette, its right joining the left of the 27th Ohio; the 39th was behind the 27th supporting it; the right of the 43d joined the left of the 63d, forming a right angle with it, and extending to Fort Williams, behind the crest of the ridge. The 11th Missouri, Colonel Mower (U. S. A.), was formed behind the 63d Ohio, its left in the angle, and the regiment faced obliquely to the right of the 63d. The positions of these gallant regiments should be described, because their actions are memorable. Colonel Fuller, perfectly collected, required his brigade to lie flat on their faces when not engaged. While the enemy was steadily approaching he warned them to wait till they could see the whites of their eyes, then fire coolly. It was at the moment the Texan Rogers was flaunting his flag on our parapet, that the 63d was ordered to fire. Dead Captain McFadden gave the first command of his life to fire in the field of battle, and he fell mortally wounded. There were only two hundred and fifty of the 63d in the conflict, but their volley was fearful. It is said fifty rebels fell at once. Six volleys were fired and the rebels were gone. The 63d again laid down. Directly the supporting brigade of the rebels advanced. The 63d was ordered to make a half left wheel to sweep the front of the redoubt, and the maneuver was handsomely executed. The 11th Missouri moved on the left into line into the vacant space; the 43d moved by the right of companies to the left, and the 27th half-faced to the left. Suddenly the enemy appeared, and a furious storm of lead and grape was launched at them. The 63d fired five or six volleys and the rebels rushed upon them. A terrific hand-to-hand combat ensued. The rage of the combatants was furious and the uproar hideous. It lasted hardly a minute, but the carnage was dreadful. Bayonets were used, muskets clubbed, and men were felled with brawny fists. Our noble fellows were victors, but at sickening cost. Of the two hundred and fifty of the splendid 63d, one hundred and twenty-five lay there on the field, wounded, dead, or dying. The last final struggle terminated with a howl of rage and dismay. The foe flung away their arms and fled like frightened stags to the abattis and forests. The batteries were still vomiting destruction. With the enemy plunging in upon him, brave Robinette, with his faithful gunners of the 1st United States artillery, double-shotted his guns and belched death upon the infuriate enemy, and now he sent the iron hail after the fugitives with relentless fury. The abattis was full of them, but they were subdued. Directly they begun to wave their handkerchiefs upon sticks in token of submission, shouting to spare them 'for God's sake.' Over two hundred of them were taken within an area of a hundred yards, and more than two hundred of them fell on that frightful assault upon Fort Robinette. Fifty-six dead rebels were heaped up together in front of that redoubt, most of whom were of the 2d Texas and 4th Mississippi. They were buried in one pit, but their brave General sleeps alone, our own noble fellows testifying their respect by rounding his grave smoothly and marking his resting-place."

The splendid results of this engagement, so disastrous to the foe, were commemorated in a general order, reflecting the enthusiasm of the West in this conflict, of General Rosecrans to his division on the 25th. "The preliminary announcement of the results of the great battle of Corinth was given to you on the battlefield by myself in person. I then proclaimed to you that 'they were badly beaten at all points and had fled, leaving their dead and wounded on the field.' When I told you to replenish your cartridge-boxes and haversacks, snatch a sleep after your two days' fighting and two nights of watching and movements, and be ready by the morning's dawn to follow the retreating foe, my heart beat high with pride and pleasure to the round and joyful response from your toil-worn and battle-stained ranks. Such a response was worthy of such soldiers, and of the country and cause for which they fought. I have now received the reports of the various commanders. I have now to tell you that the magnitude of the stake, the battle, and the results, become more than ever apparent. Upon the issue of the fight depended the possession of west Tennessee, and perhaps even the fate of operations in Kentucky. The entire available force of the rebels in Mississippi, save a few garrisons and a small reserve, attacked you. They were commanded by Van Dorn, Price, Villipigue, Rust, Armstrong, Maury, and others, in person. They numbered, according to their own authorities, nearly forty thousand men — almost double your own numbers. You fought them into the position we desired on the 3d, punishing them terribly; and on the 4th, in three hours after the infantry entered into action they were completely beaten. You killed and buried 1,423 officers and men, some of their most distinguished officers falling, among whom was the gallant Colonel Rogers, of the 2d Texas, who bore their colors at the head of his storming column to the edge of the ditch of Battery Robinette, where he fell. Their wounded, at the usual rate, must exceed 5,000. You took 2,268 prisoners, among whom are one hundred and thirty-seven field-officers, captains, and subalterns, representing fifty-three regiments of infantry, sixteen regiments of cavalry, thirteen batteries of artillery, and seven battalions, making sixty-nine regiments, thirteen batteries, seven battalions, besides several companies. You captured 3,350 stands of small arms, fourteen stands of colors, two pieces of artillery, and a large quantity of equipments. You pursued his retreating columns forty miles in force with infantry, and sixty miles with cavalry, and were ready to follow him to Mobile, if necessary, had you received orders. I congratulate you on these decisive results; in the name of the government and the people I thank you. I beg you to unite with me in giving humble thanks to the great Master of all for our victory.

"It would be to me a great pleasure to signalize in this general order those whose gallant deeds are recorded in the various reports, but their number forbids. I will only say that to Generals Hamilton, Stanley, McArthur, and Davies, to General Oglesby and Colonel Miezner, and the brigade and regimental commanders under them, I offer my thanks for the gallant and able manner in which they have performed their several duties. To the regimental commanders and chiefs of batteries and cavalry, and especially to Colonels Lee and Hatch, I present my thanks for their gallantry on the battlefield and in the pursuit. I desire especially to offer my thanks to General Davies and his division, whose magnificent fighting on the 3d more than atones for all that was lacking on the 4th. To all the officers and soldiers of this army, who bravely fought, I offer my heartfelt thanks for their noble behavior, and pray that God and their country may add to the rewards which flow from the consciousness of duty performed, and that the time may speedily come when, under the flag of a nation one and indivisible, benign peace may again smile on us amid the endearments of home and family. But our victory has cost us the lives of three hundred and fifteen brave officers and soldiers, besides the wounded.* Words of praise cannot reach those who died for their country in this battle, but they console and encourage the living. The memory of the brave Hackleman, the chivalrous Kirby Smith, the true and noble Colonels Thrush, Baker, and Miles, and Captain Guy C. Ward, with many others, live with us and in the memory of a free people, while history will inscribe their names among its heroes."

General Grant, also, in a general order, celebrated this victory of the men of the West at Corinth, and the part borne by another division of the army, issuing from Bolivar. "It is with heartfelt gratitude," says he, "the General commanding congratulates the armies of the West for another great victory won by them on the 3d, 4th, and 5th inst., over the combined armies of Van Dorn, Price, and Lovell. The enemy chose his own time and place of attack, and knowing the troops of the West as he does, and with great facilities for knowing their numbers, never would have made the attack except with a superior force, numerically. But for the undaunted bravery of officers and soldiers, who have yet to learn defeat, the efforts of the enemy must have proven successful. While one division of the army under General Rosecrans was resisting and repelling the onslaught of the rebel hosts at Corinth, another from Bolivar, under Major-General Hurlbut, was marching upon the enemy's rear, driving in their pickets and cavalry, and attracting the attention of a large force of infantry and artillery. On the following day, under Major-General Ord, these forces advanced with unsurpassed gallantry, driving the enemy back and across the Hatchie, over ground where it is almost incredible that a superior force should be driven by an inferior, capturing two of his batteries (eight guns), many hundred small arms, and several hundred prisoners. To these two divisions of the army all praise is due, and will be awarded by a grateful country. Between them there should be, and I trust is, the warmest bond of brotherhood. Each was risking life in the same cause, and on this occasion risking it also to save and assist the other. No troops could do more than these separated armies. Each did all possible for it to do in the places assigned it. As in all great battles, so in this, it becomes our fate to mourn the loss of many brave and faithful officers and soldiers, who have given up their lives a sacrifice for a great principle. The nation mourns for them."

In the action on the Hatchie river, on the 5th, as Brigadier-General Hurlbut was making dispositions for the attack, Major-General Ord arrived upon the field and assumed command, but, being wounded about an hour before noon, again relinquished it to General Hurlbut. The battle continued till about half-past three in the afternoon, when the enemy retreated south, crossing the Hatchie at Crum's Mills, about six miles further up the river. The Union loss was fifty killed, four hundred and ninety-three wounded, and seventeen missing.*

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* There were 1,812 wounded; 232 prisoners and missing.

Major-General Edward Otto Cresap Ord, the son of an officer in the war of 1812, was born in Maryland in 1818. He graduated at West Point in 1839 with an appointment in the 3d artillery. He had since been actively employed in the national service in Florida, during the war with Mexico, in California, and the territories on the Pacific. He was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers in the autumn of 1861, commanded a brigade of General McCall's division before Washington, and led his command in the engagement with Stuart's troops at Dranesville in December.† He was promoted a major-general of volunteers in the following May, and not long after joined the army of General Halleck in the West. General Stephen A. Hurlbut was a native of Charleston, South Carolina. Educated to the profession of the law, he had served in a regiment of his state in the Florida war. In 1845, at the age of thirty, he removed to Illinois, practiced his profession at Belvidere, Boone county, and was several times elected to the state legislature. At the outbreak of the rebellion he was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers. He was with the army of Grant in its first advance into Tennessee, was prominently engaged at Pittsburg Landing, and, previous to the engagement just noticed, was in command at Memphis.

Brigadier-General Pleasant Adam Hackleman, of the Union army, who fell in the engagement at Corinth, was a native of Indiana, and had acquired reputation in the state as a lawyer and editor of the *Rushville Republican.* A republican in politics, he had been sent to the Peace Conference at Washington in 1861, and when the war broke out, served as colonel of the 10th Indiana regiment. He was with General Banks in Virginia, previous to his appearance in the army of General Grant, with the rank of brigadier. Colonel Joseph L. Kirby Smith, a nephew of the confederate General Edward Kirby Smith engaged in the invasion of Kentucky, was a graduate of West Point of 1857 in the engineer corps. He was in command of the 43d Ohio regiment and had rendered valuable service in the engineering operations at Island No. 10. The confederate general Villipigne was a native of South Carolina, and a graduate of West Point of 1854. He then held the rank of 1st lieutenant of 2d dragoons, when in March, 1861, he resigned to engage in the rebellion. He was wounded at the bombardment of Fort Pickens in November, was made a brigadier-general, and held the command of Fort Wright on the Mississippi, after the capture of which he acted with the confederate army in the Southwest. Subsequently to this battle of Corinth he was in command at Mobile. He died the following month of pneumonia at Port Hudson, Louisiana.

On receipt of the news of the engagements at Corinth, President Lincoln forwarded a brief dispatch to General Grant. "I congratulate you and all concerned in your recent battles and victories. I especially regret the death of General Hackleman, and am very anxious to know the condition of General Oglesby, who is an intimate personal friend." The latter officer—Richard James Oglesby—who, as we have seen, was wounded in the first day's fight, when he led his force to meet the enemy on the Chewalla road, was a native of Kentucky. He had studied law at Springfield in Illinois, commenced practice, and turned aside from his profession to serve as lieutenant in Colonel Baker's regiment of volunteers in the Mexican war. He had afterward resided in California, returned to Illinois, resumed his profession, been elected to the state senate, and at the breaking out of the rebellion been placed at the head of the 8th Illinois volunteers. The English traveller, Russell, who met him at the camp at Cairo in the summer of 1861, was struck with his frank, ready, Western character, and in his record of his journey has recorded his impressions of this "excellent, kindly and shrewd man."

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* Report of General Halleck. December, 1862.

† Ante vol. ii. p. 185.

For his gallantry at Corinth and previous services, Brigadier-General Oglesby was promoted to a major-generalship; but the continued effects of his wound incapacitating him for the active military duties required in the Southwest, in the summer of the ensuing year, when the fall of Vicksburg had crowned the arms of his compatriots with victory, rewarding them for their long toils, he took leave of his command in the following characteristic general order, in which he fondly recurs to the heroism of his comrades at the second battle of Corinth:—"Headquarters left wing 6th army corps, Memphis, July 6, 1863. Continual pain, resulting from physical infirmity, assures me that I am not able faithfully to discharge the duties of the high position given me by the President of the United States. I have, therefore, tendered my resignation as a major-general of United States volunteers. In taking leave of a command, with a portion of which I have been so long and so intimately associated, I may be excused for indulging in the expression of feelings, which have grown into sentiments of the most ardent attachment. It will be remembered by them also that I have never officially reported the part taken by the 2d brigade of the 2d divison of the Army of the Tennessee, in the terrible battle fought on the 3d day of October, A. D., 1862, at Corinth. Now for them, let me do something like justice to the devoted courage of the soldiers of the 9th, 12th, and 66th Illinois, and 22d and 81st Ohio volunteers, and to Messrs. Chetlain, Burke, Wood, and Morton, their able and worthy commanders; to Colonel Mersy, as the command of the brigade fell upon him when I left the field. It must be recorded of those soldiers that no men ever fought more daringly, when, in the final charge on Friday afternoon, they actually drove three times their number of stubborn men fairly from the field, and from the high road to Corinth, then not one-half mile distant. I shall always believe that nothing but the desperate fighting of the 2d division of the Army of the Tennessee, on the main Chewalla road, saved Corinth from the possession of the enemy on Friday afternoon, for which I shall never cease to thank you. Fellow soldiers, I part with you with much regret. I have known your sufferings, and with pride have witnessed your devotion to our common and noble cause. You have endured one hardship to encounter another; have gone from one field of victory to another of blood, and have at all times felt and so acted as to satisfy good men that you had honor and a country at stake, and have hesitated at no risk to save either. Your country must love you. Your country does love you. The world in all time to come will honor you. Reverence for you must be eternal. The obscure soldier, who toils through this war, will have an unwritten but an unforgotten history, an ever present conscience repaying him with its rich rewards.

"Faithful soldier, thou hast served thy country well. I shall never forget you, nor shall I abate my efforts to sustain you at home. That man in the loyal states who is not thought and soul for you, for the Union, and for the war, is no friend of mine, is no true friend of humanity anywhere. I reflect with just pride upon the names of those gallant officers who have led you to battle, sometime under my command. How much the country owes them; how much they are to be honored; the discreet and indefatigable Dodge, Sweeney, Mersy, Bane, Rice, Miezner, McCrillis, Hatch, Cornyn, and Philips. Amongst those of former days I well remember Logan, McArthur, Ransom, Lawler, the lamented Wallace, and others equally worthy. With such men to lead and inspire you we cannot fail. The proud army of the Great West, with scarcely a reverse, presents to the nation a bouquet of victories worthy the gratitude and admiration of the whole people. You may well say, this war cannot last much longer. You, who have seen traitors with haughty pretension crouch at your feet for mercy; the mansions of the domineering rich turned into boarding-houses, and the chivalry turned landlord and lady for the entertainment of Yankee officers. Those who have spurned, beg for favors at your hands, and swearing a new allegiance for protection to property, meanly violate it to serve a rebel. It is fit and proper that such a people, who foolishly wage such a war, should at last meet face to face the black race of the South, bend to the rod of the slaves they have so long outraged, and tremble before the men proclaimed by them to have no rights. A just retribution, one they cannot avoid; the humiliation their own bold treason has brought upon them; a resort that needs no justification in the sight of God or man, for it is right."

The second battle at Corinth was followed by no immediate advance of the Union army into Mississippi, General Grant being content to keep open his communications with Columbus, and hold his positions at Jackson and Bolivar in Western Tennessee. At the end of November, however, his army, which had been recruited, was again set in motion southward, and at the beginning of December it had taken possession of Holly Springs on the Mississippi Central railroad, and advanced some miles beyond to confront the enemy, under General Van Dorn, on the Tallahatchie river. To coöperate with this movement, General Curtis sent a detachment from his forces at Helena, on the Mississippi river, to act upon the rebel flank. This expedition, which set out from Helena on the 27th November, under General Alvin P. Hovey, an enterprising officer, who had entered the service at the beginning of the war as major of an Indiana regiment, and had rapidly risen to a brigadiership, consisted of about 6,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. The latter were commanded by Brigadier-General C. C. Washburn, a native of Maine, who had made his home in Wisconsin, represented that state in Congress, and on the breaking out of the war raised a regiment of cavalry, from the colonelcy of which he had been elevated to his present rank. Crossing the low alluvial bottom-land from Delta below Helena, on the Mississippi, General Washburn reached the Tallahatchie river at its junction with the Coldwater, the evening of the next day. There Captain Walker, in command of a detachment of the 1st Indiana cavalry, after nightfall, surprised a body of rebel cavalry, with a working party of negroes, encamped on the opposite side of the river. "They were laughing, talking, singing, and enjoying themselves right merrily," says General Washburn in his report, when "Captain Walker immediately brought his guns to bear at a distance of about three hundred yards, and opened out with all force at once, while the dismounted men poured a volley into them from the river bank. The enemy fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving many horses and arms upon the ground. The next day, five of them, very seriously wounded, were found in houses by the roadside, and the negroes reported that they had three killed during the engagement." The following day, General Washburn having constructed a bridge across the Tallahatchie, set out in the direction of Grenada, fifty-six miles distant, with the intention of breaking up the railway communications of the enemy. At Yockna creek he encountered a rebel picket force which retreated with their main body to

Panola. At daylight, on the 30th, General Washburn was at Preston, sixteen miles from Grenada. From this vicinity he sent parties who destroyed several bridges, and the telegraph wires on the Mississippi and Tennessee, and the Mississippi and Central railroad. The latter service was performed by Major Birge, who, with one hundred men of the 9th Illinois cavalry, armed with carbines, crowbars and axes, crossed the country, through the woods and canebrakes. The enemy in their retreat before Grant, being now at Grenada and its approaches, and aroused by General Washburn's proceedings, the latter avoided them by retiring a short distance, to Mitchell's Cross-roads, where he received a reinforcement from General Hovey, of about 1,200 infantry, with four field pieces. With these, a few days after, he came up with a body of Texan cavalry at Oakland, after the first encounter, in which a gun was taken by the enemy, driving them through the town, wounding many severely, and capturing a number of prisoners, horses and arms, and 5,000 rounds of minié ball cartridges. Here General Washburn received a dispatch from General Hovey recalling him to Helena, whither he returned, having in six days marched two hundred miles in a hostile country, surrounded by the enemy in force.*

Another cavalry scout, not inferior in spirit to that of General Washburn, was made in the middle of December, by Colonel T. L. Dickey, at the order of General Grant, on the Mobile and Ohio railroad. His instructions were "to strike the line as far south as practicable, and destroy it as much as possible." Accordingly, while another party was sent to engage the attention of the enemy on the Mississippi Central, Colonel Dickey, on the 14th, with a picked body of Illinois cavalry, took the road for Okolona, and succeeded in destroying the bridges between Saltillo and that place. The expedition, which subsisted on the country, on its return to the camp of General Grant, at Oxford, reported having "marched about two hundred miles, worked two days at the railroad, captured about one hundred and fifty prisoners, destroyed thirty-four miles of important railroad, and a large amount of public stores of the enemy, and returned, passing round an enemy of nine to our one, without having a man killed, wounded, or captured."* In this way confidence was gained by the Union forces, and a practical knowledge of the interior of Mississippi, important for future operations.

The effect of the movements of Grant and his supporters from the Mississippi, had been the withdrawal of the Confederates to Grenada, and even beyond. The pursuit was not continued, Grant finding "the roads too impassable to get up supplies for a longer continuance of it." His long line of communication through Western Tennessee to Columbus, in fact offered a means of annoyance to the enemy, which he was not long in availing himself of. Towards the end of December, simultaneous attacks were made upon various points—at Holly Springs, Davis' Mills, in the vicinity of Jackson, Tennessee, at Humboldt, and Trenton. At the last place, and at Holly Springs, a number of prisoners were taken and paroled, and a large quantity of stores destroyed. The attack upon Holly Springs, on the 20th of December, was led by the Confederate General Van Dorn himself, and certainly afforded a very complete illustration of a rebel raid. The enemy in force entered the town at daybreak, and readily overcame the scattered guards and pickets, when Colonel Murphy, who was in command, unprepared for conflict, surrendered the place, not, however, without resistance being made by the Illinois cavalry, a portion of whom cut their way through the numbers of the foe, and escaped the parole which awaited the infantry. The work of pillage and destruction was promptly commenced and systematically carried out. The railway depots and property, a foundry, the arsenal, full of military stores, a vast quantity of cotton, the property of government and private owners, and the armory hospital, "in violation of an express promise, and of all rules of civilized warfare," were at once consigned to the flames. An attempt was even made to destroy the general hospital, located in the main square, and which at the time contained over five hundred sick. The report of the United States Medical Director, Surgeon Wirtz, narrates the fearful suffering to which the inmates were exposed. Barrels of powder and boxes of shells and cartridges were piled up and set fire to in front of the building. Before the sick could be removed the walls and windows were riddled with flying balls and shell, and an explosion took place wounding twenty men, and setting fire to a number of buildings on the square. To add to the horrors of this pandemonium, a rebel cavalry officer forced a hundred and fifty sick soldiers from their beds to rise, and fall in line, and notwithstanding the expostulations of the medical officer, "actually made the poor fellows, suffering from typhoid fever, pneumonia and diarrhea, to start with him on the road." And it was not till they had fallen in the street, that the continued remonstrances of the surgeons were listened to.* While the fearful conflagration was going on, the northern cotton buyers, of whom there were a number in the place, were assembled and compelled to pay over the ample funds with which they were provided. The southern ladies, however, by their kindness in taking charge of a portion of this property, saved considerable sums from the grasp of the insatiate Van Dorn. The surrender at Holly Springs was severely censured by General Grant, who had warned Colonel Murphy of the approach of the enemy, and who at the very time had sent reinforcements on their way to his aid. Colonel Jacob Fry, commanding at Trenton, gallantly, though unavailingly, opposed the attack on Trenton, which was led by the rebel General Forrest.

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* General Washburn to Captain Phillips, A. A. G. December 4, 1862.

* Colonel T. Lyle Dickey to Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Rawlings, A. A. G. December 20, 1862.

The effect of these attacks was to confine General Grant to the borders of Tennessee. The public, ignorant of the difficulties in his way, had looked for the immediate reduction of Vicksburg; but that was an undertaking destined to tax the resources of the Union armies in more than one future campaign.

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* H. R. Wirtz, Surgeon, U. S. A., Medical Director, 13th Army Corps, to Lieutenant-Colonel Rawlings, A. A. G. Holly Springs. December 30, 1862.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

GENERAL McCLELLAN'S CAMPAIGN—BATTLES OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN AND ANTIETAM IN MARYLAND—SEPTEMBER, 1862.

When General Pope at the end of a campaign of unintermitted toil, marked by the persistent and courageous efforts of his overmatched forces, withdrew his wasted army within the defences of Washington he found there General McClellan in authority; that officer after a brief interval of inaction since his arrival from the James River while his troops were reinforcing the army of Pope, having, on the 2d of September, been ordered by General Halleck to the command of the fortifications of Washington and of all the troops for the defence of the capital. The return of Pope's forces virtually brought the entire army of the Potomac again under his authority, and when, as was immediately the case, it became necessary once more to take the field—General Pope having been relieved and appointed to a new sphere of duty—the command of the army for active operations was virtually assigned by the President to General McClellan, whose experience and popularity with the army were looked to to repair its shattered fortunes. On the 4th he issued the first of a new series of general orders, announcing his command and requiring corps commanders to place their troops in condition for immediate service.

Rumors meanwhile began to be current that the Confederate General Lee was about to carry out a long-threatened plan of invasion of the North. It was observed that his lines were extended into the Shenandoah Valley and towards the Potomac, it was thought quite probable, with the intention of crossing the river into Maryland. The public was not kept long in suspense. At noon of the 5th of September a body of rebel cavalry from Leesburg attempted to pass the river at Edwards Ferry, but were repulsed by the Union forces at that place. The attempt, however, was renewed in the vicinity with success the following night, and the next day Poolesville and Darnstown were visited by a party of cavalry. At the same time the river, now fordable, was crossed in force by the enemy above and below Point of Rocks. This advance of the army of Lee under General Hill marched immediately upon Frederick, the capital of the state, and occupied the city on the 6th. Their appearance was a signal to withdraw above and below the trains and rolling stock of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail road, whose track they had crossed. A Provost Marshal, Bradley T. Johnson, a seceding Marylander who had entered the Confederate, army was appointed to keep order at Frederick; and as a policy of conciliation was evidently intended, the presence of the rebel troops was made as endurable as was consistent with an enforced supply of their necessities, to the inhabitants. Foraging parties were sent out for live-stock and provisions, and the most liberal purchases were made of drugs, shoes, clothing, and other articles from the shopkeepers of the town. An occasional "greenback" was rumored to have been exhibited, but the tradesmen were for the most part paid in Confederate currency, which they received with a blank incredulous aspect. Sound Unionists ironically congratulated "copperhead" storekeepers on the excellent business they were doing. Beyond this compulsory traffic there appears to have been little violation of the ordinary privileges of the inhabitants. They had indeed to endure the sight of the rebel flag which was substituted for the stars and stripes on their public buildings; but beyond a house or two occupied as headquarters, private residences were not disturbed by the soldiers who were encamped outside the town. Citizens were permitted to pass freely in and out of the place. This forbearance was shown to "my Maryland" as by right, in the opinion of the invaders, an integral portion of the Confederacy.

His forces having now entered in numbers and gained a foothold in the state, General Lee, on the 8th September, from the headquarters of his Army of Northern Virginia, near Frederickton, issued his proclamation to the people of Maryland. "It is right," said he, "that you should know the purpose that has brought the army under my command within the limits of your state, so far as that purpose concerns yourselves. The people of the Confederate States have long watched with the deepest sympathy the wrongs and outrages that have been inflicted upon the citizens of a commonwealth allied to the states of the South by the strongest social, political, and commercial ties, and reduced to the condition of a conquered province. Under the pretence of supporting the Constitution, but in violation of its most valuable provisions, your citizens have been arrested and imprisoned, upon no charge, and contrary to all the forms of law. A faithful and manly protest against this outrage, made by a venerable and illustrious Marylander, to whom in better days no citizen appealed for right in vain, was treated with scorn and contempt. The government of your chief city has been usurped by armed strangers ; your Legislature has been dissolved by the unlawful arrest of its members ; freedom of the Press and of speech has been suppressed ; words have been declared offences by an arbitrary decree of the Federal Executive, and citizens ordered to be tried by military commission for what they may dare to speak. Believing that the people of Maryland possess a spirit too lofty to submit to such a Government, the people of the South have long wished to aid you in throwing off this foreign yoke, to enable you again to enjoy the inalienable rights of freemen, and restore the independence and sovereignty of your state. In obedience to this wish, our army has come among you, and is prepared to assist you with the power of its arms in regaining the rights of which you have been so unjustly despoiled. This, citizens of Maryland, is our mission, so far as you are concerned. No restraint upon your free will is intended—no intimidation will be allowed within the limits of this army at least. Marylanders shall once more enjoy their ancient freedom of thought and speech. We know no enemies among you, and will protect all of you in every opinion. It is for you to decide your destiny freely and without constraint. This army will respect your choice, whatever it may be, and while the Southern people will rejoice to welcome you to your natural position among them, they will only welcome you when you come of your own free will."

Provost Marshal Johnson also issued a proclamation energetically appealing to his late fellow-citizens to join the Confederate service. Its terms, like the invitation of Lee, and the similar addresses from the officers of the rebel army of invasion in Kentucky, show the reliance placed, and, happily, placed in vain, upon border-state sympathy. "To the people of Maryland. After sixteen months of oppression, more galling than Austrian tyranny, the victorious army of the South brings freedom to your doors. Its standard now waves from the Potomac to Mason and Dixon's line. The men of Maryland, who during the last long months have been crushed under the heel of this cruel despotism, now have the opportunity for working out their own redemption, for which they have so long waited, and suffered, and hoped. The Government of the Confederate States is pledged by the unanimous vote of its Congress, by the distinct declaration of its President — the soldier and statesman, Davis — never to cease the war until Maryland has the opportunity to decide for herself her own fate, untrammeled, and free from Federal bayonets. The people of the South, with unanimity unparalleled, have given their hearts to our native state, and hundreds of thousands of her sons have sworn, with arms in their hands, that you shall be free. You must now do your part. We have the arms here for you ; I am authorized to immediately muster in, for the war, companies and regiments. The companies of a hundred men, the regiments of ten companies. Come ! all who wish to strike for their liberties and their homes. Let each man provide himself with a stout pair of shoes, a good blanket, and a tin cup. Jackson's men have no baggage. Officers are in Frederick to receive recruits, and all companies formed will be armed as soon as mustered in. Rise at once. Remember the cells of Fort HcMenry. Remember the dungeons of Fort Lafayette and

Fort Warren; the insults to your wives and daughters; the arrests, the midnight searches of your houses. Remember these your wrongs, and rise at once in arms, and strike for Liberty and Right!"

A debate in the Confederate Congress at Richmond, on the 12th, in the first flush of Lee's invasion of Maryland, exhibited the expectations formed at the South from this event. Not only were thanks tendered to General Lee and the officers and men under his command, "for their brilliant victory, culminating in the signal defeat of the combined forces of the enemy in the two great battles of Manassas;" but it was resolved, "That Congress has heard with profound satisfaction of the triumphant crossing of the Potomac by our victorious army, and, assured of the wisdom of that masterly movement, could repose with entire confidence on the distinguished skill of the commanding-general and the valor of his troops, under favor of the Great Ruler of nations, to achieve new triumphs, to relieve oppressed Maryland, and advance our standard into the territory of the enemy." In the debate on these resolutions, Mr. Lyons of Virginia demurred to committing the House to any movement of the army beyond Maryland, in which he was stoutly opposed by Mr. Miles of South Carolina, who hailed the invasion as the fulfillment of the long-cherished and openly-expressed wishes of the South. "Do you believe that we could safely go into the heart of the North," asked Lyons. "I say promptly, yes!" responded Miles. "I was told by a general, for whose opinion I know the gentleman from Virginia has a high regard, that give Jackson one half of our present army, and although there were 600,000 men in the field he would drive them all before him. I believe now is the time to strike the blow. The regular armies of McClellan and Pope are unable to meet one-fifth of the number they ought to be." Mr. Ayer of South Carolina seconded the aggressive policy. "It is the desire of the people," said he, "that the war should be carried into the enemy's country. Mirabeau, the French philosopher, said that the only way to conduct a successful revolution was 'to dare, to dare again, and still to dare,' and I wish this army, this people of ours, the Executive, "to dare, to dare again, and still to dare," and dare at once. We have tried the opposite policy long; and it has been partially successful. But now is the time to make the enemy suffer,—to make them bleed, and feel the iron heel of war. I believe we can do it,—at least I am willing to make the experiment. We have battled long on our territory, and now is the time to cease; and I speak the sentiment of at least my own constituents when I say, go into the enemy's country.

'Go with banner, brand and bow,
As foeman meets his mortal foe.'"

A more moderate view was taken by Mr. Smith of Alabama. "Our troops," said he, "have already achieved great victories, and the great success of our arms has been marked by triumphs unparalleled in the history of nations. But it is a question yet as to whether we shall be able to hold Maryland. We have never been invited to enter Maryland, and we do not know how we shall be received. When our armies entered Kentucky, where we had been invited to go, we had to meet the Kentuckians steel to steel and knee to knee, and we were driven out by Kentuckians. This ill-fated move lost us Nashville, and led to a series of other disasters, until the great valley of the Missisippi was lost. It was an old saying, that 'whom the gods would destroy, they first made mad.' The people go mad twice a year, when they have anything to go mad about. No war of invasion had ever been successful except it was for the purpose of colonizing the country which they invaded. If the policy was continued we might look for the second day which tried men's souls."

The remonstrance of Mr. Smith did not suit the temper of the House. The "aggressive" clause of the resolution was passed, — yeas 63; nays 15.

Nothwithstanding these good set terms of invocation, in the proclamation of Lee and his Provost Marshal, the people of Maryland, insensible alike to the self-sacrificing sympathies of their Southern brethren, and to the accumulated wrongs inflicted on themselves thus temptingly catalogued, responded but feebly to the call of the rebel leaders. There was nothing of the general uprising so fondly anticipated in rebeldom, and often foretold by certain parties in the North, with whom the success of the rebellion was a foregone conclusion. A few hundred recruits only, it is said, were obtained by them, and these were without arms or equipments. Various reasons were given for this reluctance to join the fortunes of the Confederacy. The most influential, doubtless, was the substantial loyalty to the Union of the great majority of the inhabitants of the state; nor was it to be expected that sympthizers who wished well to the rule of Jefferson Davis would leave comfortable homes, and rush in a body, in the face of General McClellan and his army, to encounter the obvious deprivations of the rebel service. The impression made by the common soldier in the army of invasion, as he passed among the neat and prosperous citizens of Maryland, was not calculated to further the operations of the recruiting sergeant. Observers agreed with great unanimity as to his ill-provided, squalid appearance. A gentleman of Maryland, who passed four days in Frederick during the rebel rule, answered a series of questions, which with his replies were published in the *Baltimore American*. He was asked whether the rebels obtained many recruits in Frederick; to which he answered, "Not many in Frederick, but there were about five-hundred came in from Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Montgomery and Carroll Counties, and some from Baltimore City. After seeing the character of the army and the life which the men led, many of them refused to join, and were getting home again. When leaving, myself, I met six young men from Carroll County, and piloted them to Westminister. They acknowledged they had been to Frederick to join the army, but after 'seeing and smelling' it, had concluded to return home. They begged me not to give their names. *Q.* What did they mean by smelling it? *A.* They meant exactly what they said. I have never seen a mass of such filthy, strong-smelling men. Three of them in a room would make it unbearable, and when marching in column along the street the smell from them was most offensive. There are some of the better class of men among them, but the great mass are men of lowest caste, and although under strict discipline, the filth that pervades them is most remarkable. Their sympathizers at Frederick have been greatly disappointed in the character of the army, and most of them are now as anxious for them to disappear as they were for them to come. They have no uniforms, but are well armed and equipped, and have become so inured to hardships that they care but little for any of the comforts of civilization. *Q.* What was the appearance of the rebel soldiers? *A.* They were the roughest set of creatures I ever saw: their features, hair and clothing matted with dirt and filth, and the scratching they kept up gave warrant of vermin in abundance; the Secession ladies of Frederick used to call the troops of General Banks 'nasty, dirty creatures,' and the Unionists had adopted a species of signs to remind them of their old taunts; whenever a Unionist met a Secessionist on the street, he would commence to scratch, which all understood." It was observed, however, in spite of their ragged and filthy appearance, that these half-fed, barefooted soldiers of the rebellion, accustomed to hard fare and privations, were robust and healthy; while of their warlike spirit they had given too many proofs on various battlefields to leave that any longer a matter of doubt. The lack of supplies in the rebel service was perhaps in one way an advantage; it freed the army from many of those impediments which harass soldiers on the march; the men became more hardy and self-reliant, and depended for their *prestige* not upon military pomp and equipments, but upon hard fighting. In the end they must needs suffer from neglect and want of comforts, but their unkempt savagery might in the meantime tell in encounters with their tamer, less enduring, though better provided opponents.

The certain intelligence of Lee's invasion of Maryland created, as was to be expected, no little excitement in the state. As pickets and reconnoitering parties were sent out, rumors were rapidly circulated of an advance to the east toward Baltimore, to seize upon the city with the aid of friendly insurgents, and cut off Washington from its northern communications; of a probable attempt on the Central railroad, and movement up the Cumberland valley into Pennsylvania; while it was conjectured that, in another direction, they might proceed westward and coöperate with the army of invasion in Kentucky, threatening Cincinnati and Louisville. Promptly appreciating the crisis, Governor Bradford issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens to enroll themselves in voluntary military organizations of infantry and cavalry to meet the emergency. "Let," said he, "our loyal citizens not wait for the distribution of arms, but organize everywhere without delay and assist in driving from the state the invading host that now occupies its soil, armed with any weapon which opportunity may furnish." General Wool, in command of the military department at Baltimore, looked to the defences of the city, and planned additional works. The patriotic General Kenly, having recovered from his wound at Front Royal and been exchanged, was appointed to the command of a brigade of troops for the defence of the city. Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania, warned of impending danger by the rumored approach of the enemy to Hagerstown, called upon all the able-bodied men of the state to organize immediately for its defence, and be ready for marching orders at an hour's notice. By authority of the President of the United States, he also summoned "fifty thousand of the freemen of Pennsylvania for immediate service to repel the now imminent danger from invasion by the enemies of the country."* General Wool was assigned to the command of the troops north of the Susquehanna. The people of Pennsylvania freely responded to the call upon them, and hastened in great numbers to Harrisburg. There was a great panic at Chambersburg on the 10th, as the enemy threatened the valley of the Cumberland, and even Philadelphia sent specie, papers, and other valuables for safe keeping to New York.† The danger, in fact, appeared equal to Pennsylvania and Maryland, as the rebel army, unless speedily checked, might strike either at Harrisburg or Baltimore.

Everything depended upon the action of McClellan and aid from the army of the Potomac. Having made the necessary dispositions to strengthen the various garrisons about Washington, he at once, on the first intimation of Lee's forces crossing the river, prepared to meet the enemy. General Banks was placed in command of the defences at the capital, and General Heintzelman in charge of the forces on the Virginia side. In the new army arrangements the command of Fitz John Porter's corps was given to General Hooker; that of General McDowell was assigned to General Reno, late of the North Carolina department. Having sent forward the bulk of his army, General McClellan on the evening of Sunday, the 7th, left Washington, and that night established his headquarters at Rockville. The following was the disposition of his forces: "I pushed forward," says he, "the 1st and 9th corps, under Generals Reno and Hooker, forming the right wing under General Burnside, to Leesburg, on the 5th instant; thence, the 1st corps, by Brooksville, Cooksville, and Ridgeville, to Frederick, and the 9th corps, by Damascus, on New Market and Frederick. The 2d and 11th corps, under Generals Sumner and Williams, on the 6th were moved from Tenallytown to Rockville, thence by Middlebury and Urbana on Frederick, the 11th corps moving by a lateral road between Urbana and New Market, thus maintaining the communication between the centre and right wing, as well as covering the direct route from Frederick to Washington. The 6th corps, under General Franklin, was moved to Darnestown on the 6th inst., thence, by Dawsonville and Barnville on Buckeystown, covering the road from the mouth of the Monocracy to Rockville, and being in position to connect with and support the centre should it have been necessary (as was supposed) to force the line of the Monoc-racy. Couch's division was thrown forward to Offut's Cross Roads and Poolesville by the river road, thus covering that approach, watching the fords of the Potomac, and ultimately following and supporting the 6th Corps. The object of these movements was to feel the enemy—to compel him to develop his intentions—at the same time that the troops were in position readily to cover Baltimore or Washington, to attack him should he hold the line of the Monocracy, or to follow him into Pennsylvania if necessary."

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* Orders at Harrisburg. September 10 and 11, 1862.

† *New York Evening Post.* September 13, 1862.

While General McClellan was directing these operations. General Lee, at his headquarters at Frederick, was expediting an important movement for the capture of the Union forces at Harper's Ferry, which he had cut off from relief by the interposition of his army, on the line of the Potomac, between that post and Washington. On the first intimation of danger in that part of the valley, the garrison at Winchester, under command of General Julius White, an Illinois volunteer officer, who for his gallantry at Pea Ridge had been rewarded with a brigadier-generalship, was, on the 3d of September, withdrawn by him to Harper's Ferry, then held by Colonel Dixon H. Miles, of the regular army, who will be remembered as the commander of the reserve division at the first battle of Bull Run. General White was now sent to take command of the garrison at Martinsburg, and Colonel Miles ineffectively turned his attention to the excellent defensive position of Maryland Heights which he had hitherto neglected, though he had been ordered by General Wool to fortify it a fortnight before. Colonel Thomas H. Ford, of the 32d Ohio regiment, was placed with a small force in command on the heights on the 5th. He was fully supported by Colonel Miles, who exhibited a strange indifference to the value of the position in its relation to Harper's Ferry. Colonel Ford called in vain for men, and was without even the means of adequate intrenchment. Colonel Miles' force at Harper's Ferry, with the additions from Winchester and Martinsburg, numbered some 13,000, mostly composed of raw New York and Ohio troops, a liberal supply of artillery, and a body of about 2,000 cavalry. To capture this force with their supplies was the object of General Lee. For this purpose General "Stonewall" Jackson was, on the 9th, ordered with the advance of the army from Frederick by the Hagerstown road to Middleton, thence to Sharpsburg, or its vicinity, where he was to cross the Potomac at some convenient point, and, taking possession of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, capture any Union troops he might find at Martinsburg, and intercept such as might attempt to escape from Harper's Ferry. Simultaneously with this movement, General McLaws, with his own division and that of General R. H. Anderson, was ordered to take the route from Middleton to Harper's Ferry, possess himself of the Maryland Heights, and endeavor to capture the Union troops at Harper's Ferry and in the vicinity. General Walker was to cross the Potomac below Harper's Ferry, ascend its right bank to Lovettsville, take possession of Loudon Heights, and cooperate with Jackson and McLaws, while all were to be assisted by a detachment of Stuart's cavalry. The morning of Friday the 12th was fixed for the separate forces to reach their respective stations in this triple investment of Harper's Ferry. General Longstreet was at the same time ordered, with General Hill's division as a rear guard, to move toward Hagerstown, where they were to be joined by the forces sent against Harper's Ferry after the latter had accomplished the objects of their expedition. A copy of the order of General Lee setting forth these operations was found by General McClellan on his arrival at Frederick, and convinced him of the ulterior design of the enemy "to go to Pennsylvania, or, at least, to remain in Maryland."

Lee's Harper's Ferry scheme appears to have been carried out to the letter. By the 12th, Jackson was across the Potomac; Martinsburg had been threatened, when General White withdrew the troops to Harper's Ferry, and the enemy had commenced the attack upon Maryland Heights. The outposts of the latter, at Solomon's Gap, were driven in on the 11th. The next day there was some skirmishing on the mountain. The 126th and 39th New York (Garibaldi Guards) regiments were sent over from Harper's Ferry, and on the morning of the 13th Colonel Ford was further reinforced by another New York regiment and a portion of a Maryland regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Downey. Anxious to construct defences on the Heights, Colonel Ford had sent for axes and spades, but could obtain none. With ten axes, which were all that could be procured, a slight breastwork of trees was constructed near the summit, and the timber slashed for a short distance in front. At daybreak of the 13th the enemy came up to the attack. A correspondent of the *New York Times* thus describes the conflict which ensued: "The line of battle was formed about three hundred yards in front of the barricade, as follows: Companies K and B, 1st Maryland home brigade, held the extreme right, the 126th New York next in order, 32d Ohio front and centre, Garibaldi Guard extreme left. The reinforcements were sent up late, eight companies of the 3d Maryland home brigade not reaching the field until eight o'clock, and the 111th New York not until near noon, too late to render any assistance to companies I and H of the 1st Maryland cavalry. 'Russell's Roughs' advanced on foot with revolver and carbines in hand, in front of the line of battle near to the clearing. The enemy appearing on the other side, they fell back. The rebels then, about seven o'clock, opened with musketry on the front and right, and made two partial charges, in which they were handsomely repulsed. Fighting became general along the whole line, continuing one hour. At the end of this time the rebels received reinforcements and advanced with terrific yells, at the same time beating the long roll. The 126th New York then became disorganized, and the whole line fell back to the barricade, fighting as they receded. Having reached the barricade, a new stand was made, Colonel Sherrill, of the 126th, gallantly dismounting from his horse, and with revolver in each hand, rallying his wavering troops. The balls fell thick and fast around him, but he never flinched, calling upon his boys to stay by him, until he was shot in the mouth by a musket-ball, and borne to the rear. Two thirds of the regiment rallied and fought well during the rest of the engagement. We maintained our position for several hours, company K, of the 1st Maryland home brigade, with its handful of men, preventing a flank movement on the right. But the enemy turning our left flank, we were obliged to fall back again for some distance. The 8th company of the Maryland home brigade then coming to the support, we advanced, reöccupying the lookout. Again, however, the enemy succeeded in flanking us on the left, and we were obliged to fall back, first to the guns and afterwards down the mountain. Our large guns on the Heights commenced shelling the woods in their rear at ten o'clock, and kept it up until half-past three o'clock P. M. (one hour and twenty minutes after the order to spike them had been given). They were then dismounted, spiked, and otherwise rendered ineffective. Too much praise cannot be awarded to Captain McGrath, when commanding the guns, for the skillful manner in which he manned them. A detachment of Fremont's, more familiarly known as 'jackass' guns, were taken to the Heights during the day, and rendered valuable assistance. They were manned by company I, 12th regiment New York State militia. Colonel Ford, though seriously indisposed, left his couch repeatedly to go upon the field. Captain Russell, of the Maryland home brigade, who exchanged the pastorate of the Presbyterian church at Williamsport for his captaincy, displayed much fearlessness and courage, at one time mounting the breastworks in full view of the rebels, who were close upon it." The guns were spiked and the Heights abandoned by Colonel Ford in accordance with discretionary authority given him on the field by Colonel Miles. After his return to Harper's Ferry, Colonel Miles is said to have sent a dispatch to Colonel Ford stating that an observation of the range of the cannon at Camp Hill, had shown him that the position on the Heights was more defensible than it had appeared from his station, and ending: "You will hold on and can hold on until the cows' tails drop off."

We turn now to the events of the following day, Sunday, the 14th, at Harper's Ferry. "Morning," continues the correspondent just cited, "came, but with it no signs of the enemy, (except in front.) Our guns and camps on the mountains remained just as we had left them, and yet the silence was ominous of no good. One rifled 6-pounder and one 12-pounder Napoleon remained posted at the bridge to guard it and prevent an approach from Sandy Hook below. The 1st Maryland home brigade took position near the pontoon-bridge, to destroy it should the enemy attempt to make a crossing, while a portion of the 87th Ohio were so posted as to guard the approach from Winchester. Four 20-pound Parrotts, three 24-pound howitzers, and several 12 and 6-pounders were planted in the graveyard, half-way up the hill, and behind the first line of intrenchments, to open on Loudon and Maryland Heights. They continued shelling them for several hours. The line of battle was formed on the breastworks behind the Bolivar Heights, nearly as it had been the day before, namely, Colonel D'Utassy occupied the extreme right with his brigade, consisting of the 65th Illinois, 111th, 115th, and 39th New York, Garibaldi Guard, Captain Phelps's New York and 15th Indiana batteries, and two sections of the 5th New York artillery. Colonel Trimble's brigade, consisting of the 32d and 60th Ohio, 126th and 125th New York, detachments of the 3d Maryland home brigade, 9th Vermont (deployed as skirmishers), and Rigby's battery, occupied the extreme left. The 12th New York militia remained posted behind the first intrenchments, and a portion of Captain Potts's battery were moved up to the Bolivar Heights and planted near the Charlestown road. General White commanded the heights, Major McIlvaine all the artillery, and General Miles held command over all the forces. Colonel Baring, acting brigadier-general, whose forces consisted of all the infantry and artillery (5th New York and Potts's battery) behind the first line of intrenchments, continued to shell the neighboring heights. About twelve o'clock, two companies of the Garibaldi Guard and two of the 65th Ohio bravely ascended the Maryland Heights, secured some of their camp equipage, and brought down four of the pieces of artillery, which had been left spiked. This was a daring deed. On the day before, a portion of the Garibaldians, who were doing picket-duty, barely escaped capture, no word having been sent them to retreat. Hour after hour passed by, and no signs of the enemy appearing on the heights, we were beginning to think that they were foiled in their plans, and that the only force we should have to contend with was that in front.

"The hope, however, was dispelled when, at ten minutes to two o'clock, they opened a furious fire simultaneously from Maryland, Loudon Heights, and Sandy Hook, with howitzers. Our artillery replied with much spirit, Captains McElrath and Graham, of the 5th artillery, silencing the Loudon batteries. Shot and shell flew in every direction, and the soldiers and citizens were compelled to seek refuge behind rocks, in houses, and elsewhere. The enemy opened two more guns on the Shepherdstown and a full battery on the Charlestown roads. Heavy cannonading was thus brought to bear upon us from five different points. Yet we held our own manfully until it closed, toward sunset. About dusk, the enemy in front opened a musketry-fire on our left, which was replied to by the 32d Ohio, 9th Vermont, and 1st Maryland. It continued some time, when our forces were obliged to contract their lines, the rebels having turned our left flank. An attempt to storm Rigby's battery, about eight o'clock, which did fearful execution, signally failed. During the afternoon the 111th and 115th and 39th New York moved down the hill to the outskirts of a piece of woods, where they took up position for the night. By some mistake the 111th fired into one another about nine o'clock, killing several. All became quiet, and the men slept on their arms. During the night the 125th New York fell back to a ravine running at right angles with our line of defence, and the 9th Vermont changed position, so as to support Rigby's battery. Under cover of the night the enemy planted new batteries in every direction.

"Monday morning the rebels opened fire on Bolivar Heights at five o'clock, which was replied to until eight, when our ammunition gave out. The rebel batteries were so arranged as to enfilade us completely. To hold out longer seemed madness. A few minutes after eight a council of war was held. The brave Colonel D'Utassy, for one, voted never to surrender, and requested that he might have the privilege of cutting his way out. White flags were run up in every direction, and a flag of truce was sent to inquire on what conditions a surrender would be accepted. General A. P. Hill sent back word that it must be unconditional. Further parleying resulted in our obtaining the following liberal conditions, which were accepted: The officers were to be allowed to go out with their side-arms and private effects; the rank and file with everything save arms and equipments. As soon as the terms of surrender were completed, Generals A. P. Hill and Jackson rode into town, accompanied by their staff, and followed by a troop of Loudon soldiers, who straightway commenced looking for 'those d—— Loudon guerrillas,' referring to Captain Means's Union company who were fortunately not to be found. General Hill immediately took up his headquarters in the tavern-stand, next to Colonel Miles's. Old 'Stonewall,' after riding down to the river, returned to Bolivar Heights, the observed of all observers. He was dressed in the coarsest kind of homespun, seedy and dirty at that; wore an old hat which any Northern beggar would consider an insult to have offered him, and in his general appearance was in no respect to be distinguished from the mongrel, barefooted crew who follow his fortunes. I had heard much of the decayed appearance of the rebel soldiers, but such a looking crowd! Ireland in her worst straits could present no parallel, and yet they glory in their shame.

"As soon as Jackson returned from the village, our entire force was mustered on Bolivar preparatory to stacking arms and delivering over generally. They comprised the following: 12th New York State Militia, from New York, 600; 39th New York, 530; 111th New York, raw troops, 1,000; 115th New York, raw troops, 1,000; 125th New York, raw troops, 976; 126th New York, raw troops, 1,000; 32d Ohio, 650; 60th Ohio, 800; 87th Ohio, three months' regiment, 850; 9th Vermont, 806; 65th Illinois, 840; 1st Maryland home brigade, 800; 3d Maryland home brigade, 500; 5th New York artillery, 267; Graham's battery, 110; 15th Indiana battery, 128; Phillips's New York battery, 120; Potts's battery, 100; Rigby's battery, 100; officers connected with headquarters and commissary department, 50; scattering cavalry, 50; sick and wounded in hospitals, 312: Total, 11,583. All of the cavalry, numbering about two thousand, under command of Colonel Davis, cut their way out Saturday evening, going by the road to Sharpsburg, and capturing on its way, Longstreet's train, and more than a hundred prisoners. They comprised the following: 8th New York, 12th Illinois, Rhode Island and Maryland. They left at nine o'clock, crossing to Maryland on the pontoon-bridge. Rebel pickets fired on them as they passed by. The artillery taken comprised, twelve 3-inch rifled guns, six James's, six 24-pound howitzers, four 20-pound Parrott guns, six 12-pound guns, four 12-pound howitzers, two 10-inch Dahlgrens, one 50-pound Parrott, six 6-pound guns, and several pieces of 'Fremont's Guns,' of but little value. Seven of the whole number were thoroughly spiked. But few horses were taken, the cavalry having secured most of them. The commissary department comprised six days' rations for twelve thousand men. This embraces nearly all the government property which was surrendered."

"Yesterday," wrote the confederate general Jackson in a dispatch on the 16th, "God crowned our arms with another brilliant success in the surrender at Harper's Ferry of Brigadier-General White and 11,000 troops, an equal number of small arms, 73 pieces of artillery and about 200 wagons. In addition to other stores, there is a large amount of camp and garrison equipage. Our loss was very small." After the white flag was raised, and before it was perceived by the assailants, Colonel Miles was fatally wounded by the explosion of a shell of the enemy. He died in camp the next day. The Federal loss in killed and wounded was about 200.

This success, as we shall see, was on many accounts a subject of great felicitation to the confederates. The surrender at Harper's Ferry was made by the government the subject of a military investigation. A commission, presided over by Major-General Hunter, assisted by Major-General Cadwalder, Brigadier-General Augur, Major Donn Piatt, Captain F. Ball, with Colonel Holt, judge-advocate-general, after fully reviewing the circumstances, decided that the defence of Maryland Heights was conducted by Colonel Ford "without ability," that he "abandoned his position without sufficient cause," and exhibited "throughout such a lack of military capacity as to disqualify him for a command in the service." A still heavier censure fell upon Colonel Miles. It was not forgotten, in his case, that "an officer who cannot appear before any earthly tribunal to answer or explain charges gravely affecting his character, who has met his death at the hands of the enemy, even upon the spot he disgracefully surrenders, is entitled to the tenderest care and most careful investigation." But the commission, according all this, after patiently hearing the amplest testimony, running through a record of nine hundred pages, found it "strangely unanimous upon the fact, that Colonel Miles's incapacity, amounting to almost imbecility, led to the shameful surrender of this important post." In accordance with this verdict, by direction of the President of the United States, Colonel Ford, of the Ohio volunteers, and Major Baird, of the 126th New York, were dismissed from the service. Brigadier-General White, whose conduct was included in the investigation, was found to have "acted with decided capability and courage," meriting the approbation of the commission.

Why, it was asked, was not Harper's Ferry relieved by General McClellan? The answer to this question is either that the Army of the Potomac arrived in the neighborhood too late or that the garrison surrendered too soon. As the latter had ample means of resistance, if they had been properly used, it is altogether gratuitous to shelter the incapacity of the officers in command by censuring General McClellan, who, in the movement of his army must needs look to the protection of Washington and Baltimore, and who, indeed, was close at hand when the garrison prematurely surrendered. The narrative of General McClellan in his report sets this matter in the clearest light. On the afternoon of the 12th the advance of the right wing of his army, a portion of General Pleasanton's cavalry, entered Frederick on the heels of Lee's army, which, in pursuance of his plans, had taken the route to Hagerstown. There was a sharp skirmish on the outskirts and the streets, with Stuart's cavalry, which ended with the full retreat of the enemy, with the exception of several hundred of their sick whom they left in the city. The reception of the Union troops by the people from whom so much had been expected by the confederates, is described as of the most enthusiastic character. The townspeople, including ladies, thronged the streets through which the troops passed, the old flag, brought out from its hiding places, was waved from windows and housetops, and everything gave token of the delight of the inhabitants. The main bodies of the right wing and centre, cheered by this hearty reception, passed through the city on the 13th, and on the same day "the advance, consisting of Pleasanton's cavalry and horse artillery, after some skirmishing, cleared the main passage over the Catoctin Hills, leaving no serious obstruction to the movement of the main body until the base of the South Mountain was reached."

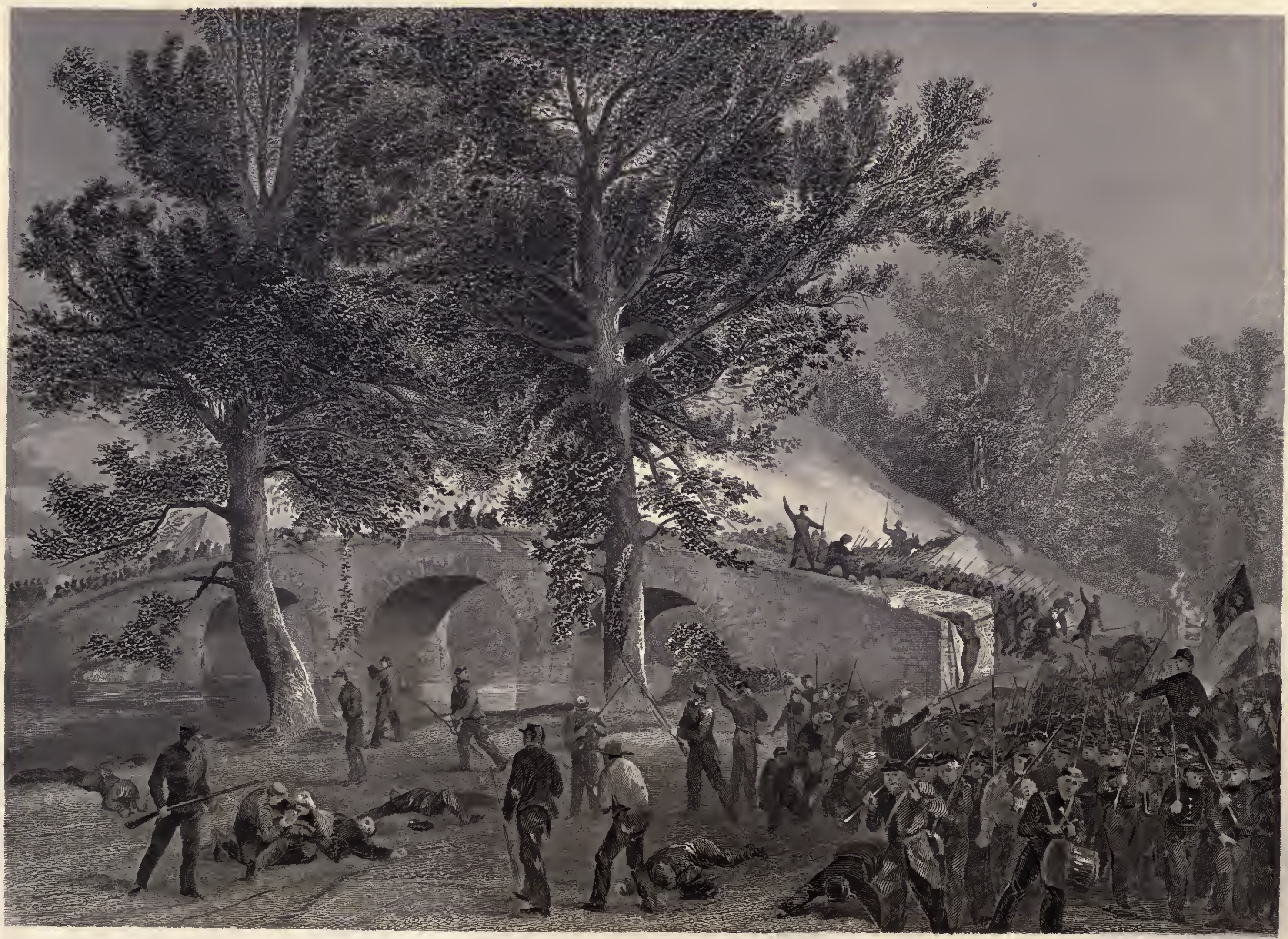
It was on his arrival at Frederick that General McClellan found the original order issued by General Lee to General Hill, already cited, fully acquainting him with the plans of the confederate commander, and that he was specially informed of the condition of affairs at Harper's Ferry. "While at Frederick, on the 13th," says he, "I obtained reliable information of the movements and intentions of the enemy, which made it clear that it was necessary to force the passage of the South Mountain range and gain possession of Boonsboro' and Rohrersville before any relief could be afforded to Harper's Ferry. On the morning of the 13th I received a verbal message from Colonel Miles, commanding at Harper's Ferry, informing me that on the preceding afternoon the Maryland Heights had been abandoned, after repelling an attack by the rebels, and that the whole force was concentrated at Harper's Ferry, the Maryland, Loudon and Bolivar Heights being all in possession of the enemy. The messenger stated that there was no apparent reason for the abandonment of the Maryland Heights, and that, though Colonel Miles asked for assistance, he said he could hold out certainly two days. I directed him to make his way back, if possible, with the information that I was rapidly approaching, and would undoubtedly relieve the place. By three other couriers I sent the same message, with the order to hold out to the last. I do not learn that any of these messengers succeeded in reaching Harper's Ferry. I should here state that on the 12th I was directed to assume command of the garrison at Harper's Ferry, but this order reached me after all communication with the garrison was cut of. Before I left Washington, and while it was yet time, I recommended to the proper authorities that the garrison of Harper's Ferry should be withdrawn, *via* Hagerstown, to aid in covering the Cumberland Valley, or that, taking up the pontoon bridge and obstructing the railroad bridge, it should fall back to the Maryland Heights, and there hold its own to the last. In this position it could have maintained itself for weeks. It was not deemed proper to adopt either of these suggestions, and when the subject was left to my discretion it was too late to do anything except to try to relieve the garrison. I directed artillery to be frequently fired by our advanced guards as a signal to the garrison that relief was at hand. This was done, and I learn that our firing was distinctly heard at Harper's Ferry, and that they were thus made aware that we were approaching rapidly. It was confidently expected that this place could hold out until we had carried the mountains, and were in a position to make a detachment for its relief. The left, therefore, was ordered to move through Jefferson to the South Mountains, at Crampton's Pass, in front of Burkettsville, while the centre and right moved upon the main or Turner's Pass, in front of Middletown. During these movements I had not imposed long marches on the columns. The absolute necessity of refitting and giving some little rest to troops worn down by previous long-continued marching and severe fighting, together with the uncertainty as to the actual position, strength and intentions of the enemy, rendered it incumbent upon me to move slowly and cautiously until the headquarters reached Urbana, where I first obtained reliable information that the enemy's object was to move upon Harper's Ferry and the Cumberland valley, and not upon Baltimore, Washington or Gettysburg."

"The brilliant operations which resulted in the carrying of the two passes through the South Mountains," are thus lucidly narrated by General McClellan: "The South Mountain range, near Turner's Pass, averages perhaps a thousand feet in height, and forms a strong natural military barrier. The practicable passes are not numerous, and are readily defensible, the gaps abounding in fine positions. Turner's Pass is the more prominent, being that by which the national road crosses the mountains. It was necessarily indicated as the route of advance of our main army. The carrying of Crampton's Pass, some five or six miles below, was also important to furnish the means of reaching the flank of the enemy, and having as a lateral movement, direct relations to the attack on the principal pass, while it at the same time presented the most direct practical route for the relief of Harper's Ferry. Early in the morning of the 14th inst., General Pleasanton, with a cavalry force, reconnoitered the position of the enemy, whom he discovered to occupy the crest of commanding hills in the gap on either side of the national road, and upon advantageous ground in the centre upon and near the road, with artillery bearing upon all the approaches to their position, whether that by the main road or those by the country roads which led around up to the crest upon the right and left. At about eight o'clock A. M., Cox's division of Reno's corps, a portion of Burnside's column, in coöperation with the reconnoissance, which by this time had become an attack, moved up the mountain by the old Sharpsburg road to the left of the main road, dividing as they advanced into two columns. These columns (Scammon's and Cook's brigades) handsomely carried the enemy's position on the crest in their front, which gave us possession of an important point for further operations. Fresh bodies of the enemy now appearing, Cox's position, though held stubbornly, became critical, and between twelve and one o'clock P. M. Wilcox's division of Reno's corps was sent forward by General Burnside to support Cox, and between two and three P. M. Sturgis' division was sent up. The contest was maintained with perseverance until dark, the enemy having the advantage as to position, and fighting with obstinacy; but the ground won was fully maintained. The loss in killed and wounded here was considerable on both sides; and it was here that Major-General Reno, who had gone forward to observe the operations of his corps, and to give such directions as were necessary, fell pierced with a musket ball. The loss of this brave and distinguished officer tempered with sadness the exultations of triumph. A gallant soldier, an able general, endeared to his troops and associates, his death is felt as an irreparable misfortune.

"About three o'clock P. M., Hooker's corps, of Burnside's column, moved up to the right of the main road by a country road, which, bending to the right, then turning up to the left, circuitously wound its way beyond the crest of the pass to the Mountain House, on the main road. General Hooker sent Meade, with the division of Pennsylvania Reserves, to attack the eminence to the right of this entrance to the gap, which was done most handsomely and successfully. Patrick's brigade of Hatch's division, was sent—one portion up around the road, to turn the hill on the left, while the remainder advanced as skirmishers—up the hill, and occupied the crest, supported by Doubleday's and Phelps's brigades. The movement, after a sharp contest on the crest and in the fields in the depression between the crest and and the adjoining hill, was fully successful. Rickett's division pressed up the mountain about five P. M., arriving at the crest with the left of his command in time to participate in the closing scene of the engagement. Relieving Hatch's division, Rickett's remained on the ground, holding the battlefield during the night. The mountain sides thus gallantly passed over by Hooker on the right of the gap and Reno on the left, were steep and difficult in the extreme. We could make but little use of our artillery, while our troops were subject to a warm artillery fire, as well as to that of infantry in the woods and under cover. By order of General Burnside, Gibbon's brigade, of Hatch's division, late in the afternoon advanced upon the centre of the enemy's position on the main road. Deploying his brigade, Gibbon actively engaged a superior force of the enemy, which, though stubbornly resisting, was steadily pressed back until some hours after dark, when Gibbon remained in undisturbed possession of the field. He was then relieved by a brigade of Sedgwick's division. Finding themselves outflanked, both on the right and left, the enemy abandoned their position during the night, leaving their dead and wounded on the field, and hastily retreated down the mountain. In the engagement at Turner's Pass our loss was 328 killed, and 1,463 wounded and missing; that of the enemy is estimated to be, in all, about 3,000. Among our wounded, I regret to say, were Brigadier-General J. P. Hatch and other valuable officers.

"The carrying of Crampton's Pass by Franklin was executed rapidly and decisively. Slocum's division was formed upon the right of the road leading through the gap, Smith's upon the left. A line, formed of Bartlett's and Torbitt's brigades, supported by Newton, whose activity was conspicuous (all of Slocum's division), advanced steadily upon the enemy at a charge on the right. The enemy were driven from their position at the base of the mountain, where they were protected by a stone wall, and steadily forced back up the mountain until they reached the position of their battery near the road, well up the mountain. Here they made a stand. They were, however, driven back, retiring their artillery in *echelon* until, after an action of three hours, the crest was gained, and the enemy fled hastily down the mountains on the other side. On the left of the road Brooks' and Irwin's brigades, of Smith's division, formed for the protection of Slocum's flank, charged up the mountain in the same steady manner, driving the enemy before them until the crest was carried. The loss in Franklin's corps was one-hundred and fifteen killed, four hundred and sixteen wounded, and two missing. The enemy's loss was about the same. One piece of artillery and four colors were captured, and knapsacks, and even haversacks, were abandoned as the enemy were driven up the hill."

"On the morning of the 15th," continues General McClellan, "I was informed by Union civilians living on the side of the mountains that the enemy were retreating in the greatest haste and in disordered masses to the river. There was such a concurrence of testimony on this point that there seemed no doubt as to the fact. The hasty retreat of the enemy's forces from the mountain, and the withdrawal of the remaining troops from between Boonsboro' and Hagerstown to a position where they could resist attack and cover the Shephardstown Ford, and receive the reinforcements expected from Harper's Ferry, were for a time interpreted as evidences of the enemy's disorganization and demoralization. As soon as it was definitely known that the enemy had abandoned the mountains, the cavalry, and the corps of Sumner, Hooker and Mansfield were ordered to pursue them *via* the turnpike and Boonsboro', as promptly as possible. The corps of Burnside and Porter (the latter having but one weak division present) were ordered to move by the old Sharpsburg road, and Franklin to advance into Pleasant Valley, occupy Rohrersville, and to endeavor to relieve Harper's Ferry. Burnside and Porter, upon reaching the road from Boonsboro' to Rohrersville, were to reinforce Franklin or move on Sharpsburg, according to circumstances. Franklin moved toward Brownsville, and found there a force largely superior in numbers to his own, drawn up in a strong position to receive him. Here the total cessation of firing in the direction of Harper's Ferry indicated but too clearly the shameful and premature surrender of that post. The cavalry advance overtook a body of the enemy's cavalry at Boonsboro', which it dispersed after a brief skirmish, killing and wounding many, taking some two hundred and fifty prisoners and two guns. Richardson's division, of Sumner's corps, passing Boonsboro' to Kedysville, found, a few miles beyond the town, the enemy's forces, displayed in line of battle, strong, both in respect to numbers and position, and awaiting attack. Upon receiving reports of the disposition of the enemy, I directed all the corps, except that of Franklin, upon Sharpsburg, leaving Franklin to observe and check the enemy in his front, and avail himself of any chance that might



BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.

GALLANT CHARGE OF GEN. BURNSIDE'S DIVISION AT THE BRIDGE

[illegible]

offer. I had hoped to come up with the enemy, during the 15th, in sufficient force to beat them again, and drive them into the river. My instructions were, that if the enemy were not on the march, they were to be at once attacked; if they were found in force and position, the corps were to be placed in position for attack, but no attack was to be made until I reached the front. On arriving at the front, in the afternoon, I found but two divisions, Richardson's and Sykes', in position; the rest were halted in the road, the head of the column some distance in rear of Richardson. After a rapid examination of the position, I found that it was too late to attack that day, and at once directed locations to be selected for our batteries of position, and indicated the bivouacs for the different corps, massing them near and on both sides of the Sharpsburg Pike. The corps were not all in their places until the next morning, some time after sunrise.

"On the 16th, the enemy had slightly changed their line, and were posted upon the heights in the rear of the Antietam creek, their left and centre being upon and in front of the road from Sharpsburg to Hagerstown, and protected by woods and irregularities of the ground. Their extreme left rested upon a wooded eminence near the cross-roads to the north of J. Miller's farm, the distance at this point between the road and the Potomac, which makes here a great bend to the east, being about three-fourths of a mile. Their right rested on the hills to the right of Sharpsburg, near Snavely's farm, covering the crossing of the Antietam, and the approaches to the town from the southeast. The ground from their immediate front and the Antietam is undulating. Hills intervene whose crests in general are commanded by the crests of others in their rear. On all favorable points, their artillery was posted. It became evident from the force of the enemy and the strength of their position, that desperate fighting alone could drive them from the field, and all felt that a great and terrible battle was at hand. In proceeding to the narrative of the events of this and the succeeding day, I must here repeat what I have observed in reporting upon the other subjects of this communication, that I attempt in this preliminary report nothing more than a sketch of the main features of this great engagement, reserving for my official report, based upon the reports of the corps commanders, that full description of details which shall place upon record the achievements of individuals and of particular bodies of troops. The design was to make the main attack upon the enemy's left—at least to create a diversion in favor of the main attack, with the hope of something more—by assailing the enemy's right, and as soon as one or both of the flank movements were fully successful, to attack their centre with any reserve I might then have on hand. The morning of the 16th (during which there was considerable artillery firing) was spent in obtaining information as to the ground, rectifying the position of the troops, and perfecting the arrangements for the attack.

"On the afternoon of the 16th, Hooker's corps, consisting of Rickett's and Doubleday's divisions, and the Pennsylvania Reserves, under Meade, was sent across Antietam creek, by a ford and bridge to the right of Kedysville, with orders to attack, and, if possible, turn the enemy's left. Mansfield, with his corps, was sent in the evening to support Hooker. Arrived in position, Meade's division of the Pennsylvania Reserves, which was at the head of Hooker's corps, became engaged in a sharp contest with the enemy, which lasted until after dark, when it had succeeded in driving in a portion of the opposing line, and held the ground. At daylight the contest was renewed between Hooker and the enemy in his front. Hooker's attack was successful for a time, but masses of the enemy, thrown upon his corps, checked it. Mansfield brought up his corps to Hooker's support, when the two corps drove the enemy back, the gallant and distinguished veteran Mansfield losing his life in the effort. General Hooker was, unhappily, about this time wounded, and compelled to leave the field, where his services had been conspicuous and important. About an hour after this time, Sumner's corps, consisting of Sedgwick's, Richardson's and French's divisions, arrived on the field—Richardson some time after the other two, as he was unable to start as soon as they. Sedgwick, on the right, penetrated the woods in front of Hooker's and Mansfield's troops. French and Richardson were placed to the left of Sedgwich, thus attacking the enemy toward their left centre. Crawford's and Sedgwick's lines, however, yielded to a destructive fire of masses of the enemy in the woods, and, suffering greatly (Generals Sedgwick and Crawford being among the wounded), their troops fell back in disorder; they, nevertheless, rallied in the woods. The enemy's advance was, however, entirely checked by the destructive fire of our artillery. Franklin, who had been directed the day before to join the main army with two divisions, arrived on the field from Brownsville about an hour after, and Smith's division replaced Crawford's and Sedgwick's lines. Advancing steadily, it swept over the ground just lost, but now permanently retaken. The divisions of French and Richardson maintained with considerable loss the exposed positions which they had so gallantly gained, among the wounded being General Richardson.

"The condition of things on the right toward the middle of the afternoon, notwithstanding the success wrested from the enemy by the stubborn bravery of the troops, was at this time unpromising. Sumner's, Hooker's and Mansfield's corps had lost heavily, several general officers having been carried from the field. I was at one time compelled to draw two brigades from Porter's corps (the reserve) to strengthen the right. This left for the reserve the small division of regulars who had been engaged in supporting during the day the batteries in the centre, and a single brigade of Morell's division. Before I left the right to return to the centre, I became satisfied that the line would be held without these two brigades, and countermanded the order which was in course of execution. The effect of Burnside's movement on the enemy's right was to prevent the further massing of their troops on their left, and we held what we had gained. Burnside's corps, consisting of Wilcox's, Sturgis' and Rodman's division, and Cox's Kanawah division, was intrusted with the difficult task of carrying the bridge across the Antietam, near Rohrback's farm, and assaulting the enemy's right, the order having been communicated to him at ten o'clock A. M. The valley of the Antietam, at and near the bridge, is narrow, with high banks. On the right of the stream the bank is wooded, and commands the approaches both to the bridge and the ford. The steep slopes of the bank were lined with rifle-pits and breastworks of rails and stones. These, together with the woods, were filled with the enemy's infantry, while their batteries completely commanded and enfiladed the bridge and ford and their approaches. The advance of the troops brought on an obstinate and sanguinary contest, and from the great natural advantages of the position, it was nearly one o'clock before the heights on the right bank were carried. At about three o'clock P. M. the corps again advanced, and with success, driving the enemy before it, and pushing on nearly to Sharpsburg, while the left, after a hard encounter, also compelled the enemy to retire before it. The enemy here, however, were speedily reinforced, and with overwhelming masses. New batteries of their artillery, also, were brought up and opened. It became evident that our force was not sufficient to enable the advance to reach the town, and the order was given to retire to the cover of the hill, which was taken from the enemy earlier in the afternoon. This movement was effected without confusion, and the position maintained until the enemy retreated. General Burnside had sent to me for reinforcements late in the afternoon, but the condition of things on the right was not such as to enable me to afford them. During the whole day our artillery was everywhere bravely and ably handled. Indeed, I cannot speak too highly of the efficiency of our batteries, and of the great service they rendered. On more than one occasion, when our infantry was broken, they covered its reformation, and drove back the enemy. The cavalry had little field for operations during the engagement, but was employed in supporting the horse artillery batteries in the centre, and in driving up stragglers, while awaiting opportunity for other service. The signal corps, under Major Myers, rendered during the operations at Antietam, as at South Mountain, and during the whole movements of the army, efficient and valuable service. Indeed, by its services here, as on other fields elsewhere, this corps has gallantly earned its title to an independent and permanent organization. The duties devolving upon my staff during the action were most important, and the performances of them able and untiring.

"With the day closed this memorable battle, in which, perhaps, nearly 200,000 men were for fourteen hours engaged in combat. We had attacked the enemy in position, driven them from their line on one flank, and secured a footing within it on the other. Under the depression of previous reverses, we had achieved a victory over an adversary invested with the prestige of former successes and inflated with a recent triumph. Our forces slept that night conquerors on a field won by their valor, and covered with the dead and wounded of the enemy. The night, however, presented serious questions; morning brought on grave responsibilities. To renew the attack again on the 18th, or to defer it, with the chance of the enemy's retirement after a day of suspense, were the questions before me. A careful and anxious survey of the condition of my command, and my knowledge of the enemy's force and position, failed to impress me with any reasonable certainty of success, if I renewed the attack without reinforcing columns. A view of the shattered state of some of the corps sufficed to deter me from pressing them into immediate action, and I felt that my duty to the army and the country forbade the risks involved in a hasty movement, which might result in the loss of what had been gained the previous day. Impelled by this consideration, I awaited the arrival of my reinforcements, taking advantage of the occasion to collect together the dispersed, give rest to the fatigued, and remove the wounded. Of the reinforcements, Couch's division, although marching with commendable rapidity, was not in position until a late hour in the morning; and Humphrey's division of new troops, fatigued with forced marches, were arriving throughout the day, but were not available until near its close. Large reinforcements from Pennsylvania, which were expected during the day, did not arrive at all. During the 18th, orders were given for a renewal of the attack at daylight on the 19th. On the night of the 18th, the enemy, after having been passing troops in the latter part of the day from the Virginia shore to their position behind Sharpsburg, as seen by our officers, suddenly formed the design of abandoning their line. This movement they executed before daylight. Being but a short distance from the river, the evacuation presented but little difficulty. It was, however, rapidly followed up. A reconnoissance was made across the river on the evening of the 19th, which resulted in ascertaining the near presence of the enemy in some force, and in our capturing six guns. A second reconnoissance, the next morning, which, with the first, was made by a small detachment from Porter's corps, resulted in observing a heavy force of the enemy there. The detachment withdrew with slight loss. The enemy's loss is believed, from the best sources of information, to be nearly 30,000. Their dead were mostly left on the field, and a large number of wounded were left behind.

"While it gives me pleasure to speak of the gallantry and devotion of officers and men, generally displayed through this conflict, I feel it necessary to mention that some officers and men skulked from their places in the ranks until the battle was over. Death on the spot must hereafter be the fate of all such cowards, and the hands of the military commanders must be strengthened with all the power of the government to inflict it summarily. The early and disgraceful surrender of Harper's Ferry deprived my operations of results which would have formed a brilliant sequence to the substantial and gratifying success already related. Had the garrison held out twenty-four hours longer, I should, in all probability, have captured that part of the enemy's force engaged in the attack on the Maryland Heights, while the whole garrison, some 12,000 strong, could have been drawn to reinforce me on the day of the decisive battle—certainly on the morning of the 18th. I would thus have been in position to have destroyed the rebel army. Under the same circumstances, had the besieging force on the Virginia side at Harper's Ferry not been withdrawn, I would have had 35,000 or 40,000 less men to encounter at Antietam, and must have captured or destroyed all opposed to me. As it was, I had to engage an army fresh from a recent, and to them a great victory, and to reap the disadvantages of their being freshly and plentifully supplied with ammunition and supplies. The object and results of this brief campaign may be summed up as follows: In the beginning of the month of September, the safety of the National Capital was seriously endangered by the presence of a victorious enemy, who soon after crossed into Maryland, and then directly threatened Washington and Baltimore, while they occupied the soil of a loyal state, and threatened an invasion of Pennsylvania. The army of the Union, inferior in numbers, wearied by long marches, deficient in various supplies, worn out by numerous battles, the last of which had not been successful, first covered, by its movements, the important cities of Washington and Baltimore; then boldly attacked the victorious enemy in their chosen strong position, and drove them back, with all their superiority of numbers, into the State of Virginia; thus saving the loyal states from invasion, and rudely dispelling the rebel dreams of carrying the war into our country and subsisting upon our resources. Thirteen guns and thirty-nine colors, more than fifteen thousand stand of small arms, and more than six thousand prisoners, were the trophies which attest the success of our arms. Rendering thanks to Divine Providence for its blessing upon our exertions, I close this brief report. I beg only to add the hope that the army's efforts for the cause in which we are engaged will be deemed worthy to receive the commendation of the government and the country."*

The Union loss in the several battles on South Mountain and at Antietam, according to the report of General Halleck, was 1,742 killed, 8,066 wounded, and 913 missing, making a total of 10,721.* General McClellan's dispatch, dated near Sharpsburg, September 29th, made the return "at South Mountain, 443 dead, 1,806 wounded, and 76 missing; at Antietam, 2,010 killed, 9,416 wounded, and 1,043 missing—a total loss in the two battles of 14,794. The loss of the rebels in the two battles, as near as can be ascertained from the number of their dead found upon the field, and from other data," says the same authority, "will not fall short of the following estimate: Major Davis, assistant inspector-general, who superintends the burial of the dead, reports about 3,000 rebels buried upon the field of Antietam by our troops. Previous to this, however, the rebels had buried many of their own dead upon the distant portion of the battlefield, which they occupied after the battle—probably at least 500. The loss of the rebels at South Mountain cannot be ascertained with accuracy, but as our troops continually drove them from the commencement of the action, and as a much greater number of their dead were seen on the field than of our own men, it is not unreasonable to suppose that their loss was greater than ours. Estimating their killed at 500, the total rebels killed in the two battles would be 4,000. According to the ratio of our own killed and wounded, this would make their loss in wounded 18,742. As nearly as can be determined at this time, the number of prisoners taken by our troops in the two battles will, at the lowest estimate, amount to 5,000. The full returns will no doubt show a larger number. Of these about 1,200 are wounded. This gives a rebel loss in killed, wounded and prisoners of 25,542. It will be observed that this does not include their stragglers, the number of whom is said by citizens here to be large. It may be safely concluded, therefore, that the rebel army lost at least 30,000 of their best troops. From the time our troops first encountered the enemy in Maryland until he was driven back into Virginia we captured thirteen guns, seven caissons, nine limbers, two field forges, two caisson bodies, thirty-nine colors and one singal flag. We have not lost a single gun or a color. On the battlefield of Antietam 14,000 small arms were collected, besides the large number carried off by citizens and those distributed on the ground to recruits and other unarmed men arriving immediately after the battle. At South Mountain no collection of small arms was made, but owing to the haste of the pursuit from that point, 400 were taken on the opposite side of the Potomac."

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* Preliminary Report of military operations since the evacuation of Harrison's Landing. Major-General McClellan to Brigadier-General Thomas, Adjutant-General United States Army. Headquarters Army of the Potomac, October 15, 1862.

A congratulatory order by General McClellan, on the 3d of October, confirms these statements of spoils taken from the enemy, and pays an honorable tribute to the corps commanders and the army. "The commanding-general extends his congratulations to the army under his command for the victories achieved by their bravery at the passes of the South Mountain and upon the Antietam creek. The brilliant conduct of Reno's and Hooker's corps under Burnside, at Turner's Gap, and of Franklin's corps at Crampton Pass, in which, in the face of an enemy strong in position and resisting with obstinacy, they carried the mountain, and prepared the way for the advance of the army, won for them the admiration of their brethren in arms. In the memorable battle of Antietam we defeated a numerous and powerful army of the enemy, in an action desperately fought, and remarkable for its duration, and for the destruction of life which attended it. The obstinate bravery of the troops of Hooker, Mansfield and Sumner, the dashing gallantry of those of Franklin on the right, the steady valor of those of Burnside on the left, and the vigorous support of Porter and Pleasanton, present a brilliant spectacle to our countrymen, which will swell their hearts with pride and exultation. Fourteen guns, thirty-nine colors, 15,500 stand of arms, and nearly 6,000 prisoners, taken from the enemy, are evidence of the completeness of our triumph. A grateful country will thank the noble army for achievements which have rescued the loyal states of the East from the ravages of the invader and driven him from their borders. While rejoicing at the victories which, under God's blessing, have crowned our exertions, let us cherish the memory of our brave comrades who have laid down their lives upon the battlefield, martyrs in their country's cause. Their names will be enshrined in the hearts of the people."

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* Report of General Halleck, December, 1862.

Among the Confederate losses was Brigadier-General Lawrence O'Brien Branch, of North Carolina, who, it will be remembered, was in command of the Confederate forces at Newbern, on the capture of that place.* General Starke, of Mississippi, was also killed. Six brigadier-generals, Anderson and Ransome, of North Carolina; Wright and Lawton, of Georgia; Armistead, of Virginia; Ripley, of South Carolina, and other officers in proportion, were reported wounded. The Union success in the overthrow of the army of invasion, as we have seen, had its full price. The number of field and general officers in the terrible bill of mortality—whether ten or fifteen thousand—bears witness to the fearful nature of the conflict. Of the officers who fell, we have seen Generals Mansfield and Reno in active occupation since the beginning of the war. The former, in his fifty-ninth year, was one of the veterans of the service. Born in New Haven, Conn., he had passed through West Point with singular credit; entered the Engineers; served with distinction in the Mexican war, being severely wounded at Monterey, and brevetted Colonel for his gallantry at Buena Vista; and at the breaking out of the rebellion was created Brigadier-General and placed in charge of the fortifications at Washington. He was in command at Hatteras shortly after its capture; took part in the occupation of Norfolk, and was Military Governor at Suffolk, Va. In the battle at Antietam he commanded the corps previously under General Banks.

General Reno, who fell on the 14th, at the battle of South Mountain, had passed a life of steady usefulness. A native of Virginia, he had entered West Point from Pennsylvania; graduated in 1846; was appointed Second Lieutenant of Ordnance, and continued in the discharge of various duties of that service and the coast survey till the rebellion brought him into the field as Brigadier-General of Volunteers. His gallant services with General Burnside, at Roanoke, Newbern, and elsewhere, will be remembered by the reader. Summoned from North Carolina to the army of the Potomac, he had fought in the campaign with Pope, and was now called to meet death on the field in the moment of victory.

Brigadier-General Isaac Peace Rodman, of Rhode Island, also a hero of Roanoke Island and Newbern, was another of the victims of Antietam. Educated to mercantile pursuits, as a woollen manufacturer, he had entered the service as Captain of Colonel Slocum's 2d Rhode Island regiment. After his gallant services in North Carolina which gained him his promotion, he had been compelled to return home by an attack of fever, rejoining General Burnside in Virginia to take part in the campaigns of Pope and McClellan. He had just completed his fortieth year.

Major-General Israel B. Richardson, died of wounds received in the battle of Antietam, at Sharpsburg, on the following November. A native of Burlington, Vt., he graduated at West Point in 1841, 2d Lieutenant in the 3d Infantry. Eminently distinguished by his valor in the Mexican war, he was brevetted Captain for his gallantry at Contreras and Cherubusco, and Major for his services at Chapultepec. Resigning his commission in 1855, he settled as a farmer in Michigan, to be recalled to arms by the rebellion, and rejoin the service as Colonel of the 2d regiment of volunteers from his adopted State. He was in the first list of Brigadier appointments, dating from May, 1861; will be remembered for the eminent part he bore in the battles of Bull Run, and for his services on the Peninsula, at Fair Oaks, and the retreat to Harrison's Landing, which gained him his Major-Generalship. When he met his death at Antietam, "he was leading a regiment that had shown signs of wavering, under a fierce artillery fire, when a shell, bursting, struck him in the left breast, and his Aid bore him from the field. 'Tell General McClellan,' said he, 'that I have been doing a Colonel's work all day, and am now too badly hurt to do a General's.'"*

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* Ante, p. 320–321.

We might multiply this list with the names of Colonel Kingsbury, of Connecticut; Crossdale, Childs and McNeill, of Pennsylvania; Hinks, of Massachusetts; Coleman, of Ohio; Lieutenant-Colonel Dwight, of Boston; Captain Manross, who left a professor's chair of chemistry, at Amherst, for the field, and others, but must close the sad record with a brief obituary of an honored son of New England, from a friendly hand. "Major William Dwight Sedgwick," says an editorial of the New York *Evening Post*, of October 11, "who has just died of the wounds he received at the bloody battle of Antietam, was a member of the well-known Massachusetts family of that name, eminent for its talent. On the mother's side his intellectual inheritance was not less remarkable, belonging, if our recollection serves us rightly, to the stock of Jonathan Edwards, the illustrious metaphysician. He was settled in St. Louis, a young lawyer of high promise and noble character. On the breaking out of the war he forsook his profession, came to Berkshire in Massachusetts, his native place, joined a regiment raised there, and gave his services and his life, if necessary, to the cause of his country. His life was required of him. Those who sorrow for his death have at least the mitigation of reflecting that he died in a great, just and holy cause. The sweet but somewhat fantastic lines of Collins have yet a profound truth in them, and haunt the mind like a strain of unearthly music:

"How sleep the brave who sink to rest
By all their country's wishes blest!
When Spring with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallowed mould,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than fancy's feet have ever trod.

"By fairy hands their knell is rung;
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To deck the turf that wraps their clay;
And Freedom shall a while repair,
To dwell, a weeping hermit, there."

At the funeral of Major Sedgwick at the family home at Lenox, the Rev. Dr. Dewey, after paying his tribute to the worth of the deceased, improved the occasion to arouse in his hearers a sense of the iniquity of the treason which had brought them to the sad ceremonial. "Far from the battlefield," said he, "'from the confused noise and garments rolled in blood'—amidst the hills of New England, amidst the peaceful scenes of his nativity, these precious remains are now to be laid down to their last rest. Dwelling as I do amidst such peaceful scenes, in the quiet and security of our Northern homes, unvisited by the horrors of war, I have been saying, with myself, for months past, 'It must strike deeper!—the discipline must strike deeper before it accomplishes the end; before this nation understands what God is teaching it; before it awakes to its solemn trust of self-government; before a due horror of treason is stamped upon the national heart.'"

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* Obituary, *New York Times*, November 6, 1862.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

GENERAL McCLELLAN'S ADVANCE INTO VIRGINIA—REMOVAL FROM HIS COMMAND, NOVEMBER 7, 1862.

THE defeat of the enemy at the battle of Antietam, though not a decisive victory in arresting the war, was a significant indication of the future fortunes of the struggle, and might well be received at the North with heartfelt congratulations, succeeding, as it did, to a series of disasters suffered by the Army of the Potomac. Much disappointment, however, was expressed at the successful retreat across the Potomac of the baffled host, which, inferior in numbers and equipment and with the discouragement of their heavy losses, speedily—as the reconnoissances sent over the river learnt to their cost—took up a position in Virginia, from which General McClellan thought it inexpedient for the time to make any attempt to dislodge them. The battle of Antietam was fought on the 17th of September. Ten days after, when the losses of the day had been ascertained and an estimate formed of the strength of the army, General McClellan pronounced it the best policy to retain his forces on the north bank of the river, render Harper's Ferry secure and watch the movements of the enemy until the rise of the Potomac should render a new invasion of Maryland impracticable; when, as it appeared advantageous, he might move on Winchester, or "devote a reasonable time to the organization of the army and instruction of the new troops preparatory to an advance on whatever line may be determined. In any event, I regard it as absolutely necessary to send new regiments at once to the old corps for purposes of instruction, and that the old regiments be filled at once." At the same time he called upon General Halleck for the troops about the capital, leaving only a garrison, promising, "if I am reinforced, as I ask, and am allowed to take my own course, I will hold myself responsible for the safety of Washington."

To ascertain the condition of the army and make himself acquainted with the scene of the recent military operations, President Lincoln, on the 1st of October, visited the camps in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, reviewed the troops, whose condition he found to be, upon the whole, satisfactory, and was everywhere in Maryland, on his route, received with enthusiasm. On his return to Washington, General Halleck, on the 6th of October, sent an explicit order to General McClellan: "The President directs that you cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy or drive him South. Your army must move now while the roads are good." The President, it was added, advised the passage of the river below Harper's Ferry, by which an interior line might be gained, Washington protected, and large reinforcements added to the army. In reply, the next day, General McClellan stated his preference of and determination to advance upon the line of the Shenandoah for immediate operations against the enemy near Winchester. It offered greater facilities, he thought, for supplying the army, and to abandon it would be to leave Maryland uncovered for another invasion.

General Halleck, at the same time, in a letter to General McClellan, replied to the latter's suggestions, that the army must move, with its crippled regiments, without waiting for the new men from the draft. "The country," he wrote, "is becoming very impatient at the want of activity in your army, and we must push it on. I am satisfied that the enemy are falling back towards Richmond. We must follow them and seek to punish them. There is a decided want of *legs* in our troops. They have too much immobility, and we must try to remedy the defect."

The same day General McClellan issued a proclamation to the army, calling attention to the recent Emancipation Proclamation by the President, of the 22d of September, which, with the proceedings relating to it, the reader will find in a subsequent chapter. "A proclamation," said he, "of such grave moment to the nation, officially communicated to the army, affords to the General commanding an opportunity of defining specifically to the officers and soldiers under his command the relation borne by all persons in the military service of the United States towards the civil authorities of the government. The Constitution confides to the civil authorities, legislative, judicial and executive, the power and duty of making, expounding and executing the federal laws. Armed forces are raised and supported simply to sustain the civil authorities, and are to be held in strict subordination thereto in all respects. This fundamental rule of our political system is essential to the security of our republican institutions, and should be thoroughly understood and observed by every soldier."

The Army of the Potomac was now aroused by another adventurous raid of the rebel cavalry General Stuart, similar to his exploit on the Peninsula. On the 8th of October, the Confederate General Lee ordered an expedition into Maryland, directing Stuart, with a detachment of from twelve to fifteen hundred well-mounted men, to cross the Potomac above Williamsport, and leaving Hagerstown and Greencastle on the right, to proceed to the rear of Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, and endeavor to destroy the railroad bridge over the branch of the Conecocheague. The expedition was also specially authorized to supply itself with horses and "other necessary articles on the list of legal captures." All citizens met with on the way, who were likely to give information to the Union army, were to be arrested, and citizens of Pennsylvania, holding state or government offices, were to be brought off as hostages, or "the means of exchanges for our own citizens that have been carried off by the enemy." The region about Cumberland was to be watched for a safe return, unless the expedition was led to the East, when it was expected to cross the Potomac in the vicinity of Leesburg. Armed with these instructions, General Stuart left the main camp of the enemy, at Winchester, on the 9th, and making his way, by Darksville and Hedgesville, with a cavalry force of eighteen hundred men and four pieces of horse artillery, under command of Brigadier-General Hampton and Colonels W. H. F. Lee and Jones, at daylight the next day, with slight opposition, crossed the Potomac at McCoy's Ford, between Williamsport and Hancock. He then learnt that the division of General Cox, after its service with Pope and McClellan, had just passed westward, on its return to the Kanawha. "Striking directly across the national road," continues General Stuart in his report, "I proceeded in the direction of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, which point was reached about twelve M. I was extremely anxious to reach Hagerstown, where large supplies were stored ; but was satisfied from reliable information that the notice the enemy had of my approach and the proximity of his forces, would enable him to prevent my capturing it. I therefore turned towards Chambersburg. I did not reach this point till after dark, in a rain. I did not deem it safe to defer the attack till morning, nor was it proper to attack a place full of women and children without summoning it first to surrender. I accordingly sent in a flag of truce, and found no military or civil authority in the place; but some prominent citizens who met the officer were notified that the place would be occupied, and if any resistance were made the place would be shelled in three minutes. Brigadier-General Wade Hampton's command, being in advance, took possession of the place, and I appointed him Military Governor of the city. No incidents occurred during the night, during which it rained continuously. The officials all fled the town on our approach, and no one could be found who would admit that he held office in the place. About two hundred and seventy-five sick and wounded in hospital were paroled. During the day a large number of horses of citizens were seized and brought along. The wires were cut, and railroads were obstructed. Next morning it was ascertained that a large number of small arms and munitions of war were stored about the railroad buildings, all of which that could not be easily brought away were destroyed—consisting of about five thousand new muskets, pistols, sabres, ammunition; also a large assortment of army clothing. The extensive machine-shops and depot buildings of the railroad and several trains of loaded cars were entirely destroyed."

From Chambersburg General Stuart took the road eastwardly towards Gettysburg, turning into Maryland by Emmetsburg, and thence by way of Frederick, crossing the Baltimore and Ohio railroad to the vicinity of Poolesville. Here he met the advance of General Pleasanton's cavalry, which had started from the camp at Sharpsburg in pursuit of the invaders. There was some skirmishing, with little injury to either side, Stuart succeeding in crossing the river before reinforcements could come up to assist the small force of Pleasanton, who had conducted the march with extraordinary vigor, accomplishing ninety miles in twenty-four hours. Besides the damage they inflicted on railway and government property, Stuart's party made prize, at Chambersburg, of a moderate quantity of shoes and clothing, and the more valuable spoil of some eight hundred horses from gentlemen's and farmers' stables. Colonel A. K. McClure, of the town, who escaped capture, but not spoliation, has given a good-humored account of his enforced hospitalities to a portion of the raiders, at the close of which he pleasantly pays a passing compliment to his guests. "Our people," says he, "generally feel that, bad as they are, they are not so bad as they might be. I presume that the cavalry we had with us are the flower of the rebel army. They are made up mainly of young men in Virginia, who owned fine horses and have had considerable culture. I should not like to risk a similar experiment with their infantry."*

The greatest sufferer, in fact, by this expedition, appears to have been General McClellan, the raid affording a new argument to the War Department for his immediate advance upon the enemy—a proceeding which would seem to have been opposed to his better judgment. He called upon the government for horses to remount his dismounted cavalry soldiers, that he might oppose these rebel raids; a request which brought from the President a suggestion, "that if the enemy had more occupation south of the river, his cavalry would not be so likely to make raids north of it." A few days after, the President wrote at length to General McClellan, reviewing the advantages and disadvantages of the onward movement, which he had advised below the Shenandoah and Blue Ridge. With regard to transportation, which had been stated as defective, it was urged that the Union army was certainly better off in that respect than the enemy, who managed very formidable movements, and that to supply it fully, would "ignore the question of time, which cannot and must not be ignored." "Again," continued the President, "one of the standard maxims of war, as you know, is 'to operate upon the enemy's communications as much as possible, without exposing your own.' You seem to act as if this applies against you, but cannot apply in your favor. Change positions with the enemy, and think you not he would break your communication with Richmond within the next twenty-four hours? You dread his going into Pennsylvania. But if he does so in full force, he gives up his communications to you absolutely, and you have nothing to do but to follow and ruin him; if he does so with less than full force, fall upon and beat what is left behind all the easier. Exclusive of the water-line, you are now nearer Richmond than the enemy is by the route that you can, and he must, take. Why can you not reach there before him, unless you admit that he is more than your equal on a march? His route is the arc of a circle, while yours is the chord. The roads are as good on yours as on his." Either way, the President thought, the enemy should be met. "In coming to us," said he, "he tenders us an advantage which we should not waive. We should not so operate as to merely drive him away. As we must beat him somewhere, or fail finally, we can do it, if at all, easier near to us than far away. If we cannot beat the enemy where he now is, we never can, he again being within the intrenchments of Richmond."* The arguments of the President proved so much in accordance with the necessities of the position, that General McClellan, taking them into consideration, finally resolved to execute the suggested movement on the east of the Blue Ridge. Accordingly, on the 26th of October the army commenced crossing the Potomac by a pontoon bridge at Berlin, General Pleasanton taking the lead with a body of cavalry, followed by the corps of General Burnside. General Sedgwick and General Hancock in the lower part of the Shenandoah valley, about Charlestown, pressed the enemy, who now began their retreat towards Richmond, leaving a sufficient garrison at Harper's Ferry. The Union forces occupied the passes of the Blue Ridge. Snicker's Gap was taken possession of by General Hancock, on the 2d of November, while General Pleasanton, with his cavalry, was driving the enemy beyond. Upperville and Piedmont were occupied on the 4th, by the Union cavalry, cutting off the approaches from Ashby's and Manassas Gap. The last corps of the army was over the Potomac on the 5th, and on the 6th the advance was at Warrenton, General McClellan holding his headquarters at Rectortown, on the Manassas Gap Railway. The movement thus far, spite of the inclemency of the weather, a severe winter storm having set in, was attended with success, and hopes were entertained by the public of a decisive engagement, when it was unexpectedly announced that General McClellan had been superseded in command of the Army of the Potomac by General Burnside. The order to this effect, of the Secretary of War, dated Washington, November 5th, was accompanied by the following from General Halleck: "On receipt of the order of the President, sent herewith, you will immediately turn over your command to Major-General Burnside and repair to Trenton, New Jersey, reporting, on your arrival at that place, by telegraph, for further orders."

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* Letter of Colonel A. H. McClure, Chambersburg, Pa., October, 1862. *Rebellion Record*, vol. 6, p. 1.

Apparently, in justification of this removal, a correspondence was published between Secretary Stanton and General Halleck, dated the 27th and 28th of October, in which the demands of General McClellan upon the War Department for supplies were discussed, and it was made to appear that various important requisitions made by him for horses and clothing had been filled, thus throwing the burden upon him of a reluctant or inefficient discharge of duty in delaying to set his army in motion after positive orders had been given him to that effect. Whatever the real merits of the case may have been, the explanation given by the friends of the Administration for the withdrawal of General McClellan was, that the times demanded an officer of greater activity. In the words of a Republican journal of the day :—" The sole defeat of General McClellan has been that he lacked motive power. He has an excessive caution which cramps all of his better energies, and practically disables him for aggressive warfare ; the very first requisite is boldness. That over-cautious disposition was noticed long ago, but there was a fond hope that experience would cure it. Experience, and that too of the hardest sort, has not cured it. It has been demonstrated to be an inseparable part of General McClellan's nature. It is the presence of this fatal quality alone — the parent of indecision, procrastination and inaction—that reconciles us, and will reconcile the country, to the displacement of a commander otherwise so competent."*

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* Letter of President Lincoln to General McClellan, Washington, October 13, 1862.

The orders of removal was brought to General McClellan by a special messenger from Washington, General Buckingham, and reached him in his camp at Rectortown at eleven o'clock on the night of Saturday, November 7th ; on the 11th he left Warrenton for the North, having taken leave of the army in a personal farewell, and in the following address to the officers and soldiers : " An order of the President devolves upon Major-General Burnside the command of this army. In parting from you I cannot express the love and gratitude I bear to you. As an army, you have grown up under my care. In you I have never found doubt or coldness. The battles you have fought under my command will proudly live in our nation's history. The glory you have achieved, our mutual perils and fatigues, the graves of our comrades fallen in battle and by disease, the broken forms of those whom wounds and sickness have disabled—the strongest associations which can exist among men—unite us still by an indissoluble tie. We shall ever be comrades in supporting the constitution of our country, and the nationality of its people." A few days after, on the 12th, Major-General Fitz John Porter, in a general order, took leave of the army corps which he had led, being summoned to Washington to meet the charges preferred against him by General Pope, and was succeeded in his command by Major-General Joseph Hooker, who, though not yet quite recovered from his wound received at Antietam, and unable to ride on horseback, brought to the field his accustomed energy of character.

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* New York *Daily Times*, Nov. 11, 1862.

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